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The Rhetorical Strategy of Paul's Letter to the Galatians in Its Anatolian Cultic Context: Circumcision and the Castration of the Galli of the Mother of the Gods

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE RHETORICAL STRATEGY OF PAUL'S LETTER TO THE
GALATIANS IN ITS ANATOLIAN CULTIC CONTEXT:
CIRCUMCISION AND THE CASTRATION OF THE
GALLI OF THE MOTHER OF THE GODS
VOLUME I (CHAPTERS 1 TO 3)

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY

BY
SUSAN MARGARET (ELLI) ELLIOTT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JANUARY, 1997

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS
(See SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY for complete citations.)

1QS	<i>Serek hayyahad (Rule of the Community, Manual of Discipline)</i> , from Qumran, Cave 1
4QMMT	<i>Miqsat Ma'aseh Torah (The Halakhic Letter)</i> , from Qumran, Cave 4
4QFlor	<i>Florilegium (Eschatological Midrashim)</i> , from Qumran, Cave 4
ABD	Freedman, David Noel, ed. <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> .
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AC	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AnBib	<i>Analecta biblica</i>
ANET	Pritchard, James B., ed. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> .
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
AS	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
Audollent, DT	Audollent, Augustus. <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i> .
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique</i>
Betz, Galatians	Betz, Hans Dieter. <i>Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia</i> .
BDF	Blass, A. and A. Debrunner. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Translated and revised by Robert W. Funk.
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique (in REG)</i>

<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
Bonnard, <i>Galates</i>	Bonnard, Pierre. <i>L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Galates.</i>
Burton, <i>Galatians</i>	Burton, Ernest de Witt. <i>A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.</i>
Calvin, <i>Galatians</i>	Calvin, John. <i>Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul to the Galatians and Ephesians.</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CCCA</i>	Vermaseren, Maarten. <i>Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque.</i>
<i>CCDS</i>	Van Berg, Paul-Louis. <i>Corpus Cultus Deae Syria.</i>
<i>CIG</i>	Boeckhius, Augustus, ed. <i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum.</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum.</i>
<i>CMRDM</i>	Lane, Eugene N. <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis dei Menis.</i>
<i>CIR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendues de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i>
<i>CIQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
Dunn, <i>Galatians</i>	Dunn, James D. G. <i>A Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.</i>
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
<i>EA 22</i>	Petzl, Georg. "Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens," <i>EA 22</i> (1994) v-xxi, 1-178.
<i>EPRO</i>	Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans L'Empire Romain.
<i>ERE</i>	James Hasting, ed. <i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.</i>

<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>FGrH</i>	Jacoby, Felix, ed. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.</i>
<i>Gr. Anth.</i>	Paton, W. R. <i>The Greek Anthology.</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>Graillot</i>	Graillot, Henri. <i>Le culte de Cybèle, Mère des Dieux, à Rome et dans l'Empire romain.</i>
<i>Haspels, Phrygia I, II</i>	Haspels, C. H. Emilie. <i>The Highlands of Phrygia: Sites and Monuments.</i>
<i>Herrmann, Ergebnisse</i>	Herrmann, Peter. <i>Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien.</i>
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones graecae.</i>
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JOAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien.</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>

Kaibel, <i>EG</i>	Kaibel, Georg. <i>Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidis conlecta.</i>
Lagrange, <i>Galates</i>	Lagrange, P. M.-J. <i>Saint Paul Epitre aux Galates.</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Lightfoot, <i>Galatians</i>	Lightfoot, Joseph Barber. <i>Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.</i>
Longenecker, <i>Galatians</i>	Longenecker, Richard N. <i>Galatians.</i>
<i>LSAM</i>	Sokolowski, Franciszek. <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure.</i>
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George and Robert Scott. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon.</i> Revised by Henry Stuart Jones.
Lucian, <i>DDS</i>	Lucian, <i>The Syrian Goddess (De Dea Syria), attributed to Lucian.</i> Translated by Harold W. Attridge and Robert A. Oden, Jr.
Luther, <i>Galatians</i>	Luther, Martin. <i>Commentary on Galatians.</i>
LXX	Septuagint
Lührmann, <i>Galatians</i>	Lührmann, Dieter. <i>Galatians: A Continental Commentary.</i>
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua.</i>
Matera, <i>Galatians</i>	Matera, Frank J. <i>Galatians.</i>
<i>MDAI(I)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Abt. Istanbul)</i>
Meyer, <i>Galatians</i>	Meyer, Heinrich August Wilhelm. <i>Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Galatians.</i>
Mitchell, <i>Anatolia</i>	Mitchell, Stephen. <i>Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor.</i> Vol. 1, <i>The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule.</i> Vol. 2, <i>The Rise of the Church.</i>
Mußner, <i>Galaterbrief</i>	Mußner, Franz. <i>Der Galaterbrief.</i>

MT	Masoretic Text
NewDocs	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of Greek Inscriptions and Papyri</i>
NIP	Drew-Bear, Thomas. <i>Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie.</i>
Nock, Essays	Nock, Arthur Darby. <i>Essays on Religion and the Ancient World</i> , ed. Zeph Stewart.
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	New Testament
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
OCD	Hammond, N. G. L. and H. H. Scullard, eds. <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary.</i>
Oepke, Galater	Oepke, Albrecht. <i>Der Brief des Paulus and die Galater.</i>
OGIS	Dittenberger, Wilhelm. <i>Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae.</i>
OMS	Robert, Louis. <i>Opera Minora Selecta.</i>
OT	Old Testament
OTP	James H. Charlesworth, ed. <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.</i>
PW	Wissowa, Georg. <i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i>
RAC	Klauser, Theodor, ed. <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.</i>
Ramsay, Galatians	Ramsay, William Mitchell. <i>A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.</i>
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
RECAM	Mitchell, Stephen, David French and Jean Greenhalgh. <i>Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor II: The Ankara District, The Inscriptions of North Galatia.</i>

REG	<i>Revue des études grecques.</i>
RelSRev	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
RevPhil	<i>Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes.</i>
RHR	<i>Revue d'Histoire des Religions.</i>
SBL	<i>Society of Biblical Literature</i>
SBLASP	<i>SBL Abstracts and Seminar Papers</i>
SBLDS	<i>SBL Dissertation Series</i>
Schlier, <i>Galaterbrief</i>	Schlier, Heinrich. <i>Der Brief and die Galater.</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i>
SIG	Dittenberger, Wilhelm. <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum.</i>
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
Smyth	Smyth, Herbert Weir. <i>Greek Grammar.</i>
SR	<i>Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses</i>
TAM V.1	Keil, Joseph and Peter Herrmann. <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris. Vol. 5, Tituli Lydiae. Facsicle 1, Regio Septrionalis ad Orientem Vergens.</i>
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.</i>
ThLL	<i>Thesaurus Language Latinae.</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
ZFVS	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

THE RHETORICAL STRATEGY OF PAUL'S LETTER TO THE
GALATIANS IN ITS ANATOLIAN CULTIC CONTEXT:
CIRCUMCISION AND THE CASTRATION OF THE
GALLI OF THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation proposes to reread Galatians on the basis of its cultic context in central Anatolia of the first century C.E. This will prove to be a deceptively simple proposition. It requires, first, a reorientation of approach to the letter itself and a study of some of the major difficulties that the letter has posed for interpretation by scholars. This initial study of the letter will be found in Part A.

In Part B, I will depart from the letter itself into several important aspects of the world of first century Anatolia. I will focus attention on the popular religiosity of the area and a particularly prominent feature of religious life there, the cult of the Anatolian Mother of the Gods.

The resulting picture of popular religiosity in central Anatolia will provide answers to the questions posed in Part A. These will reveal the undergirding structure of Paul's rhetorical strategy as it relates to the cult of the Mother of the Gods. It will be seen that the association of circumcision and the cultic castration practiced in that cult explains Paul's urgency to dissuade the Galatians from circumcision and the structure of his strategy of dissuasion in which the Jewish Law is identified with the Mountain Mother of the Gods.

PART A

THE LETTER IN CONTEXT - AN OVERVIEW OF THE QUESTION

INTRODUCTION

In this first part of the dissertation, I will discuss issues in the interpretation of Galatians. Chapter 1 will state the methodological assumptions of this project in the context of previous scholarly work. First, I will survey some general issues in Pauline scholarship. Then I will propose a reorientation of the question of Paul's relation to the "mysteries" which delineates the issue in terms of "popular religiosity." Finally, I will elaborate my methodological assumptions about Paul's letter to the Galatians and distinguish them from previous scholarly efforts.

Chapter 2 will examine difficulties in three particular passages in Galatians, beginning with Gal 4:21-5:1. A major difficulty appears in the passage at Gal 4:24-6 in the concatenation of images associated with Hagar as the slave-concubine of Abraham in contrast to his legitimate wife. This passage has proved difficult partly because it makes an apparently weak and confusing argument, given the strange set of associations at Gal 4:24-26. This is puzzling since it is placed at a point in the letter where an especially decisive argument would be expected. We shall see that these difficulties are resolved when they are considered against the background of central Anatolia. These

difficulties will be detailed in Chapter 2. They will be addressed again in Part C, where it will be seen that Paul offered a particularly graphic picture of the negative consequences of circumcision and presented these consequences in a manner which would be clear to them. Difficulties in Gal 3:19-4:11 and Gal 3:10-13 will be outlined as well, in turn. These also will be addressed again in Part C.

CHAPTER 1

THE RHETORICAL SITUATION OF GALATIANS: METHODOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS AND THE RELATION OF THIS PROJECT TO PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

"Boy, those Galatians, when will they listen?" Sam Malone tosses off this comment while pretending to read the Bible in an episode of *Cheers* in which Woody, the wholesome bartender from Indiana, makes a video to convince his father that he is working with fine upstanding people in Boston. The literarily-challenged Sam reveals a grasp of the letter to the Galatians, however, which Pauline scholarship sometimes misses: "those Galatians." Stated in a more refined form, "In his letter to the Galatians, Paul addressed a particular audience and he wrote to them with a particular purpose." Upon encountering such a statement, a reader like Sam might well ask, "So? That seems obvious enough. What's your point?" While it does seem obvious enough that a letter has an audience and a purpose, Pauline scholarship has been laboring for some time to come to terms with this deceptively simple insight. This dissertation takes its place among those scholarly labors.

In this introductory chapter, implications of this basic statement will be examined, along with further assumptions which can be made about Galatians building upon this foundational "truism." We will also see

that interpreters of Galatians have not always assumed the importance of the basic fact that Paul wrote to the Galatians as a particular audience or that his letter was written with a particular purpose. The importance of a corollary assumption will also be argued in this chapter: "The audience had a geographical, historical, and social-religious location; and our information about the audience's location cannot be limited to the text of Galatians or the New Testament." This may seem too obvious to state, yet the variety of information available about the specific world of the audience has seldom been given much attention in relation to the letter. Most scholarship has limited itself to the text of Galatians itself. At times it has been supplemented with information from Acts and from Paul's other correspondence. OT texts Paul cites are also used and attention is given to Jewish interpretation of those texts in writings relatively contemporaneous with Paul. However, attention to available information about the audience in relation to the content of the letter is exceptional.¹

¹Lightfoot's nineteenth century commentary (Lightfoot, *Galatians*) stands out in this regard, although some of his assumptions about the "Celtic temperament" and "ritualism" may indicate more about his attitudes about his own Celtic contemporaries than about first century Anatolia. A few commentators provide extensive information about Galatia and Galatians in their introductions, mostly confined to the political and ethnic history of the Galatians in Anatolia (Lagrange, *Galates*, lxii-xxviii; Longenecker, *Galatians*, lxii-lxiii; Burton, *Galatians*, xvii-xxi; Mußner, *Galaterbrief*, 1-3; Betz, *Galatians*, 1-2; and Calvin, *Galatians*, 13-14. Lightfoot (*Galatians*, 1-17) and Oepke (*Galater*, 1-5) also mention the religious context. Ramsay (*Galatians*, 1-234) provides the most extensive background, which provides his perspective on the sweep of central Anatolian history, but he makes remarkably little use of this historical information in his interpretation of the letter.

The underlying purpose of this dissertation is to show that the Anatolian context of the audience of Galatians offers great potential for deepening our understanding of Paul's message to them, and for more satisfactory solutions to some of the particularly puzzling passages in the letter. Within the confines of this dissertation, I do not hope to solve all the problems in Galatians nor even necessarily to provide definitive solutions to the specific puzzles under consideration. Nevertheless I do hope, more immodestly, to advance the debates over the issues in these passages onto the ground of the Galatians themselves. What I intend to demonstrate is that there is a sizable body of evidence from their particular context which merits consideration. Various perspectives need to be brought to bear on the evidence and on the way that the letter relates to the context that evidence reveals. If this contribution encourages scholarly discussion which provides a variety of alternative points of view about the relation of Galatians to its Anatolian context, I will consider my time well spent.

The balance of this chapter will discuss the background and implications of the basic assumption and corollary which have been stated. First, several basic assumptions about Paul will be stated and explained. These will provide an opportunity to locate this dissertation methodologically within the array of recent Pauline scholarship (1.1). Particular attention will be given to the methodological difficulties for study of the so-called "mystery religions" in relation to Paul, and an alternative method of approach to the issue will be proposed (1.2). The third section of this chapter

will return to examine assumptions about the letter to the Galatians already stated and further assumptions which can be made on the basis of evidence of the letter itself (1.3).

1.1 Assumptions About Paul

Our opening statement, "In his letter to the Galatians, Paul addressed a particular audience and he wrote to them with a particular purpose," relies upon recent developments in Pauline scholarship. The statement assumes, for example, the importance of rhetorical and epistolary criticism. Both have gained prominence in New Testament studies in the past two decades. Along with the corollary, "The audience had a geographical, historical, and social-religious location; and our information about the audience's location cannot be limited to the text of Galatians or the New Testament," however, the statement also assumes developments in social context criticism which intersect with those of rhetorical criticism. Other developments in historical criticism also inform this project. Here it will be useful to identify methodological reorientations currently emerging in the field among scholars who labor at the intersection of these modes of criticism.

1.1.1 *Paul's Non-Propositional Coherence*

The first assumption may be stated, "Paul effectively communicated a coherent purpose, mission, and message although it may best be understood on bases other than propositional logic."² Paul's

²By "propositional logic" is meant the exposition of a system of thought or the articulation of an argument in the form of propositions.

effectiveness as a communicator is demonstrated by his subsequent fame within the church for his missionary successes and by the preservation of his letters. This indicates that many early Christians responded positively to his communications and received and understood his "gospel." This implies that Paul's communication, however impenetrable and obscure it may be, was based on some intelligent strategy for an audience he knew much better than we can. Thus the more we understand the audience, the more likely we are to understand Paul's words to them.

Coherent and effective communication does not necessarily require propositional statements like the ones being set forth in this chapter, nor is propositional logic the only mode in which thought can be coherent. Within the confines of this project we cannot hope to examine the many issues currently under discussion about whether or not Paul's theology has a center. Nor is it appropriate to discuss the methods by which the question of such a center may be approached. We will nevertheless assume that Paul did have a "gospel" which was coherent to him and to his audiences.³ Paul's letters reflect a history of communication with his addressees to which we are not privy. He presumably expressed a more complete message to which he sometimes refers as if in code. The fact that neither scholars nor theologians throughout the centuries of Christianity have come to any consistent

³Such discussions abound and are beyond the scope here. For one example see Joseph Plevnik, "The Center of Pauline Theology" *CBQ* 51 (1989) 461-78 and the many works he cites. The work of the Pauline Theology Seminar of the SBL mentioned below is a major locus of discussion on this issue.

agreement on descriptions of the coherence of Paul's purpose and mission does not mean that he was incoherent, only that the "code" references are no longer fully accessible.

Part of the difficulty in establishing any agreement about the coherence of Paul's thought is increasingly being recognized as the problematic application of propositional logic. Recent scholarship offers means other than propositional logic to seek the coherence in his thought and purpose. Most of these means have roots in forms of structuralism. Daniel Patte, for example, has applied a form of "structural exegesis" in search of Paul's "convictional logic" in a "semantic universe" which structures not only his thought but also his behavior. He describes the self-evident truths which often remain unstated but which pattern thought and action.⁴ Another example is the painstaking work of Norman R. Petersen to reveal the "sociology of the narrative world" expressed in Paul's letter to Philemon.⁵ The effort of Richard B. Hays to illuminate the narrative substructure of Paul's "gospel" also belongs in these explorations of alternatives to propositional logic.⁶

⁴See Daniel Patte, *Paul's Faith and the Power of the Gospel: A Structural Introduction to the Pauline Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983). Patte's work must be acknowledged as particularly helpful for background of the thought-process of this dissertation, even though specific citation of his work is not often appropriate.

⁵Norman R. Petersen, *Rediscovering Paul: Philemon and the Sociology of Paul's Narrative World* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985).

⁶Richard B. Hays, *The Faith of Christ* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983). The title of a recent work of Ben Witherington, III, also indicates an expression of this effort: *Paul's Narrative*

This type of approach will be referred to here as a search for "subsurface coherence." "Subsurface coherence" will be seen within Galatians in relation to the role of the rituals the letter addresses: circumcision, castration, and baptism. Basic models from structuralist anthropology will also inform this project as a means to describe the subsurface coherence of Galatians. This is, in part, because of the centrality of circumcision as the issue in Galatians, which will be discussed below.

Other efforts, such as those of the Pauline Theology Seminar of the SBL, approach Paul's theology developmentally. The work of the seminar is reflected in a series of volumes organized according to Paul's letters.⁷ A developmental approach will also be assumed here, i.e. that coherence can be seen in the course of development during Paul's ministry. This means that all of what Paul says to the Galatians need not necessarily be entirely consistent with everything he says in each of his other letters.⁸

Thought World: The Tapestry of Tragedy and Triumph (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994). He proposes it as an alternative to the "inductive" approach of the Pauline Theology Seminar of the SBL, but "narrative thought world" appears as another description of what has previously been labeled "salvation history."

⁷On methodology, see: J. Paul Sampley, "From Text to Thought World: The Route to Paul's Ways," J. Christian Beker, "Recasting Pauline Theology: The Coherence-Contingency Scheme as Interpretive Model," and Paul J. Achtemeier, "Finding the Way to Paul's Theology: A Response to J. Christiaan Beker and J. Paul Sampley," in *Pauline Theology, Vol. I: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon*, ed. Jouette M. Bassler (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 3-14; 15-24 and 25-36.

⁸The issue of the date of Galatians and the chronology of Paul's letters will not be discussed here.

1.1.2 *Paul's Letters Written According to Conventions of His Time*

A second assumption can be made: "Paul organized his letters according to structures which were conventional in the Greco-Roman world." Efforts to understand the coherence of Paul's thought and mission by means of modern modes of structural and narrative analysis of "subsurface coherence" are joined also by efforts to understand the structure of the letters themselves according to structures of written and oral expression common in Paul's day.⁹

In the past two decades, scholarly attention to the conventions of letter-writing and speech-making in the Greco-Roman world has increased our ability to analyze the structure of Paul's letters by means of epistolary and rhetorical criticism.¹⁰ Epistolary and rhetorical

⁹While Paul did not write his letters in the outline form generally accepted for modern term papers, that does not mean that they were disorganized, as has sometimes been suggested. See Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 65: "any systematic arrangement must be more or less artificial, especially where, as in the present instance, he is stirred by deep feelings and writes under the pressure of an urgent necessity."

¹⁰The commentary of Betz (Betz, *Galatians*) represents a major milestone in the thoroughgoing application of rhetorical criticism to Paul's letters. The work of George A. Kennedy is also foundational, set forth lucidly in *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism*, Studies in Religion, ed. Charles H. Long (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1984). Epistolary analysis owes a great debt to Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World*, trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan, 4th ed. (New York and London: Harper, 1922). More recently, detailed attention has been given to epistolary analysis of the papyri letters by scholars whose work began in a series of dissertations directed by Robert W. Funk. A convenient source on this is John L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, Foundations and Facets, ed. Robert W. Funk (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986). A history of scholarship and additional bibliography are also found in G. Walter Hansen, *Abraham in Galatians: Epistolary and*

criticism have taken independent tracks of research to assemble detailed analyses of conventions in the respective areas of ancient letter-writing and speech preparation. These two areas of research are currently being intersected to show that Paul combined epistolary conventions and rhetorical methods in ways that often yield hybrid structures that are complex but not disorganized.¹¹ The application of epistolary and rhetorical criticism has also yielded whole new territories for scholarly dispute which will be seen here only as the disputes impinge upon specific issues in Galatians. However, such ancient conventions will be assumed here to provide essential clues to the structure of Galatians.

1.1.3 *Paul's Real Audiences*

Simply stated, the assumption is: "Paul addressed audiences of real people."¹² One development of the work of epistolary and rhetorical criticism is increasing attention to the audience as a significant factor in the interpretation of Paul's letters. The labor of epistolary criticism has demonstrated that Paul's letters as letters use the

Rhetorical Contexts, JSNT Supplement Series, ed. David Hill, 29. (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1989) 19-54, and especially in his notes, 219-27.

¹¹One example is Hansen, *Abraham*.

¹²A distinction can be seen in this statement from "reader-response" criticism. The value and limitations of this approach will be illustrated below in further discussion of the corollary assumption about the letter to the Galatians.

epistolary conventions of actual correspondence.¹³ This brings the recipients into view more prominently with the presumption that Paul wrote to them in the context of direct relationship, not as a "literary" audience.

As rhetorical criticism develops, a "turn to the audience" is also emerging in the use of a common vocabulary employed by Lloyd Bitzer to describe the "rhetorical situation." In a now-classic article based on the fundamental notion that rhetoric is situational, Bitzer defines the rhetorical situation as

a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence.¹⁴

The three constituent elements of the rhetorical situation as described by Bitzer are thus: (1) the *exigence* as "an imperfection marked by

¹³This is a major contribution of Deissmann (*Light*, 146-251), although his basic categorization of "epistle" and "letter" has subsequently been challenged. The relevance of the common letter tradition for the form and conventions used in Paul's letters is generally accepted. For a cogent summary on this issue see G. W. Hansen, *Abraham*, 21-7. As exceptions he cites Bernard H. Brinsmead, *Galatians -- Dialogical Response to Opponents*, SBLDS, no. 65, ed. William Baird (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1982) 39-42; and Betz, *Galatians*. They contend that Galatians is an example of an "apologetic letter." As has been pointed out by reviewers of Betz, this "apologetic letter" genre is substantially hypothetical. (See David E. Aune, "Review of H. D. Betz, *Galatians*" *RelSRev* 7 [1981] 323-8; and Hansen, *Abraham*, 222, n. 35, who also cites Wayne Meeks, "Review of H. D. Betz, *Galatians*," *JBL* 100 [1981] 304-6.) In this case the issue is not about the reality of the audience, however, but about the relevant literary form. Hansen persuasively demonstrates the applicability to Galatians of previous work on epistolary conventions.

¹⁴Lloyd Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1 (1968) 6.

urgency . . . a thing which is other than it should be," which invites the rhetorical utterance which seeks to alter it; (2) the *audience* as "those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and being mediators of change;" and (3) the *constraints* "made up of persons, events, objects, and relations which are parts of the situation because they have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence."¹⁵

All three elements require understanding of the context of the audience. To understand why an exigence is other than what it should be requires understanding of both the speaker's perspective on what should be the case and the context which stands in some opposition to the speaker's perspective. If we are to understand what might influence the audience, they must be seen not just as hearers, but as persons with a context to which they relate. The factors which might influence them, as constraints, derive their power from that context.

With a turn to the audience, then, rhetorical criticism intersects with social context criticism. Wilhelm Wuellner suggested in a 1987 article that this is what distinguishes rhetorical criticism from literary analysis, because "in rhetorical criticism 'a text must reveal its context.'"¹⁶ He also recommends a shift of focus in rhetorical criticism away from an approach "identical with literary criticism,"

¹⁵Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," 6-8.

¹⁶Wilhelm Wuellner, "Where is Rhetorical Criticism Taking Us?" *CBQ* 49 (1987) 450. He cites T. O. Sloan, "Rhetoric: Rhetoric in Literature," *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th ed., vol. 15 [1975] 798-99.

which fragments rhetoric and reduces it to stylistics, to an approach he characterizes as "identical with practical criticism."¹⁷ By this he suggests a more comprehensive view of rhetorical criticism which requires a distinction between analysis of literary-rhetorical structure as "anatomy" and analysis of rhetorical structure as "strategy."¹⁸ Thus rhetorical and epistolary analyses provide significant information within the larger critical project of understanding Paul's (or any ancient letter-writer's or speaker's) strategy. Analysis of anatomy is not an end in itself.

Attention to rhetorical strategy is a significant element in the project of rhetorical criticism as Wuellner describes it, to make "us more fully aware of the *whole* range of appeals embraced and provoked by rhetoric: not only the rational and cognitive dimensions, but also the emotive and imaginative ones."¹⁹ In this the questions of rhetorical

¹⁷Wuellner, "Where is Rhetorical," 453. By "practical," vv. "literary" criticism, Wuellner means (following T. Eagleton, *Literary Theory, An Introduction* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983] 205-6) criticism in which texts are viewed "as forms of *activity* inseparable from the wider social relations between writers and readers."

¹⁸Wuellner, "Where is Rhetorical," 456-7. This is particularly relevant at the third of the five stages in George Kennedy's classical model of rhetorical criticism, for which he provides a convenient summary (Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 455-8). The second of his five stages, after identification of the rhetorical unit, is the identification of the rhetorical situation, following Lloyd Bitzer. The increasing currency of the language of "rhetorical strategy" is illustrated by Frank J. Matera's use of the term in his recent commentary (Matera, *Galatians*, 11-12). He uses the term to refer to the structure of the argument, not necessarily its particular appeal to the specific audience to whom it is addressed.

¹⁹Wuellner, "Where is Rhetorical," 461.

strategy and the identification of "subsurface coherence" meet and necessitate further examination of the cultural and social context of Paul and his audiences.

1.1.4 *Paul, Jew and Hellene*

To state that Paul was a "Hellenistic Jew" is not particularly helpful without some further definition of the two terms, "Jewish" and "Hellenistic." It must also be made clear that a dichotomy between the two is not intended. The statement is intended to locate this project within the stream of scholarship exemplified by a recent volume of essays entitled *Paul in His Hellenistic Context*.²⁰

With a new perspective on the notions of "Jewish" and "Hellenistic," many scholars are presently returning to many of the contextual questions asked by scholars a hundred years ago,²¹ but cultural interaction in the Hellenistic period is being viewed with more complexity as is Paul's own cultural complexity.²² With this new perspective, scholars try to illuminate "Paul and the communities he

²⁰Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "Introduction," in *Paul in His Hellenistic Context*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995) xiv-xix. His introduction provides a convenient overview and history of the present trend of scholarship in this area.

²¹Many of these questions that have been submerged by reaction to the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* and by overly simplistic contrasts between "Judaism" or "Oriental religions and cultures" on the one hand and "Hellenistic" on the other. (Engberg-Pedersen, "Introduction," *Paul in His Hellenistic*, xvi.) The methodological problems of this era will be mentioned in connection with the next assumption.

²²In the East the Hellenistic period extends culturally into the Roman Imperial period.

addressed by analyzing the texts as unique acts of communication within the common and complex media of 'Hellenistic' culture."²³ Like the essays in that volume, the present project must credit scholarship from the past century "when a critical historical consciousness was most forcefully alive in Pauline scholarship" and ask such questions as, "What did Paul mean in this text, at this particular point in his address, *to these particular people*? What were the contextual connotations of the terms he used? And how do these connotations help determine his meaning?" [emphasis added].²⁴ Again the context puts the audience into view.

While much attention to date has been given to the philosophical schools and traditions in Paul's Hellenistic context, the importance of Hellenistic religions is also recognized.²⁵ The volume of essays chosen as an example here is a case in point.²⁶ The specified focus of the volume is the "social historical, the rhetorical, and the moral

²³Engberg-Pedersen, "Introduction," *Paul in His Hellenistic*, xix.

²⁴Engberg-Pedersen, "Introduction," *Paul in His Hellenistic*, xix.

²⁵"Philosophy" and "religion" are not meant as a dichotomy here and the distinction is not meant to suggest that they were not at times integrally related in the ancient world. The philosophical schools and the legacy of literary evidence that some of them have left are, however, distinguishable from religious ritual practices and participation in antiquity.

²⁶Other work by some of the scholars in that volume shows the emphasis on the philosophical schools. Of particular note is the work of Abraham J. Malherbe, for example, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989). Articles in a recent Festschrift for Malherbe also indicate this orientation: David L. Balch, Everett Ferguson, and Wayne A. Meeks, eds., *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990).

philosophical" line of research. The importance of the issue of "non-Jewish, 'Hellenistic' religion" is explicitly recognized as outside of the volume's scope. Even so, among the ten essays which primarily treat issues related to the "philosophical" context, two address Hellenistic religious context.²⁷ Most notable is an article on baptism by Hans Dieter Betz which addresses the connection of Paul to the specific content of Hellenistic cults and shows how he would be understood as a "Hellenistic founder figure" of such a cult even though the origins of the ritual of baptism are best sought in the "Jewish" context.²⁸ This project may be seen as taking up the line of research into the "Hellenistic religious context" especially, along with continuation of the social historical and rhetorical lines represented in the volume.²⁹

1.1.5 *Paul's Audiences as Gentiles with a Religious Context*

The assumption is: "Paul wrote to gentiles whose popular religiosity is an essential aspect of their context." What will here be labeled "gentile popular religiosity," a term explained more fully below, has provided one of the more problematic aspects of the

²⁷Peder Borgen's article focuses not on the content of Hellenistic religious context but on the evidence of Jewish and Christian attitudes toward "pagan religions" in general: Peder Borgen, "'Yes,' 'No,' 'How far?': The Participation of Jews and Christians in Pagan Cults," in *Paul in His Hellenistic Context*, 30-50. He appends an insightful note on "Religious Complexity in the Pagan World" (57-9).

²⁸Hans Dieter Betz, "Transferring a Ritual: Paul's Interpretation of Baptism in Romans 6," in *Paul in His Hellenistic Context*, 84-118.

²⁹Here the "moral philosophical" line is outside of the scope.

Hellenistic world for contextual interpretation of Paul. Since the major focus of this dissertation will be to show the relation of the letter to the Galatians to the specific cultic and popular religious context of central Anatolia, more extended attention to the history of methodological problems and the implications of this assumption is warranted than has been given to the others.³⁰

1.2 Paul and the "Mysteries": Methodological Questions

One of the ways that early Christianity and Paul's writings have been discussed in relation to gentile popular religiosity has been to compare Pauline Christianity to the "mystery religions." This has caused a number of methodological difficulties which must be addressed to orient this dissertation properly.

1.2.1 *Previous Methodological Difficulties: Early Christianity and the "Mystery Religions"*

Since the late nineteenth century, problems have revolved around the study of the so-called "mystery religions of Greco-Roman antiquity" and their relation to early Christianity. General assumptions about the mysteries themselves which are the legacy primarily of Franz Cumont, Richard Reitzenstein and other scholars of their era, have undergone reassessment in recent decades.³¹ A 1982 lecture series by Walter

³⁰What follows is substantially equivalent to the first portion of my article, Susan M. Elliott, "Paul and His Gentile Audiences: Mystery Cults, Anatolian Popular Religiosity, and Paul's Claim of Divine Authority in Galatians," *Listening* 31 (1996) 117-36.

³¹Franz Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*, 4th ed. (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geunther, 1929); Richard

Burkert provided some clarification about the so-called "Oriental mystery religions of late antiquity" which were these scholars' subject. The "mysteries" cannot properly be described as Eastern since some of them, most notably the Eleusinian mysteries which function as the model to which the others are compared, are distinctively Hellenic and ancient, not Eastern and not late.³² Neither can they properly be described "religions of salvation" or even as "religions" if that implies the emphasis on self-definition and mutual exclusivity characteristic of Christianity, Judaism or Islam.³³

The notion of the mysteries as "religions" results from one significant methodological impediment to the study of the mysteries: the imposition of a Christian template upon these cults. This was the result, rather than the intent, of the project of the History of Religions School. They were attempting to show how Christianity was similar to the "religions" among which it formed, not to show how all other religions follow the same pattern as Christianity. Yet their search for similarities to Christianity created a Christian template on which to read the data from the other cults. Thus J. G. Frazer, for example, perceived in the mysteries a pattern of "dying-rising gods" to

Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery-Religions: Their Basic Ideas and Significance*, translation of *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* by John E. Steely, Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series, no. 18. (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: Pickwick Press, 1978).

³² Here again the problem of the categorization of the various cultural forces interacting in the Hellenistic era can be seen.

³³ Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1987) 15.

whom mystery initiates assimilated themselves for soteriological motives defined by concerns about life and death.³⁴ Scholarship during the last portion of this century has almost entirely discredited this notion of the "dying-rising gods" derived from a Christian model. An array of motivations on the part of participants is also being discerned which may include the confrontation of life and death in some cases, but is in no way limited to Christian soteriological interpretations. The description of baptism as a "mystery initiation" has also created the assumption that the mystery initiations functioned as entrance rituals into defined groups. The ability to discern the particular functions of initiation rituals in the various cults thus became obscured.

The tendency to impose Christianity as a template on the mystery religions has led to a legitimate accusation of distortion in the ongoing debate about the relationship of Christianity to the mysteries. There has been a problematic tendency toward a circularity of method on the part of those who would emphasize Christianity's pagan background. They can be legitimately criticized for sometimes filling in blanks in the data available for the mystery cults by analogy to early Christianity and then using the similarity created as evidence for Christianity's pagan origins.³⁵

³⁴James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, 3rd ed., 12 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1935).

³⁵See Bruce Metzger, "Considerations of Methodology in the Study of the Mystery Religions and Early Christianity," *HTR* 48 (1955) 8-9.

At the other end of the spectrum, however, difficulties have also been produced by circular methods in the ongoing reaction against the suggestion that pagan influences helped to shape earliest Christianity.³⁶ Jonathan Z. Smith provides an extended analysis of ideological motivations and the circularity of method of this stream of scholarship in his *Drudgery Divine*, a foundational work for method on this question.³⁷ He shows the tendency to insulate early Christianity from its pagan setting by almost total emphasis on its Judaic context, and to narrow the modes of comparison to pagan elements so strictly that none might be found. Narrowing the issue to one of vocabulary provides one illustration. Where potential mystery-related vocabulary is found in the New Testament, if any other interpretation is possible, that is taken to prove that no connection to the mysteries exists.³⁸ If a Judaic background can be found, however tenuous, it is assumed to be the

³⁶The term "pagan" is used here to describe what is neither Jewish nor Christian. It must be recognized that the term is an anachronism for the first century C.E. and is not a term "pagans" would have used to describe themselves.

³⁷Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity*, Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism, ed. William Scott Green and Calvin Goldscheider (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

³⁸A recent version of this effort to exclude the mystery cults from meaningful connection to early Christian ritual is seen in an article by A. J. M. Wedderburn ("The Soteriology of the Mysteries and Pauline Baptismal Theology," *NovT* 29 [1987] 53-72.) The article is a somewhat updated version of the basic arguments leveled against J. G. Frazer's portrayal of the mystery initiations as "assimilation to the dying-rising god," and Pauline baptism as a version of that form of initiation.

background whether or not the explicitly gentile audience of several of the texts would have any knowledge whatsoever of the Judaic reference.³⁹

1.2.2 Methodological Reorientation

Problems of methodological circularity can be glimpsed, then, both for the study of the mysteries themselves and for the situating of early Christianity in relation to them. Three major reorientations of the question can open new and less circular approaches. Raffaele Pettazoni perceived these at a relatively early date in the course of the issue.⁴⁰ Although Pettazoni reflects several prevalent assumptions of his time which have since been discounted, three of his methodological insights remain valid and are worth enumerating with some elaboration.

Pettazoni's first insight was the recognition of the mysteries as cults with diverse origins, both Greek and "Eastern." This basic

³⁹One example is a treatment of the word *μυστήριον* by Raymond E. Brown (*The Semitic Background of the Term "Mystery" in the New Testament*, Facet Books, Biblical Series, ed. John Reumann, 21 [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968]). His conclusion (69), while characteristically cautious, shows the tendency: "considering the variety and currency of the concept of divine mysteries in Jewish thought, Paul and the NT writers could have written everything they did about *mysterion* whether or not they ever encountered the pagan mystery religions. 'Mystery' was a part of the native theological equipment of the Jews who came to Christ." What is ignored is that the Gentiles who came to Christ also had "native theological equipment." Also ignored in this approach, of course, is the fact that Judaism itself is hardly a hermetically sealed and pure cultural container. Jewish uses of terms and concepts and rituals take place in a Hellenistic context. To cite the use of a word by a Jewish writer does not make that word or even the use of it "Jewish."

⁴⁰Raffaele Pettazoni, "Les mystères grecs et les religions à mystères de l'antiquité. Recherches récentes et problèmes nouveaux," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 2 (1954) 301-12.

insight supports the usefulness of the study of each cult on its own terms, a trend in the scholarship which has flourished in the past several decades with productive results for overcoming the difficulties created by the imposition of uniform templates.

In a second insight, Pettazzoni viewed the "mysteries" as analogous trajectories of historical development which influenced one another as they came into contact during the Hellenistic era. We are not looking at a single phenomenon with a common origin but similar phenomena with common historical trajectories. Similarities show us similar responses to developments in a common historical and social context.

The identification of the commonality of emergent Christianity and the mystery cults as a similarity of relation to the "official" religion of the state forms a third insight. While he overdrew a dichotomy between the state religion and the "oppressed and persecuted" religions, the fundamental question he implicitly answered remains useful, "What is the relation of these cults to the religious expressions at the centers of power?" This question can have great utility if we recognize that there is not a single consistent answer which applies to all of these cults.

Reorientation of the study of the mystery cults in these three ways points toward the importance of the social context and toward a broader redefinition of the category itself. The factor which characterizes the mystery cults as such, the secret initiation rituals, is actually only one aspect in each case of a more complex set of public and private rituals which show devotion to particular deities. I would propose that

the term "popular religiosity" can help us to conceptualize these religious expressions more accurately without abandoning the ability to describe the commonalities which exist in what have traditionally been labeled "mystery religions."⁴¹

1.2.3 *Redefinition of the Category: Popular Religiosity, Central and Subsidiary Zones*

The term "popular religiosity" also appropriately eludes precise definition, but efforts to describe the complexity of modern religiosity can shed light on the phenomenon that concerns us in antiquity. Charles H. Lippy in a recent book on popular religiosity in the U.S. describes popular religiosity using a notion appropriated from Edward Shils of "a 'central zone' of symbols, values, and beliefs that govern society."⁴² Membership in society, as Shils describes it, is constituted not so much territorially as it is "by relationship to this central zone" which also "partakes of the sacred" as the "official religion" of any given society. The center is also expressed as a network of institutions and roles which are organized in various subsystems with varying degrees of

⁴¹I must acknowledge that such an interpretative model imposes distortions. I am proposing that "popular religiosity" offers means to interpret the phenomena called "mysteries" with less distortion than the previous models based on the Christian template, not that this or any model can be entirely accurate, especially for description of a phenomenon so reliant on personal experience.

⁴²Charles H. Lippy, "What is Popular Religion?" chap. in *Being Religious American Style: A History of Popular Religiosity in the United States*, Contributions to the Study of Religion, 37 (Westport, Connecticut and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1994) 9-10; Edward Shils, "Centre and Periphery," in *The Logic of Personal Knowledge: Essays Presented to Michael Polanyi on his Seventieth Birthday* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961) 117-19.

affirmation of the central zone.⁴³ The central zone is what is held in common, even though it may not be articulated systematically.

For Lippy, popular religiosity is related to this central zone of what is held in common and also exists in subsidiary zones. Ordinary people draw on the central zone as they "erect for themselves worlds of meaning . . . finding a way to make sense out of their lives." Even when popular religiosity is an individual activity, it does not exist in a vacuum but is rather "a dynamic process of creating and maintaining worlds of meaning and the interconnectedness of the religiosity of a people within a given society."⁴⁴ Worth noting also is his summary comment that "popular religiosity lacks the drive for conceptual coherence that marks established religious traditions and institutions."⁴⁵

1.2.4 *Popular Religiosity, Central and Subsidiary Zones in the Greco-Roman World*

In the Greco-Roman world the central zone to which popular religiosity relates can be discerned not only as values, symbols, and beliefs, but may also be personified as deities in a pantheon. In the conditions which prevailed from the Hellenistic era into the Roman imperial period, the notion of a central zone, however, must accommodate the existence also of subsidiary zones or subsystems and even competing

⁴³Shils, "Centre and Periphery," 117-8.

⁴⁴Lippy, "What is Popular Religion?" 10.

⁴⁵Lippy, "What is Popular Religion?" 11.

"central zones" of numerous peoples and their deities in diaspora conditions. As a new central zone emerged with the spread of Hellenization, the central zones of previous societies were not, for the most part, obliterated. Previous central zones, which may at one point have been defined territorially, instead underwent a process of adaptation and transformation. People responded in a variety of ways to the new central zone. They accommodated, integrated, resisted, or even ignored the new central zone.⁴⁶ A form of integration may be seen, for example, as "foreign" deities were not destroyed but were identified in relation to the Olympian or Roman pantheon, either as another manifestation of one of the deities already there or in some genealogical relationship with them.

Other popular initiatives also perpetuated old central zones of values, symbols, rituals, and deities in new conditions. Thus the same "cult" might appear in a variety of forms of cult organization. The cult of Cybele and Attis illustrates this. At Rome, voluntary associations organized cult processions of Cybele, just as such associations organized public events for other cults. In Anatolia, the cult continued in a temple hierarchy at a temple state with thousands of permanent resident slaves.⁴⁷ Different forms of organization provided

⁴⁶Shils points out that membership in society as some form of integration of the mass of the population with the central zone is a characteristic of the modern world, that in pre-modern societies "The mass of the population . . . have in a sense lived *outside* society and have not felt their remoteness from the centre to be a perpetual injury to themselves." Shils, "Centre and Periphery," 127.

⁴⁷Basic varieties of organization will be discussed at 3.3.

means of popular participation in the cult and allowed perpetuation of the societies whose sacred central zones are continued in the cults.

Forms of organization reflect forms of leadership. In any society the "official religion" of the new central zone is articulated by the elites of the network of institutions closest to the center, but elites of the institutions of the old central zones or new subsidiary zones find various ways of continuing to function by expressing their deities' endorsement of and alliance with the new central zone. Popular initiatives also emerge with new forms of leadership who can draw creatively on the new central zone and subsidiary zones of traditional societies to help ordinary people make sense out of their lives.⁴⁸

When this model of center and periphery with subsidiary zones is applied to the mystery cults, initiation rituals emerge as a means of voluntary membership. "Membership," however, does not necessarily mean crossing a boundary into a clearly defined social group but may instead mean a closer relationship to a central or subsidiary zone. Membership by means of the cultic subsidiary zone, in turn, can provide membership or a sense of "citizenship" at some level in the main system. The mystery cults thus moved traditional societies beyond territoriality and ethnicity as they spread across the new territory dominated by the Roman

⁴⁸One notable form of such leadership are the itinerant practitioners who emerged on the scene in the Greco-Roman era as another complex and varied aspect of popular religiosity. As a working hypothesis, they drew their authority directly from the central zone, old or new, dominant or subsidiary, whether as representatives of deities or as philosophers who claimed authority as messengers of God more abstractly defined.

Empire. The network of subsystems within this larger context means also that membership did not need to be exclusive and that popular initiatives created complex forms of imitation from one cult to another.

The mysteries, in this light, are part of popular religiosity as a popular cultural creation. An analogy to contemporary popular culture may help to indicate some dimensions of the complexity of the question. Devotees of a mystery cult may be more analogous to rock and roll fans than to religious converts. Fans of U2, for example, would feel no sense of contradiction or disloyalty if they attended a Pearl Jam or Garth Brooks or Tina Turner concert or if they purchased recordings of a wide variety of other artists and styles of music. Likewise, as expressions of popular religiosity, the mysteries were as complex as the varieties of modern musical groups and genres which express contemporary popular culture. The ancient roots and rhythms of tribal Ireland and Africa can be heard as they have been merged in the creation of new musical possibilities. A wide variety of modes of ritual participation are also employed, such as mass concerts, home listening, and impersonation of dead rock idols. Forms of social organization are equally varied. "Fanzines" or Internet chat groups may be produced by adolescents in suburban basements while record moguls decide release dates for the same group's latest CD, unbeknownst to one another. Social connections might extend from the creative development of rap acts by groups of adolescents who gather on urban street corners who have only tenuous or antagonistic ties to any part society's central zone, on the one hand, to command performances at the White House or

Lincoln Center attended by the most elite representatives who define the central zone, on the other. In spite of the complexity, however, "popular music" exists as a logical category even though the very "popular" aspect makes it a continuous cultural creation that is difficult to track. Likewise, a central zone of values, symbols, and beliefs exists even though it is both expressed and rebelled against without there being "the drive for conceptual coherence that marks established religious traditions and institutions."⁴⁹

A model of popular religiosity is thus proposed which can account for its complexity as a variety of popular initiatives which draw creatively on a central zone and subsidiary zones, even while moving mostly in the periphery. Such a model can accommodate Pettazzoni's basic insights on ancient mystery cults. The diverse origins and particular trajectories of each cult can be analyzed as subsidiary zones, each of which may reflect a previous central zone by which membership in a previous society was constituted. In the context of a new central zone defined by Hellenization and subsequent Roman domination, all of the diverse cults or subsidiary zones responded and found their own relationship to a common central zone. The initiation rituals which defined the cults as "mysteries" function in this model as various means to approach the central zone or to establish some relationship to it through the subsidiary zone. In this respect they functioned more like a backstage pass which allows a fan to meet a

⁴⁹Lippy, "What is Popular Religion?" 11.

prominent rock artist "up close and personal" than like boundary-marking entrance rituals for a defined and permanent group, although no single function which characterizes all of these rituals can be assumed.

Analysis of common elements in the various modes of relationship to the central zone then becomes a means to understand the pattern which has previously been labeled the "mystery cults." Both emerging Christianity and Hellenistic Judaism may be understood in this framework as expressions of popular religiosity in relation to the central zone and as subsidiary zones which may be compared to other popular religious expressions and other subsidiary zones.

The central zone in this model corresponds in many ways to the notion of "social world" which has received the attention of a major stream of modern scholarship.⁵⁰ Study of early Christian texts in the context of the social world of antiquity has been essential in order to pry biblical interpretation loose from the assumptions of our own social world, the central zone of the society in which we are members. The notion of subsidiary zones and a periphery is useful for further exploration of the complexity of that ancient social world. If we focus on popular religiosity we cannot assume uniformity across the Greco-Roman world, since popular religiosity was an inherently local production. To sort out the worlds within worlds, we must explore the popular religiosity of particular places with particular configurations of cults and deities, ethnic influences, and variant forms of social

⁵⁰Further discussion of this will be found at 1.3.2.4.

organization. Analysis of the relationship of formative Christianity and gentile popular religiosity can proceed best at particular points of contact where the two interact, rather than in overarching generalities.

In the case of Paul, the nature of the data offers us such specific locations in which we can analyze the relationship of emerging Christianity and gentile popular religiosity. We have a corpus of his letters to churches he founded in at least four locations. The evidence suggests that the recipients of these letters were primarily gentiles. The particular gentile audience of Galatians, then, as participants in the popular religiosity of central Anatolia provides a logical point of departure for investigation as one of those four locations.⁵¹ Popular religiosity is thus important for interpreting Paul's letters and Paul's letters are important locations for understanding how early Christianity grew in the context of "pagan" popular religiosity.

⁵¹Recent work on the specific social context of the Corinthian correspondence should be acknowledged, much of which attends to assorted aspects of popular religiosity. See, for example, John K. Chow, *Patronage and Power: A Study of Social Networks in Corinth*, JSNT Supplement Series, 75. (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992); and P. Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1987).

1.3 Assumptions About Paul's Letter to the Galatians

With these basic methodological assumptions about Paul in mind, we can turn more specifically to his letter to the Galatians. We began with an assumption about Galatians and a corollary which represent shared methodological assumptions which are emerging among a significant group of Pauline scholars. In the case of Galatians, however, the implications of these assumptions have not been fully developed in the interpretation of the letter. To see what this means, it will be helpful to examine the assumption and its corollary more fully, and to elaborate further observations about Galatians derived from the evidence of the letter.

1.3.1 *Basic Assumption: that Paul Addressed a Particular Audience with a Particular Purpose*

This statement says, in effect, that Paul's letter to the Galatians represents a "rhetorical situation," according to Bitzer's definition. The statement also assumes the fundamental importance of rhetorical strategy. In light of much previous scholarship on Galatians, however, it is also important to clarify what this statement assumes is not the case.

First of all, Paul addressed his audience, not his adversaries, however they are labeled or characterized. This is not the conclusion we might gain from much of scholarly debate about Galatians over the course of this century, much of which has focused on the identity of Paul's opponents.⁵² The "context" in the case of Galatians tends to be

⁵²Histories of the debate are provided by: F. F. Bruce, "Galatian

equated with "the argument." Instead of focusing on the context of the audience, scholars have seen the opponents, in so many words, as "the ultimate conversation partners."⁵³ To establish the identity of these opponents and the details of their arguments, scholars use various methods of "mirror-reading."⁵⁴ One result of this approach has been a tendency to interpret many aspects of Galatians, whether problematic or not, as Paul's response to arguments of the opponents, speculatively reconstructed to explain the content of the letter.⁵⁵

Here a different starting point for interpretation is chosen. We will begin with the assumption that Paul's rhetorical strategy appealed

Problems 3. The 'Other' Gospel," *BJRL* 53 (1970-1) 253-71; and E. Earle Ellis, "Paul and His Opponents: Trends in Research," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty, Part 1: New Testament*, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, ed. Jacob Neusner, vol. 12 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 264-98. Further bibliography may be found in Longenecker, *Galatians*, lxxxviii-lxxix, as well as a current summary of viewpoints, lxxix-c. Summaries in other commentaries include: Mußner, *Galaterbrief*, 14-24; Ridderbos, *Galatians*, 15-18; and Betz, *Galatians*, 5-9. This will be discussed further below, following the summary of Matera, *Galatians*, 2-6.

⁵³John M. G. Barclay, "Mirror-Reading a Polemical Letter: Galatians as a Test Case," *JSNT* 31 (1987) 76; and Bernard Hungerford Brinsmead, *Galatians -- Dialogical Response to Opponents*, SBL Dissertation Series, 65 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1979).

⁵⁴For example, see Barclay, "Mirror-Reading;" Brinsmead, *Galatians -- A Dialogical Response*; Joseph B. Tyson, "Paul's Opponents in Galatia," *NovT* 10 (1968) 241-5. As early as Chrysostom, examples of reconstructions of what the opponents had said can be found in commentaries. For examples of summaries for the letter see also Calvin, *Galatians*, 16; Longenecker, *Galatians*, xcvi-xcviii; Bruce, *Galatians*, 26. Particular instances in relation to passages in Galatians will also be discussed in Chapter 2.

⁵⁵Further examples of this approach will be discussed in more detail in relation to specific passages in Chapter 2

to his audience. The first question is, "Why did Paul say this to these particular people, given what we can know with some probability about them in the context in which they lived?" Barring specific rhetorical or epistolary clues that signal a response to opposing arguments, an explanation will first be sought as a positive strategy of appeal to the audience. This is neither to deny the existence in the Galatian churches of representatives of a viewpoint that Paul opposed nor to rule out any influence that their perspective or persuasive efforts might have had upon Paul's formulation of his letter to the Galatians. It is only to suggest that if we are to explain why Paul says what he does, our best starting-point is found in his audience, not in opponents whose identity and arguments are reconstructed entirely on a hypothetical basis without any specific citation of them in the letter.⁵⁶

Discussions of the species of rhetoric of Galatians frequently address the issues suggested in this choice of starting point. Betz opened the question by proposing that, according to his rhetorical critical analysis, Galatians is an "apologetic letter" which fits the "judicial" (forensic) species of rhetoric appropriate to a speech for the defense in a court of law.⁵⁷ His proposal inspired alternative

⁵⁶As an example of an unquestionably apologetic work in which a forensic rhetorical structure can easily be discerned and from which the opponents' charges can readily be reconstructed, see Joseph. *Ap.*

⁵⁷Betz, *Galatians*, 24. On the three species of rhetoric, primarily as defined by Aristotle, see Edward P. J. Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student*, 3rd ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) 28-9; 133-43. Forensic or judicial rhetoric is usually set in the courtroom and concerns events of the past and proceeds by means of accusation and defense, with justice and injustice

responses, in which many scholars concurred that Galatians is better characterized as "deliberative" rhetoric.⁵⁸ At issue is the primary purpose of Paul's letter. Without reiterating the details of the various argument, it will be assumed here that the major purpose of the letter is most consistent with the deliberative species of rhetoric: Paul wrote to dissuade the Galatians from circumcision as an action still in the future. To dissuade them, he employed the means of the other species of rhetoric: the praise and blame suitable to epideictic, and the accusation and defense appropriate to forensic, as well as the exhortation characteristic of deliberative rhetoric.

Second, no matter which species of rhetoric is identified, Paul wrote a letter with a particular purpose in response to a particular exigence. He did not, in any case, write to present a timeless doctrinal statement or to articulate his systematic theology to the

as its special topics. The usual setting of deliberative rhetoric is an assembly convened to decide about a future action and it proceeds by means of exhortation and dehortation, with expedient and inexpedient as its special topics. Epideictic is generally the rhetoric of ceremonial occasions and concerns the topics of honor and dishonor and proceeds by praise and blame, generally oriented toward the present.

⁵⁸See, for example: Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 144-52; Robert G. Hall, "The Rhetorical Outline for Galatians: A Reconsideration," *JBL* 106 (1987) 277-87; Joop Smit, "The Letter of Paul to the Galatians: A Deliberative Speech," *NTS* 35 (1989) 1-26; David E. Aune, review of *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches of Galatia*, by Hans Dieter Betz, In *RelSRev* 7 (1981) 323-8. Aune sees aspects of all three species of rhetoric in the letter, including epideictic (ceremonial).

Galatians. The legacy of doctrinal debates since the Reformation would imply otherwise.⁵⁹

Sometimes movement away from discussion of the letter as an abstract theological treatise is intended but only partially accomplished. This is illustrated in an article by T. L. Donaldson, who emphasizes that Gal 3:1-4:7 is not an abstract discussion of "faith" and "works" or of the nature of Judaism. Donaldson argues that "uncircumcised gentiles are to be included within the sphere of salvation accomplished by Christ crucified."⁶⁰ While this emphasis moves the question at least one step away from seeing the letter as an abstract theological treatise, the way Donaldson frames the question still misses the point of Paul's rhetorical strategy. Paul is not addressing the question of "uncircumcised gentiles" in the third person

⁵⁹W. D. Davies provides a description of some of the basic distortions which have resulted from the doctrinal orientation of the Reformation understanding of Paul, particularly in relation to the Law. See "Paul and the Law, Reflections on Pitfalls in Interpretation," in *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in honour of C. K. Barrett*, eds. M. D. Hooker and S. G. Wilson (London: SPCK, 1982) 4-16. Francis Watson also provides an overview summary of the history of doctrinal interpretation ("The Lutheran approach" characterized by Luther, Bultmann, Käsemann, Wilckens) and response to it (Baur, Stendahl, Davies, Sanders, and Räisänen): Francis Watson, "Paul, the Reformation, and Modern Scholarship," chap. in *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach*, SNTS Monograph Series, ed. G. N. Stanton, 56 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 2-22. While doctrinally-focused scholarship on Galatians still abounds, attention to it will be given only in connection with the particular passages which will be discussed in Chapter 2.

⁶⁰T. L. Donaldson, "The 'Curse of the Law' and the Inclusion of the Gentiles: Galatians 3.13-14," *NTS* 32 (1986) 94. This is consistent with the stream of scholarship which redefines the issue in response to the "Lutheran approach."

but in the second. He is not making a case to Jewish Christians for inclusion of the gentiles, as he may have done in his visits to Jerusalem and Antioch. He is making a case to the Galatian gentiles themselves. He writes not to persuade others to include them but to dissuade them from being circumcised and thus excluding themselves from what Paul sees as the "sphere of salvation." His focus is on his Galatian audience. To understand what he says to them, we too must focus on them.

1.3.2 *Corollary Assumption: That the Audience's Geographical, Historical, and Social-Religious Location, and Our Information Is Not Limited to the Text of Galatians or the New Testament*

1.3.2.1 Not Only the Audience Implied by the Text

The assumption that Paul addressed audiences of real people as described above implies a distinction of this project from "reader-response" criticism. Namely the focus of this dissertation is not on the implied reader indicated by the text itself but on the probable religious milieu in which the historical audience heard the text. We will read the letter in terms of an audience located in this distinctive context, a context which gave rise to the exigence which provoked the letter.

The importance of a simple turn to the audience as seen through the text is not to be discounted, however. One such example is Christopher D. Stanley's reading of Gal 3:10-14 using a "rhetorical/reader response

approach."⁶¹ The project undertaken here concurs with his approach on several essential methodological points, particularly the turn away from "scholarly preoccupation with the theological *content*" of elements of the letter to the neglect of "a careful examination of their *function*, i.e. the specific role played by each element with a carefully constructed argument aimed at producing a particular persuasive effect upon a specific audience."⁶² Likewise his emphasis on the rhetorical situation leads him to see the relative unimportance of the "precise historical identity of the 'Judaizers'" as compared to "defining Paul's perception of the present condition of these churches under [their] influence."⁶³ Here the same fundamental question will be asked at every point in the text that Stanley asks, "How does this fit into Paul's strategy to persuade his Galatian readers?"

What distinguishes my approach is a long detour into the probable world of the Galatian readers. Scholars writing on Galatians tend generally to ignore everything but the text of Galatians itself. In this Stanley is hardly exceptional. When scholars have moved beyond the text itself, they have tended to seek background from several different "zones," but have generally neglected the "subsidiary zone" of the Galatian gentile audience itself. Attention has been given to the Jewish "subsidiary zone" and to the sophisticated levels of the

⁶¹Christopher D. Stanley, "‘Under a Curse’: A Fresh Reading of Galatians 3:10-14," *NTS* 36 (1990) 481-511.

⁶²Stanley, "‘Under a Curse,'" 486.

⁶³Stanley, "‘Under a Curse,'" 488.

Greco-Roman "central zone." As has been mentioned, some of the scholars who consider the "social world" have also defined a general "Mediterranean central zone." None of these zones are irrelevant, but neither are they complete. What has been neglected is what I will designate the "Anatolian subsidiary zone."

1.3.2.2 Not only the "Jewish Zone"

When scholars do attend to sources of information outside the NT, they tend to look to the context of the OT citations Paul uses and to other Jewish interpretations of those texts in Paul's day or in rabbinical sources from subsequent centuries. Viewed negatively, this may reflect the tendency that has already been noted above, described by Jonathan Z. Smith, to "insulate" early Christianity from "pagan influences" by wrapping it in a protective layer of Judaism. It must be acknowledged, however, that Paul refers frequently in Galatians to OT citations and treats an issue which is clearly "Jewish," circumcision. Exploration of Jewish background information is thus not unreasonable.⁶⁴ As will be seen in more detail in Chapter 2, however, there are a number of issues on which the Jewish background information does not provide satisfactory solutions. Part C of this dissertation will show that the gentile context of the audience, which has been substantially neglected, offers more satisfactory explanations.

⁶⁴ An illustration of how this tendency informs assumptions about the Galatian audience will be discussed further below under the heading of the assumption that the Galatian audience was gentile.

1.3.2.3 Not Only the "Greco-Roman Zone"

Some scholars have addressed aspects of the Greco-Roman world in connection with Galatians. The most notable example is Betz's commentary.⁶⁵ He not only places the letter in the Greco-Roman world by analysis of its overall rhetorical structure but also assembles detailed references to a great variety of Greco-Roman sources throughout the commentary. However, his references set the letter broadly in the context of the Greco-Roman world rather than in the specific geographical, historical and social-religious location to be considered here. This is partly due to Betz's assumption that the Galatians "belonged to the Hellenized town population and not to the rural people."⁶⁶ Given the presence of Greek inscriptions in both town and countryside, illustrated in Part B of this dissertation, we probably cannot know with certainty whether Paul's recipients in Galatians were located in the city or the country. We do know that Paul wrote his letter in Greek. From this we can assume that there were Greek-speakers in the churches he addressed, but this does not indicate whether they lived in the Hellenized towns or were Greek-speakers in the countryside. Paul does not name a city (or cities) as he does in his other letters. There are also indications from Acts that he probably traveled, preached, and "strengthened disciples" in the "χώρα," the "region or countryside" of Phrygia and Galatia" (16:6; 18:23) with no mention of

⁶⁵Betz, *Galatians*, published in 1979.

⁶⁶Betz, *Galatians*, 2.

towns or cities. This could suggest that these churches were formed in villages or among the households of large estates in those areas. Any determination must be regarded as speculative.

Therefore, Betz's portrait of the audience as "not among the poor and uneducated but among the Hellenized and Romanized city population" reaches beyond the evidence. He bases this assumption, first of all, on the quality of Paul's composition. This tells us something about Paul and his education but effectively nothing about the audience's level of sophistication. Paul would be unlikely to "diseducate" himself for a less sophisticated audience. A second aspect of his assumption is that the appeal of Paul's message of "freedom in Christ" would be greatest among people of some education and financial means. This idea is problematic because Betz does not clarify the age-old human "dreams of freedom" which he says were "very much alive at this time," although he appears to equate this with the project of Hellenization of the "barbarians."⁶⁷ However, the issue of how freedom and slavery functioned in Greco-Roman antiquity is far more complex than Betz assumes, given research published since his commentary, some of which informs this dissertation.⁶⁸ The major distinction to be made is between "freedom" and "slavery" viewed either as philosophical abstractions or as economic systems and "freedom" and "slavery" seen as social locations in a slave

⁶⁷Betz, *Galatians*, 3.

⁶⁸Most notable are the work of Orlando Patterson and Keith Hopkins, which will be discussed further at 7.2.5. The bibliography in this field since the publication of Betz's commentary is enormous.

system of social relationships. The aspiration for "freedom" in Greco-Roman antiquity is admittedly complex at both the literal and metaphorical levels, but it cannot be equated with the aspiration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for the abolition of slavery as a system. The aspiration for freedom in antiquity was an aspiration to be "one of the free" as a free-born son who inherits master status and participates in the free society of masters of households. This is a vitally important distinction in understanding Paul's use of the metaphors of slavery and freedom, which depends on the differentiation of status between free-born and slave in the Greco-Roman household.

In connection with the aspiration for freedom, Betz correctly observes that these are people who have been willing to abandon their old "religions" in favor of a new one which represents "enlightenment." Such individuals emerged in the conditions of social dislocation which characterized the Eastern Mediterranean in the first century, but it would be a mistake to attribute any particular social standing, level of educational sophistication, or economic means to them. When people experienced that their old deities had failed them, some found hope by devoting themselves to other deities who appeared more powerful. This change of allegiance need not require a certain level of education or economic means.⁶⁹

In the picture of the audience which will emerge from our analysis, we will see that "enlightenment" was a matter of degree. Paul's

⁶⁹It may well be that Paul saw his own project in some sense as a mission to bring a Hellenized view of "freedom" and the *polis* in which

audience was not so urbane as to be entirely free of "pagan superstition," and thus he both disparaged and relied upon the "superstitious" popular religiosity characteristic of this area. What must be kept in view is that "enlightened" in the first century Greco-Roman world, especially Anatolia, is not the same as what "enlightened" means to an educated modern European or North American.

The view that Betz takes of the audience, which assumes they were oriented to the broader Greco-Roman educated world determines the range of Greco-Roman literary sources he uses to inform his reading of the letter. Without denying the importance of the broader Greco-Roman world this dissertation assumes the greater relevance of Anatolia as the specific location to which the letter is addressed. One example of the difference in orientation between Betz and ourselves may be illustrated by means of Betz's excursus on "The Curse in 1:8-9."⁷⁰ We could reasonably expect Betz to refer to the particular prominence and function of curses in central Anatolia, which will be seen in Chapter 3. Instead he provides a general overview, with "Jewish" and "Greek" illustrations, but does not attend to the significance of cursing in central Anatolia.

What is clearly needed is an understanding of the more specific location of the audience. Since the geographical and historical

it can exist to a "barbarian" and "enslaved" territory and population. This issue cannot be discussed within the confines of this project, however.

⁷⁰Betz, *Galatians*, 50-1.

location of Galatians is relatively clear, we can expect it to provide some insight into its cultic and popular religious context. The social location of the audience is more difficult to determine given the state of research in Anatolian studies as well as lack of detailed evidence in the letter. In our approach, we will reconstruct a broad picture of popular religiosity in central Anatolia without seeking to pinpoint too specifically the place of Paul's audience within it.

1.3.2.4 Not Only the "Mediterranean Zone"

The language of "social world" is used by biblical scholars such as Bruce Malina and Jerome Neyrey who employ models from the field of cultural anthropology.⁷¹ In certain respects, this project shares these scholars' methodological interests but it must also be clearly distinguished methodologically from their approach.

We share with Malina and Neyrey the use of work of anthropologist Mary Douglas, particularly her now-classic *Purity and Danger*.⁷² In my

⁷¹See, for example: Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology*, rev. ed. (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993); and Jerome Neyrey, *Paul, in Other Words: A Cultural Reading of His Letters* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990.)

⁷²Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966). Douglas's subsequent work on grid-group analysis has also been employed by Malina, Neyrey, and others. See, for example, Bruce J. Malina, *Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology: Practical Models for Biblical Interpretation* (Atlanta, Georgia: John Knox, 1986); and Robert A. Atkins, Jr., *Egalitarian Community: Ethnography and Exegesis* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1991). This approach may prove helpful for continued analysis of the Anatolian data in relation to Galatians and other Christian texts, but would unnecessarily complicate this project.

own use of some of her insights on liminality, however, my effort is to gain understanding of the specific social world of the subsidiary zone which the Galatians were likely to inhabit. This differs from the direct application of her insights, and those of other general models drawn from cultural anthropology, to the text.⁷³

One example of the direct application of general models to Galatians, to be discussed further in Chapter 2 and in Part C of this dissertation, is Neyrey's work on Gal 3:1.⁷⁴ To interpret what Paul means by asking "Who has bewitched you?", Neyrey constructs a picture of the social world of a "witchcraft society" according to broadly defined anthropological models. I suggest that this misses a vital step in the process, the step which verifies that the model is meaningful to the specific cultural context of central Anatolia. Knowledge of witchcraft society in Galatia needs first to inform our understanding of Galatia before it can inform our understanding of the letter. Otherwise the meaning that "evil eye" and "bewitchment" have in that context might be masked by irrelevant models.

A second general agreement with Malina and Neyrey is that this project assumes along with them that the NT text in view, Galatians, emerges in a world of understanding very different from our own. The

⁷³See Neyrey, *Paul, In Other Words*. In this the approach of Neyrey and Malina is similar to that of "reader-response" criticism in its confinement within the evidence of the text.

⁷⁴Jerome Neyrey, "Bewitched in Galatia: Paul and Cultural Anthropology," *CBQ* (1988) 72-100; and "Bewitched in Galatia: Paul's Accusations of Witchcraft," in *Paul in Other Words*, 181-206.

introduction of models derived from study of cultures different from the western urban-industrial and "sophisticated" world which most NT scholars inhabit serves an important purpose. Such efforts help us to avoid deriving a portrayal of the audience exclusively through the lens of the literary record from antiquity with which we "sophisticates" of the modern world can most readily identify. A portrayal that allows for "superstition" and "witchcraft" allows us to consider that the worldview of Paul's audience may be one with which we cannot easily identify. Defining the question in terms of "popular religiosity" is an effort to account for the possibility of a worldview alien to our understanding.⁷⁵

Useful as they are for distinguishing our world from the NT world, however, those "social world" models can become obstacles to our understanding of specific phenomena. This happens when they move beyond their function as diagnostic tools into reification of a model which is applied too broadly to ancient societies and to NT texts before its applicability to the text's specific chronological and geographical context is adequately explored. Such is the problem with Malina's and Neyrey's reification of the "Mediterranean world" as an "honor-shame" society in which a "first-century personality" can be defined in static terms.⁷⁶ This is especially problematic when the same anthropological model is applied over the course of millennia and to a variety of

⁷⁵This is one implication of defining the social location of Galatians more broadly than Betz does.

⁷⁶Malina summarizes this model in *The New Testament World*.

geographical settings.⁷⁷ Without denying the potential value of broadly defined models, the effort here will be more geographically and historically specific. Before models are applied in this study, attention will be given to the data from Anatolia and the "Anatolian zone," according to where that data fits chronologically. As much as possible the model of the "symbolic universe" and "social world" will be derived from specific cultural data rather than imposed upon it.

1.3.2.5 But Also the "Anatolian Zone"

Whether or not general descriptions of the "Mediterranean zone" as a central zone apply to first century central Anatolia will not occupy our attention here. Neither will the question of whether the Galatian audience was from the sophisticated Hellenized and Romanized town populations that Betz perceived, or from other sectors of the Anatolian population which I have suggested is possible.

The focus here will be upon the distinct "zone" of values, symbols, rituals and deities which characterizes first century Anatolia and the "Anatolian diaspora" in the Greco-Roman world. In the Greco-Roman world, that zone is a "subsidiary zone," yet in Anatolia it also functions as a "central zone." Part of the complexity of Galatians is

⁷⁷Malina's bibliographic citations indicate substantial reliance on anthropological work on the "Mediterranean basin" represented in a volume of essays: *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*, ed. David D. Gilmore, Special Publication of the American Anthropological Association, no. 22 (Washington, D. C.: American Anthropological Association). Most of these essays, and the legacy of work upon which they build, concern contemporary Mediterranean societies. Malina's first century evidence is almost entirely confined to citations from the NT, even in his secondary sources.

the fact that it is addressed to a rhetorical situation which intersects with all of these "zones:" Jewish, Greco-Roman, Mediterranean, and Anatolian. The "Anatolian zone" is the one which has received the least attention for interpretation of the letter, and is itself a complex intersection of "zones" as will be seen in Part B of this dissertation. In Part B only a few aspects of the zone will be described which are relevant for interpretation of Paul's letter to the Galatians.

1.3.3 Other Assumptions from the Evidence of the Letter

From the evidence of Paul's letter to the Galatians, a number of assumptions can be made about the audience and the issues which Paul addressed.

1.3.3.1 *Gentile audience*

We know that Paul's audience in Galatians were gentiles because: (1) they were not already circumcised (5:2-3; 6:12-3); (2) Paul refers to their life before their conversion in a way which indicates that they were not Jewish (4:3,8-9); and (3) he emphasizes their inclusion as gentiles in the church as the group to whom he was called to proclaim the gospel (1:16, 2:7,9,11-14; 3:8).

If the audience was gentile, it was not Jewish. Therefore, Paul's Galatian audience was probably not as knowledgeable about Judaism and the content of the Torah as those who were born and raised as Jews be. How much the audience knew about Judaism is an open question. The evidence of the letter offers a few specifics. They knew what was common knowledge about Jews in the ancient world: that the city of

Jerusalem was their cultic center (1:17-18; 2:1; 4:24-5);⁷⁸ that Jewish males were circumcised (2:3, 7-9; 5:2-3; 6:13); and that Jews obeyed a distinctive Law (2:16; 3:2, 10-12; 17). They also presumably knew that some Jews refused to eat with gentiles and considered them to be sinners (2:12-14) and that they followed a calendar of holy days (4:10). These factors mean that Jews are somewhere in view either as their neighbors or by reputation.

Paul also assumes they knew the tradition about Abraham as the father of the Jewish race (3:6-18; 4:21-31) and that they knew that the lineage of the Jews was traced from Abraham through his legitimate son Isaac rather than through his son by the slave-woman Hagar. The letter implies that they probably knew other characters in the story of Jewish ancestry: Sarah as the legitimate wife of Abraham and Ishmael as the son of Hagar. This probably indicates knowledge of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as well as other traditions from Genesis which may have been part of the Christian preaching and instruction they would have received from Paul or perhaps from non-Christian Jewish teachers, or through general knowledge in an area where Jews were part of the population.⁷⁹ They appear to be aware that the Law came after the covenant with Abraham (3:17), and we can assume from 3:19-20 and the identification of Hagar as Mount Sinai (4:24-5) that they knew something

⁷⁸These are references to the Jerusalem as the center of the church, but this is so as a consequence of Jerusalem's function in Judaism.

⁷⁹The terms "Jewish" and "Christian" cannot be understood as mutually exclusive categories at this point in their development.

about the circumstances of the giving of the Law. There are, however, no specific references to the details of its delivery which would tell us how much they knew of the Exodus cycle.⁸⁰ Paul also makes at least one allusion to OT texts that the audience may or may not have recognized (1:15, cf. Jer 1:4-5; Isa 49:1).

To conclude, however, that the audience was familiar with the Jewish exegetical practices or OT details which some scholars use to provide background for Galatians stretches the evidence. In this respect this dissertation differs considerably from those scholars who take it as axiomatic that Paul formed churches on the gentile fringes of Jewish synagogues.⁸¹ A clearly stated example of this Jewish emphasis is found in W. D. Davies's review of Betz's commentary.⁸² Davies takes issue with Betz's general neglect of the "Jewish connection" and his insistence "that the Epistle does not presuppose Jews as resident members" of the Galatian congregations, a position on which I would concur with Betz.⁸³ In support of his contrasting view that the Galatian congregations were made up of "pro-Jewish . . . God-fearing semi-proselytes and proselytes" and must have been "very deeply touched

⁸⁰Even though there is thematic emphasis on freedom and slavery in the letter, no reference to the exodus is made.

⁸¹This fits the picture Luke gives in Acts and suits his late first century apologetic purposes, but cannot necessarily be derived from Paul's own letters.

⁸²W. D. Davies, review of *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches of Galatia*, by Hans Dieter Betz, In *RelSRev* 7 (1981) 310-18.

⁸³Davies, review of Betz, 312-14, 311.

by Judaism," Davies makes four points about where more attention to the "Jewish connection" is warranted. Insofar as these also function as basic arguments for the "Jewish connection" of the audience, they merit consideration.⁸⁴

Davies's first point concerns the references to the OT and the exegetical methods Paul uses. These, he says, "point to readers not only highly sophisticated but familiar with the Greek translation of the Jewish scriptures and with the niceties, on a simple level at least, of synagogal biblical study."⁸⁵ That Paul uses citations from the OT in a Greek version is not in dispute. This tells us that Paul knew these texts and expected that his audience would believe that they were words from scripture. On the other hand, we cannot assume that Paul's citations of OT texts necessarily evoked for his Galatian audience familiarity with the textual context from which they come.

The correspondence between Paul's "exegetical method" and the use of scripture in the rabbinical traditions is not as clear, given the later dating of the rabbinical texts and the necessity to read that exegetical tradition back into the mid-first century. Even if we were to grant Paul's use of rabbinical method, the Jewish character of Paul's audience is not thereby established, and this is the case for a number of reasons. First, Paul's use of rabbinical method tells us much more about Paul than about his audience's level of sophistication. Second,

⁸⁴Davies, review of Betz, 311-14.

⁸⁵Davies, review of Betz, 312.

the exegetical traditions themselves are not so distinctively "Jewish" since Paul's citation practices can be shown also to correspond also to those found in Greco-Roman literature of the period.⁸⁶ Paul's "exegetical method" thus tells us that the audience are people of their Hellenistic times. Finally, Davies asserts that

the exegesis and activity of the synagogue were the matrices within which much of the kind of material we find in Galatians 3 and 4 . . . becomes intelligible. To Gentile readers not deeply influenced by the synagogue that material would have been remote and puzzling.⁸⁷

In Chapter 2, we will consider just how "intelligible" explanations based on the "Jewish connections" make some of Paul's indisputably puzzling uses of citations from the OT in Galatians 3 and 4. Part C of this dissertation will offer some explanations of how those passages might be understood in the specific gentile religious context of central Anatolia. Only if the gentile context has been adequately probed can we determine whether these passages require the extent of "Jewish connection" contended by Davies and others in order to be intelligible.

Second, Davies notes the "theological content" of the Epistle. He emphasizes the messianic content of the term *Χριστός* and the use of

⁸⁶For example, see Christopher D. Stanley, "Paul and Homer: Greco-Roman Citation Practice in the First Century C.E.," *NovT* 32 (1990) 48-78. Stanley's work responds to a study of citation practice by Dietrich-Alex Koch which focuses almost entirely on Jewish parallels and dismisses comparison with Greco-Roman literature as irrelevant because the Greco-Roman authors are "notoriously free with the text." (He cites Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums* [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1986].) Stanley shows that this is hardly the case and that Koch's own analysis of Paul's citation practices clearly corresponds to those found in Greco-Roman literature.

⁸⁷Davies, review of Betz, 312.

apocalyptic terminology in the letter. Nothing in what Davies lists, however, even if it be accepted as indicative of a Jewish apocalyptic connection, suggests anything beyond a message that Paul preached to the Galatians. Nothing in the "theological content" of the letter, even as Davies interprets it, requires that the audience have any more connection to Judaism than Paul has given them.

Davies's third and fourth points tell us nothing about the audience, except for two brief but significant added notes on the evidence that the audience was gentile.⁸⁸ The evidence that they were uncircumcised and hence gentile suggests to him that the fact that they "can even have contemplated circumcision" points to "their being proselytes and God-fearers."⁸⁹ However, as will be demonstrated later, their ability to contemplate circumcision can also be explained by their gentile context and does not require the Jewish connection which Davies advocates. Second, on the basis of Gal 4:8-11 he argues that the audience were gentiles "untouched by the Law" before they accepted Paul's gospel. More scrutiny will be given to explanations of this passage in Chapter 2, but here the difficulty Davies has in explaining

⁸⁸His third point is that the parenthesis in Gal 5:1-6:10 "is to be related to the tradition of the Hellenistic-Jewish synagogue more directly than [Betz] has done." (Davies, review of Betz, 314) Betz shows the many relations of this to Greek and Latin authors. While Jewish connections also merit attention, as Davies points out, they would not thus demonstrate anything about the degree of "Jewishness" of the audience. The fourth point is a substantive difficulty in Betz, that he opposes Judaism and Christianity as two religions already clearly distinguished (314).

⁸⁹Davies, review of Betz, 314.

this passage is worth noting. He resorts to the theory that Paul's hypothetical "proselytes and God-fearers" had become Christians but "backslid" into paganism. This is hardly what the passage indicates.⁹⁰

The audience was unquestionably gentile. The extent of their knowledge of Judaism must remain an open question, just as the question of their social location. Without understanding their Anatolian religious context or how, in that context, they would have heard some of the elements of the letter which are taken to establish a "Jewish connection," it is impossible to determine how important Judaism was for them. This is not to say that the "Jewish connection" may be eliminated definitively, only that the assumption of its priority inhibits our ability to seek out other relevant information in their gentile context.

1.3.3.2 *Previous Religious Experience of the Audience*

That the audience had previous religious experience is a logical extension of the fact that the audience was gentile. This fact is clearly indicated in Paul's references to their return to their former ways (3:23-4:11; 5:1). To date, relatively little scholarly exploration has tried to discern the probable content of that previous religious experience and the religious milieu in which Paul's Galatian converts continued to live, beyond general characteristics such as "gentile" or "Hellenistic religions." The basic recognition here is that Judaism and Christianity were not the only relevant "subsidiary zones" in the Greco-Roman or Mediterranean world.

⁹⁰Davies, review of Betz, 314.

"Previous religious experience" includes many possible points of reference: from the social organization of cultic activity to the rituals and the myths associated with them. Here it will be assumed that the audience's "previous religious experience" informs how they understand Paul's "gospel" and that their previous experience is not erased by their conversion to it.

1.3.3.3 *Location of the Audience Somewhere in West-Central Asia Minor.*

We can assume that the audience was located somewhere in west-central Asia Minor. The address of the letter "to the churches of Galatia" indicates this (1:2), as does Paul's reference to them as "Galatians" (3:1). The dispute about the precise location will be discussed below. Yet no matter which specific location is meant by Galatia, the fact remains that the letter was addressed to churches in the west-central portion of the peninsula of Asia Minor known as Anatolia, and not to any other location in the Greco-Roman world.

The problem of the precise location of the churches of Galatia has been discussed and all of the extant evidence has been treated from different points of view. Many commentators provide adequate reviews of the long-standing debate about whether Paul wrote to churches in North Galatia, the territory where the ethnic Galatian (Celtic) tribes had dominated since the late third century B.C.E., or South Galatia, in the cities named in Acts which were included in the Roman province of

Galatia in Paul's day.⁹¹ No definitive determination can be made on this question with the available evidence.

The irony of the debate, however, is how little difference it has made for interpretation of the letter itself. Whether North or South, the churches of Galatia were somewhere in west central Anatolia. This territory, even broadly defined, exhibits distinctive features as a social and religious context to which little attention has been given for interpretation of the letter. Rather than spill any more ink on the "north-south" controversy here, attention will be devoted instead to the investigation of west central Anatolia as the context, based on data which exists for the area more broadly defined.

We can assume, then, that Paul probably did visit locations cited in Acts, even if we assume that the evidence of Acts is secondary to Paul's own letters. This directs our attention to Antioch in Pisidia (13:14); Iconium (14:1), Lystra, and Derbe in Lycaonia (14:6, 21); and to the "region of Phrygia and Galatia" (16:6; 18:23). In addition, the evidence of Acts suggests that Luke, if not Paul, referred to territories in central Asia Minor according to traditional ethnic designations and not by Roman provincial boundaries. For example, Pisidia (Acts 13:14; 14:24), Lycaonia (Acts 14:6), Phrygia (Acts 16:6; 18:23) and Mysia (Acts 16:7) were not Roman provinces but ethnic

⁹¹For summaries in the commentaries, see: Lagrange, *Galates*, xiii-xxvii; Longenecker, *Galatians*, lxiii-lxxii; Matera, *Galatians*, 19-24; Burton, *Galatians*, xxi-liv; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 18-35; Dunn, *Galatians*, 5-7; Mußner, *Galaterbrief*, 3-9; Oepke, *Galater*, 5-8; Betz, *Galatians*, 3-5; and Ridderbos, *Galatians*, 22-31. Citations of additional articles on this issue can be found in the commentaries.

territories. Luke's use of Galatia among these place names indicates that he probably meant the tribal territory in the north, especially since Pisidia and Lycaonia fall within the boundaries of the Roman province of Galatia. His references to the "regions of Phrygia and Galatia" (16:6; 18:23) reinforce this since Phrygia was not a province but an ethnic territory contiguous with the Galatian tribal territory. In Acts 16:6, he also distinguishes Phrygia as a different location than Asia, which was the Roman province in which it was included. This could indicate that the Luke would have assumed that the Galatian churches were in the tribal territory to the north in the vicinity of the cities of Pessinus and Ancyra even though he does not mention them.

In Part B of this dissertation, then, west central Anatolia will come into view focusing on Galatia, Phrygia, and the cities named in Lycaonia. Relevant information for the social and cultic context of this inner circle will also be found in contiguous territories to the east as well as the Aegaeen coastal territories of Asia Minor. Even defined this broadly, central Asia Minor provides evidence which bears directly on problematic details in Paul's letter to the Galatians.

1.3.3.4 *Circumcision Advocated Based on Some Form of Jewish Influence*

Someone had urged Paul's Galatian gentile audience to be circumcised. The presence of a group who articulated a view with which Paul differed is indicated in 1:7, 4:17, 5:7-12, and 6:12. The more specific fact that this group advocated circumcision is indicated in 5:2-3, 12, and 6:12.

Frank J. Matera provides one convenient survey of scholars' proposals about the identity of the advocates of circumcision.⁹² He categorizes these according to four basic viewpoints, each with variations. Proponents of the first option argue that Paul's opponents were Jewish Christians from Jerusalem and include such scholars as F. C. Baur, F. F. Bruce, G. Luedemann, and Matera himself. The second option, that the opponents were from Galatia itself and were either Jewish or Gentile, has been advocated by J. Munck, J. Tyson, A. E. Harvey, and G. Wagner. The third option is the proposal of W. Schmithals that they were Gnostics who advocated circumcision as part of a mystical rite and not for the sake of observance of the Law. Few scholars have been persuaded by his view. Finally, a fourth option has been proposed in variant forms by W. Lütgert and J. H. Ropes, that Paul was arguing against two distinctly different groups, one consisting of legalists and the other of more libertine pneumatic. Although this option also currently receives little support, it does represent one attempt to relate the specific gentile religious context of central Anatolia to the problem Paul addresses in the letter.

Dispute also exists about whether the circumcision advocates opposed Paul intentionally (the position of Betz and others) or whether they came into opposition with him by advocating circumcision for their own coherent reasons (as is argued by G. Howard, J. Louis Martyn and

⁹²Matera, *Galatians*, 2-6. See 1.3.1 for citations of other such summaries.

others.)⁹³ Different motivations of the circumcision advocates are also proposed. Robert Jewett suggests that they sought to avoid persecution from the growing Jewish zealot movement. Martyn, on the other hand, attributes to them a more positive ecumenical mission.⁹⁴

The identity of the opponents and their motivations will not be a subject that we will resolve since the data given by the letter itself does not allow a firm determination on this question. Although our analysis of the letter in its Anatolian context provides additional information for assessing this issue, we do not try to resolve the identity of Paul's opponents by such data here. For example, some of Paul's negative comments about the advocates of circumcision will be seen to be colored by his attempt to associate them with prominent figures of the Anatolian scene.⁹⁵

Discussion of the identity of the circumcision advocates will be set aside in order to address a question which becomes obvious when the audience is placed in center view instead of the "opponents." The

⁹³Betz, *Galatians*; George Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia, A Study in Early Christian Theology*, SNTS Monograph Series, ed. G. N. Stanton, 35. 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, 1990); and J. Louis Martyn, "A Law-Observant Mission to the Gentiles: The Background of Galatians," *SJT* 38 (1985) 307-24.

⁹⁴Matera, *Galatians*, 5.

⁹⁵Possible additional motivations for advocating circumcision from within the Anatolian context may lend more credence to a Galatian origin for the controversy. The ritual implications suggested by Schmithals in connection with his hypothetical gnostics may also have more significance than has been considered, even though his proposal has little support in the data. These implications will not be considered in any detail here, however.

following question has rarely been addressed: "Why would any adult male in Anatolia want to endure circumcision?" While this is an obvious question, it becomes particularly significant in the specific context of Anatolia, in which cultic castration was practiced in a major cult.

1.3.3.5 *Paul's Purpose to Dissuade Audience from Circumcision*

Paul wrote to the Galatians to dissuade them from being circumcised. This is seen most prominently in the closing exhortations of the letter at 5:2-12 and 6:12-15 where Paul "gets to the point" and presents the consequences of circumcision in no uncertain terms. Reference is also made to circumcision as the major issue of the letter at 2:3 where Paul emphasizes that Titus was not compelled to be circumcised, and at 2:12 where he refers to the "those from the circumcision [faction]" (τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς). The vocabulary Paul uses to distinguish the mission to the Jews as "the circumcised" (τῆς περιτομῆς) and the mission to the gentiles as "the foreskinned" (τῆς ἀκροβυστίας) also indicates circumcision as the decisive factor (2:7-9).

Frequently discussion of Galatians treats circumcision as some form of surface issue, as an example or indicator, of the "real issue," as the opposition between the Law and justification by faith.⁹⁶ The

⁹⁶This is seen in the various statements by commentators on the major issue in Galatians. Luther (*Galatians*, xi) and Calvin (*Galatians*, 15) both define the major issue doctrinally, as would be expected, in terms of "Christian righteousness" and "justification." Calvin emphasizes Paul's opposition to justification based on "ceremonies." Similar doctrinal emphases are seen in more recent commentators. Ridderbos exemplifies the Protestant tradition by perceiving the emphasis in Galatians as "on the negative significance of the Law" (*Galatians*, 20). Lagrange, as a Roman Catholic scholar, opposes the

research on Galatians in its Anatolian context to be presented here points toward the opposite assumption: circumcision is the "real issue." Paul's view of the Law and other so-called "deeper" questions emerges with greater clarity as a consequence of his treatment of the issue of circumcision. The roots of the conflict over circumcision are found not only in Judaism or in Paul's "gospel" but also in the gentile religious context of much of Paul's missionary activity.

A companion question to the audience's motivation to be circumcised, also seldom asked, is also raised by the audience's context, "Why would Paul oppose circumcision so forcefully?" In other words, "Why did it make so much difference to Paul whether or not his Galatian congregations were circumcised?" As we will see, the powerful

Protestant focus on the rejection of the Law with a view of Paul's positive "gospel" of Christ as the central issue (*Galates*, lxiv-lxxviii). For Bonnard, the conflict is over two opposing conceptions of "justice" (*Galates*, 13). Paul's need to defend both his own authority and his "gospel" conceptualized doctrinally is seen as the dual purpose by Betz and Lightfoot. Betz summarizes it as "the gift of the Spirit to the Galatians," (*Galatians*, 28), while Lightfoot characterizes it as "the doctrine of grace" (*Galatians*, 63). Longenecker defines the "gospel" of the redemptive work of Christ as Paul's essential message (*Galatians*, cxix). Burton also perceives the central purpose of the letter "to arrest the progress of the judaizing propaganda with its perverted gospel of salvation through works of the Law," and to win the Galatians back to Paul's gospel of faith in Christ without works of the Law (*Galatians*, lv). He, however, offers an extended narration of how the specific question of circumcision opens deeper and deeper questions (lvii-lxv), more akin to the approach taken here. In line with the position of Sanders and others already mentioned at 1.3.1 as a departure from the doctrinal orientation, Dunn locates the issue in circumcision with a broader picture of the significance of the issue from a reconstructed view of the opponents' arguments (*Galatians*, 11). Matera in his recent commentary, by contrast, locates the issue squarely in circumcision while not ignoring the other implications (*Galatians*, 11).

exigence of the rhetorical situation which provoked this vehement letter can be found in what circumcision meant concretely for the Galatians, not in the abstract and not because Paul had a fully-formed or preconceived theological position on the Law which he was applying to this situation.

1.3.3.6 *Previous History of Communication Assumed in Letter*

The letter assumes a previous history of communication. The letter evidences the existence of unstated assumptions which Paul and his audience shared but which subsequent readers did not necessarily understand. Paul refers explicitly to his previous preaching and to experiences that he knows that the Galatians have had in relation to his evangelization (1:6-9, 11; 3:1-5; 4:12-20). We can assume that the Galatians knew what he meant when he referred to his "gospel" and to their experience of receiving the Spirit, but Paul has not made the content of such expressions clear for posterity. Likewise we do not know the motivations or modes of persuasion of those who were advocating that the Galatian gentiles be circumcised, or what Paul knew about them and their arguments. Various theories about the content of this previous history of communication have been advanced by scholars. Some of these proposed solutions will be given more detailed attention in Chapter 2.

1.4 Summary

The undergirding assumption of this dissertation is thus that Paul wrote his letter to the Galatians as a particular real audience

somewhere in central Anatolia and that he wrote with a particular purpose, to dissuade them from being circumcised. The rest of this dissertation will address Paul's rhetorical strategy in Galatians as it relates to the cultural and religious context of this audience. The next chapter will outline several problems for the interpretation of Galatians which can be solved using evidence from the Anatolian context. Then in Part B of this dissertation we will take an extended detour into first century Anatolia and the "popular religiosity of the Anatolian subsidiary zone." This will provide a foundation for Part C, in which solutions to the difficulties in Chapter 2 will be proposed. As will be seen, this will suggest a significantly different interpretation of Galatians than has previously been proposed.

CHAPTER 2

"UNSOLVED MYSTERIES" IN PAUL'S LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

The last chapter indicated that Paul wrote his letter to the Galatians assuming a prior history of communication to which we are not privy. This leaves puzzling aspects in the letter for which scholars have proposed various theories. Major problems include theological vocabulary which has been the subject of centuries of debate: "justification," "faith," "works of Law," and "Paul's gospel" itself. These will be considered in Part C of this dissertation. Here several other problems and past solutions will be examined. We will see that previous solutions to these problems, especially those which rely on interpretation of Paul's letters in relation to the "Jewish zone," have frequently been insightful but less than satisfactory. The three major problematic pericopes to be discussed here have in common a fundamental issue in the interpretation of Paul: his attitude toward the Law.¹ All three represent a profoundly negative view of the Law, a view which is difficult to reconcile with Paul's identity as a Jew, even as a convert to the Christianity he was immersed in defining. Paul makes some

¹The word "pericope" is used here to refer to the passage in Galatians which is under discussion. "Passage" will refer to Paul's citations from the OT, particularly Gen 16-21, interpreted in Gal 4:21-31.

shocking statements about the Law in his letter to the Galatians, statements which may fail to astonish us after nearly two millennia of their inclusion in scripture, but which would have been almost unimaginable for a Jew, even a Jewish Christian, in Paul's day.

Each of the pericopes in which these statements are made presents its own particular difficulties as well. A consideration of the context of the Galatian audience will provide a changed perspective on these difficulties. In this chapter, continuing issues in three pericopes will be considered: the "allegory" of the wife and concubine of Abraham and their respective sons (2.1); the time of "enslavement" under the Law as one of the "*stoicheia*" of the world (2.2); and the "curse of the Law" and the context in which Paul presents it (2.3). The passages thus treated are: Gal 4:21-5:1; 3:19-4:11; and 3:1-14. More thorough attention will be given to the problems in Gal 4:21-5:1 than to the other two portions.

For each of these major pericopes, the generally recognized problems will be discussed along with proposed solutions. Previous scholarship which points toward solutions to be proposed in Part C of this dissertation will be noted. These three pericopes will be revisited in Part C, where I will propose another interpretation based on what we have learned about the context of the audience in Part B. With this interpretation in mind, a few additional verses of Galatians will also be considered which are more readily interpreted in light of the Anatolian data.

2.1 Galatians 4:21-5:1: The Allegory of Abraham's Family: Hagar and Her Persecuting Son vs. the Free Wife and Her Son Isaac

A relatively high concentration of chronic difficulties in interpretation can be found in Gal 4:21-5:1, where Paul presents what he calls an allegorical interpretation of scripture. He does not actually quote the scripture that he interprets, but bases a set of contrasts on the family configuration around Abraham described in Genesis 16-21. The pericope presents several difficulties for the interpreter: (1) how the pericope relates to the structure of Galatians; (2) how elements of the content of the pericope itself are interpreted; and (3) how the argument or appeal is made in the course of the pericope. We will examine each of these difficulties in turn.

2.1.1 *Problems and Issues Concerning Galatians 4:21-5:1 in Relation to the Letter*

The inclusion and placement of this pericope is generally recognized by scholars as problematic. In the past, the peculiarities of the pericope have suggested to some commentators that it is relatively unimportant or an afterthought on Paul's part.² Among the

²Luther (*Galatians*, 278) sees 4:20 as a logical ending to the argument and this pericope as an afterthought. Calvin (*Galatians*, 134) extols the "great beauty" of the illustration but views it merely as confirmation to a "chain of reasoning" that was already completed. Meyer (*Galatians*, 199) calls it a "quite peculiar antinomistic disquisition" but perceives it a powerful argument nevertheless. Burton (*Galatians*, 251) concurs with Luther in seeing it as an afterthought, or "supplementary argument." Oepke (*Galater*, 110) considers the argument "broken-down" (*eingefallen*), while Schlier (*Galaterbrief*, 316-7) lends it a little more weight without considering it to be important. Similar list are also cited by Charles Kingsley Barrett, "The Allegory of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar in the Argument of Galatians," in *Rechtfertigung: Festschrift für Ernst Käsemann zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. Johannes Friedrich, Wolfgang Pöhlmann, and Peter Stuhlmacher (Tübingen

more recent commentators, J. D. G. Dunn considers it as an argument for the already-convinced.³ Others affirm the importance of the pericope.⁴

A major explanation for the inclusion of this pericope, as an interpretation of the wife and concubine of Abraham and their respective sons, is that Paul needed to counter the use of this scripture citation by the advocates of circumcision. Charles Kingsley Barrett has set forth the argument for this position, and many scholars have concurred with him.⁵ He contends that the "plain, surface meaning" of the story of Sarah and Hagar supports the advocates of circumcision, so Paul sets up an allegorical interpretation as the "deeper meaning" to counter their argument.⁶

and Göttingen: J. C. B. Mohr and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976) 1-16, reprint in *Essays on Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1982) 154-69; and by Peder Borgen, "Some Hebrew and Pagan Features in Philo's and Paul's Interpretation of Hagar and Ishmael," in *The New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism*, eds. Peder Borgen and Søren Giversen (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1995) 151.

³Dunn, *Galatians*, 243.

⁴Barrett ("The Allegory") and Borgen ("Some Hebrew") both make this point. Karen H. Jobes ("Jerusalem, Our Mother: Metalepsis and Intertextuality in Galatians 4:21-31," *WTJ* 55 [1993] 299) calls it the *coup de grace* in the argument. The position of the pericope in the structure of Galatians will be discussed further below.

⁵See Barrett, "The Allegory." See also Dunn, *Galatians*, 243; and Borgen, "Some Hebrew;" Lührmann, *Galatians*, 89-90; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, 218-9. Longenecker proposes a detailed hypothetical reconstruction of the circumcision-advocates' argument based on this pericope. This explanation was also previously proposed also by William Mitchell Ramsay (*Galatians*, 431).

⁶Barrett, "The Allegory," 10-1. Peder Borgen points out difficulties in Barrett's argument, to be discussed below, but concurs on this point. See Borgen, "Some Hebrew."

We might well question Barrett's theory on the basis of the lack of any indication in the text itself that Paul is responding to an argument, such as a reference to what the other side has said or reference to a report about it.⁷ There are also no response formulae to indicate an answer to a question that the Galatians have asked, provoked by the persuasion of the circumcision-advocates.⁸ Paul's introduction to his use of scripture (4:21-22a) implies, rather, that he is asking them to hear a passage from the Law that may not have come to their full attention previously but which will clinch the decision for them, "Tell me, you who want to be under Law, don't you listen to the Law? For it is written . . ." (Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε; γέγραπται γὰρ . . .). Inasmuch as the Galatian audience may be expected to know some basic stories from Hebrew scriptures, or at least the basic genealogy of the three patriarchs, this introductory statement indicates that he is reminding them of something decisive in scripture that may not have occurred to them.⁹ It is difficult to discern any implication that this passage has been introduced in

⁷Cf., for example, 1 Cor 1:11, 5:1, 6:12, 10:23, and 15:35.

⁸A common one would be *περὶ δὲ* with the genitive (Cf., for example, 1 Thess 4:9, 5:1; 1 Cor 7:1, 12:1.). See also White, *Light from Ancient Letters*, 207.

⁹Lagrange (*Galates*, 122) suggests that the phrase οὐκ ἀκούετε refers to the reading of scripture in the synagogue or in Christian meetings and asks not whether they are familiar with the text but whether they have really understood it. He sees no evidence for what was Ramsay's suggestion at the time he wrote, that Paul counters his opponents' use of this passage from Jewish scripture.

relation to the issue before.¹⁰ Yet there must be some compelling reason for Paul to introduce this passage since, as Barrett points out, its plain surface meaning provides a convenient argument for the other side.

The placement of the pericope poses a further problem. Several scholars point to the disjuncture between the preceding pericope and this one, and some suggest that the pericope is misplaced, that it would fit better with the argument in Galatians 3.¹¹ However, analysis of the rhetorical and epistolary structure of the letter generally indicates the prominence of this pericope in Paul's overall argument, even though several views of the structural lineaments of the letter have been

¹⁰Betz (*Galatians*, 241) notes that the question conforms stylistically to the conventions of diatribe literature. As such, the question is a device to introduce the argument which follows, not necessarily a response to a real opponent. Betz cites Barrett in his bibliography but does not address Barrett's argument in the commentary on this pericope.

¹¹See Charles H. Cosgrove, "The Law Has Given Sarah No Children (Gal 4:21-30)," *NovT* 29 (1987) 219; Oepke, *Galater*, 110; Dunn, *Galatians*, 243; Mußner, *Galaterbrief*, 316-7; Ramsay, *Galatians*, 431; and Matera, *Galatians*, 172-3. Lagrange (*Galates*, 118) sees it as a resumption of the argument after an emotional outburst. On this Longenecker (*Galatians*, 199) and Betz (*Galatians*, 239, n. 4) also cite U. Luz, "Der alte und der neue Bund," *EvT* (1967) 319. J. Louis Martyn points to the problem of the seeming disjuncture between this pericope and the one preceding it, but suggests a reasonable connection in the birth imagery in Gal 4:19 and the motifs of begetting and birth in 4:21-31. See J. Louis Martyn, "The Covenants of Hagar and Sarah," in *Faith and History: Essays in Honor of Paul W. Meyer*, eds. John T. Carroll, Charles H. Cosgrove, and E. Elizabeth Johnson (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990) 160-92. His analysis of Gal 4:19 relies upon Beverly Roberts Gaventa, "The Maternity of Paul: Exegetical Reflections on Galatians 4:19," in *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul and John in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, eds. Robert T. Fortna and Beverly R. Gaventa (Nashville, Tennessee: Abindgon, 1990) 189-201.

proposed.¹² Betz, for example, sees the pericope as the last in the series of six proofs in the *probatio* section, before Paul moves on to exhortations. This would make the pericope not only the last but also the most important of a series of arguments.¹³ George Kennedy's analysis varies from this but still places the pericope at the end of the proofs, in a summarizing position which provides the basis for the commandments which follow. For Robert G. Hall, this pericope falls in a significant position immediately before what is the "summons" of the letter at 5:1.¹⁴ Joop Smit places it as the first of three parts of a concluding portion of the letter designated as the *enumeratio*. The pericope thus summarizes the argument of the portion of the speech known as the *confirmatio*, which he sees as 3:1-4:11.¹⁵

All of these rhetorical analyses of the structure of the letter seem to concur in some fashion on the pivotal position of Gal 4:21-5:1 as a pericope which draws together elements which preceded it and grounds what follows. In the epistolary analysis of G. W. Hansen, the pericope emerges in a different light but still in too significant a position to consider it an "afterthought" or a weak argument.¹⁶ He sees

¹²Variant viewpoints result from different analyses of the species of rhetoric and from uses of different rhetorical handbooks from antiquity which give variant views of rhetorical structure.

¹³Betz, *Galatians*, 254.

¹⁴Hall, "The Rhetorical Outline," 277-87. His outline is more complex than is indicated here.

¹⁵Smit, "The Letter," 150-4.

¹⁶Hansen, *Abraham*, 142-63. See also Longenecker, *Galatians*, 199.

it according to the rebuke-request epistolary structure of the letter, as part of the imperatival appeal portion of the letter. In this case it still forms the basis for the essential commands, which are Paul's main point in the letter, and founds a conceptual framework for the ethical instructions in the last portion of the letter. It is a pericope which cannot be dismissed, however puzzling, and not positioned where a weak or slippery argument would be expected.

Related to the problem of the significant position of this pericope in the letter is the question of what Paul intends to accomplish in it. Betz explains the force of the argument as a "concluding proof" which uses allegory in a mysterious manner to pose the question in a way that allows the audience to "find the truth for themselves" and thus become not only hearers but also friendly witnesses.¹⁷ While there is merit to this suggestion, it does not account for the problem that leaving this passage open to the audience to consider on their own would entail. It would, after all, open the possibility of interpretation in favor of the

¹⁷Betz, *Galatians*, 240. He relies on the rhetorical handbook of Pseudo-Demetrius who "argues that 'direct' (ἀπλῶς) arguments are not always the most effective ones." Instead, "Any darkly-hinting expression is more terror-striking, and its import is variously conjectured by different hearers," while things that are clear are more likely to be despised. (Demetr. *De eloc.* 100, as cited by Betz.) For evidence, Pseudo-Demetrius cites the Mysteries, which "are revealed in an allegorical form in order to inspire such shuddering and awe as are associated with darkness and night." (*De eloc.*, 101, cited by Betz.) Betz also suggests that the forcefulness of Paul's argument is also enhanced, "When we consider that in the Christian context the Abraham tradition holds the place which is occupied in the Mysteries by their own holy tradition," but does not provide evidence here for this contention.

other side, since the "plain, surface reading" might readily occur to them.

Hansen's epistolary analysis of the position of the pericope points toward a significantly different view: the pericope is not so much a "proof from scripture" as the rhetorical analyses and previous traditional views would indicate, but a "biblical appeal." While the pericope is foundational and pivotal, it does not function primarily as a proof. To understand this it is necessary to understand in more detail the epistolary structure Hansen presents.

Hansen discerns a "rebuke-request" structure as the basic epistolary structure in the letter.¹⁸ He bases this on similarity to features of Greek papyrus letters which include the expression of astonishment found in Gal 1:6, θαυμάζω ὅτι.¹⁹ This begins a "rebuke section" which extends to 4:11. At 4:12 what he calls a request formula, δέομαι, along with the first use of an imperative, signals the beginning of the request portion of the body of the letter. In the twelve illustrations Hansen offers from the papyrus letters, the request formula does not appear as δέομαι. Where a request appears it is, rather, a form of ἐρωτάω. He shows, however, that the use of θαυμάζω "almost always serves as the background for a request formula and an

¹⁸Hansen, *Abraham*, 30-54. It is important to note that Hansen does not argue for an epistolary structure in place of a rhetorical one. Rhetorical criticism is important to understand the structure of the argument, which works in combination with the epistolary structure (55-71).

¹⁹Hansen, *Abraham*, 34-42. According to the form of Paul's other letters, a thanksgiving formula (εὐχαριστῶ) would be expected.

imperative, or simply for an imperative."²⁰ The letters also illustrate a series of other features clearly found also in Galatians, including similar causes for rebuke such as rebukes for foolishness and a rebuke for a change of mind. Also found are reminders of previous instructions (cf. Gal 1:9), rebuking questions (cf. Gal 3:1-5 and 4:9), and expressions of distress (cf. Gal 4:11 and 20). In many of them the rebuke corresponds to an imperative.

The structure which emerges from Hansen's analysis, then, divides the body of Galatians (1:6-6:10) into two sections. The rebuke section from 1:6-4:11 functions as the background for the request section from 4:12 to 6:10.²¹ The most convincing aspect of his presentation is the way that the two sections correspond to one another.²² In this structure, the pericope takes its place as an appeal through scripture, which brings to the fore the imperatives that Paul cites from scripture. The allegory in 4:21-31 thus functions as a typological setting for the imperatives εὐφράνθητι (4:27, from Isa 54:1) and especially ἔκβαλε

²⁰Hansen, *Abraham*, 45. He relies for this on the work of John L. White and Keith Kensinger on the structure of letters of petition and on Carl J. Bjerkelund's work on the εὐχαριστῶ-παρακαλῶ structures of "thanksgiving-request" (*danke-bitte*) in Paul's letters in which he also argues for a θαυμάζω-δέομαι structure in Galatians. He cites John L. White and Keith A. Kensinger, "Categories of Greek Papyrus Letters," *SBLASP* 10 (1976) 79-91; and Carl J. Bjerkelund, *Parakalo: Form, Funktion und Sinn der parakalo-Satz in den paulinischen Briefen*, Bibliotheca Theologica Novegica, 1. (Oslo: Universitets-forlaget, 1967).

²¹This is the basic structure followed in the commentary by Richard Longenecker, who directed G. W. Hansen's dissertation.

²²Hansen, *Abraham*, 46-51.

(4:30, from Gen 21:10).²³ The command to "Throw out the slave-concubine and her son" is thus the "punch line" of the pericope, which functions as "Paul's first step in explaining the meaning of his general request, 'Become as I am.'"²⁴ This analysis has the advantage of accounting for the relation of this pericope to 4:12-20 and for the different type of scripture exposition Paul uses here, in contrast to 3:6-29.²⁵

While the pericope is more intelligible as an appeal from scripture than as an argument or proof, this hardly explains it. Just how problematic this passage is, placed as it is in a pivotal position in the letter, becomes clearer when the difficulties in the content of the pericope itself are also considered.

2.1.2 *Problems and Issues in the Content of Galatians 4:21-5:1*

The pericope relies on an analogy of several layers, and the basic problem is how Paul has made the links between the layers of the analogy. Whether the Hagar-Sarah passage from Genesis had been used by the circumcision advocates or not, the connection of Hagar, Mount Sinai, the Law, and Slavery is a "shocking realignment," as Richard Longenecker

²³Hansen, *Abraham*, 48. Pierre Bonnard (*Galates*, 97-8) also suggests that Paul declares rather than argues in this pericope.

²⁴Hansen, *Abraham*, 48-9. Matera (*Galatians*, 172-9) also sees this pericope as one of a series of appeals, in this case focused upon the imperative cited at 4:30. His outline of Galatians begins the series of appeals with 4:1-11.

²⁵Hansen, *Galatians*, 144. It also links this pericope more closely to the parenetic section which follows. In Part C of this dissertation, we will see further implications of this factor.

has termed it, an assessment on which many others would concur.²⁶

Commentators seek to explain the basis for this analogy. As Karen Jobes states it, the issue is how Paul can use Genesis 21 "to effect an exegetical reversal that ends up identifying Jews as the children of Hagar and Christians as the children of Sarah" which "contradicts the traditional understanding of Israel's history that had stood for centuries."²⁷ While the labels "Jews" and "Christians" may need restatement, this reversal of identification is still a shocking and improbable alignment for Paul, as a Jew of any description, to make.

2.1.2.1 Explanations of the Allegorical Connections

Many scholars suggest that the essential link in the chain here is the association of slavery and the Law already made in 4:1-11.²⁸ There the Law was included as one of the enslaving *stoicheia* and described metaphorically as a pedagogue, the slave who guarded and oversaw the discipline of the young sons of the master who would inherit the household. This identification of the Law and enslavement is already problematic, as will be discussed further below. As the basis for the connections clustered around Hagar in this pericope, it becomes a

²⁶Longenecker, *Galatians*, 213. Andrew Perriman indicates that Paul's interpretation constitutes a "blatant contradiction of biblical history." See Andrew C. Perriman, "The Rhetorical Strategy of Galatians 4:21-5:1," *EvQ* 65 (1993) 27-42.

²⁷Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 300.

²⁸Barrett, "The Allegory," 12; Lührmann, *Galatians*, 90; Ramsay, *Galatians*, 433-4; Perriman, "The Rhetorical," 134-5; Betz, *Galatians*, 242; Dunn, *Galatians*, 252; Mußner, *Galaterbrief*, 320; and Matera, *Galatians*, 170.

circular argument, as Lagrange pointed out, since the "Jews" are sons of the slave Hagar because they are enslaved and they are enslaved under Hagar as the Law because they are sons of a slave.²⁹ How the essential identification is made, and why all the elements are necessary to it, remains opaque.

An alternative suggestion is made by Charles H. Cosgrove, that the connection relies upon the identification of the advocates of circumcision as persecutors (4:28), who are thus equated with Ishmael as the unnamed son of Hagar in the pericope.³⁰ While the merit of this suggestion should be kept in mind as the purpose of the passage, it does

²⁹Lagrange, *Galates*, 118. The "vicious circle" he suggests proceeds: "les Juifs sont fils de l'esclave et donc esclaves, parce qu'ils sont fils d'Agar. Or ils sont bien fils d'Agar, puisqu'ils sont esclaves, soit comme astreints à une alliance d'esclaves, soit comme servant encore dans l'ancienne Jérusalem." See also Cosgrove, "The Law Has Given," 221. The argument relies, in part, on the Greco-Roman slave law in which the slave status of the mother determines the status of the child, rather than the Semitic pattern reflected in the Genesis text in which the father could recognize his sons by his slaves. See Lührmann, *Galatians*, 90; Ramsay, *Galatians*, 433-4.

³⁰Cosgrove, "The Law Has Given," 230. Cosgrove works from analysis of what the elements of common ground are between Paul and the opponents and Paul and the audience. He finds it "instructive that Paul's observation in v. 29 presents itself, *undefended*, as a viewpoint with which his audience would have been willing to agree," (224) and points out that the five times persecution is mentioned in Galatians, familiarity with it is indicated on the part of his audience (229). (The central thesis and title of Cosgrove's article, "The Law has given Sarah no children," a point which he makes emphatically is intriguing but frankly confusing to me. The issue seems to have nothing to do with Sarah being given children, and Sarah is not even mentioned by name.) Betz (*Galatians*, 249) suggests that the typology which identifies the persecutors as the slaves (4:29) confirms the statement at 4:28, and that this polarity is the goal of the passage. While Ishmael is not seen specifically as "persecuting" Isaac in the Genesis text, such an interpretation of Gen 21:9 is well attested. See Betz, *Galatians*, 249; Matera, *Galatians*, 170-1; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, 217.

not explain why Paul makes the entire concatenation of connections in 4:22-7. Such an explanation also faces a major difficulty because the link comes toward the end of the pericope, after a chain of connections made in a manner that indicates they should have been convincing. The link of the persecutors and the son of Hagar is not stated in a way that indicates it is explanatory of all that precedes it.³¹

Explanations are also made based on Philo's allegorical use of the Genesis passage. Peder Borgen, while he agrees with Barrett that Paul uses the Sarah-Hagar story to counter the interpretation of his opponents, notes that Paul's identification of the gentile Hagar with the Jewish Law would not be credible if Paul proposed it to counter the others' interpretation with a fresh one of his own making.³² He returns to Philo's allegorical interpretation for an explanation and contends that it indicates that the figure of Hagar functioned in Jewish interpretation at the time as a model proselyte. Thus Borgen contends that Hagar, as a pagan Egyptian by birth but a Hebrew by her choice and rule of life, is identified with the Law she has chosen to follow, and

³¹Taking the γὰρ-clauses as a signal, the clause at v. 25b, for example, "for she is in slavery with her children," should explain why the present-day Jerusalem corresponds to the Hagar-Sinai Mountain in Arabia. Likewise, the citation from Isa 54:1 at v. 27 should explain why the Jerusalem above is free and is our mother. There is some merit to Cosgrove's suggestion that v. 29 explains why the Galatian gentiles are to be considered sons like Isaac, but it does not explain the other connections or why these other explanations would be valid for the audience.

³²Borgen, "Some Hebrew," 153.

as a pagan equated with the Law of Moses located in pagan territory.³³ In an excursus in his commentary, Longenecker collects the pertinent texts from Philo and a survey of other contemporary Jewish interpretations of Hagar, Sarah, and their sons.³⁴ Nothing in his collection confirms Borgen's contention that Hagar was considered a "model proselyte." We must wonder, as well, how such a use of the Genesis narrative would reconcile with the ultimate expulsion of Hagar and her son.

Longenecker points out that Philo's interpretation presents some surface similarity to Paul's use of the Hagar-Sarah narrative, but acknowledges that the similarities "demonstrate nothing more than that Paul and Philo both read Scripture."³⁵ Most telling is Longenecker's conclusion from the data he has assembled,

though there is enough interest in the contrasts and conflicts of the story in Jewish writings to suggest that Paul's use of it was not entirely unique, there is no evidence that his particular allegorical treatment of it was following any Jewish prototype, *particularly in the identification he makes between Hagar, Ishmael, Mt. Sinai, and the present city of Jerusalem, and in the contrast he sets out between "the Jerusalem that is above" vis-à-vis Mt. Sinai and the present city of Jerusalem.* [emphasis added]³⁶

The links, then, remain unexplained, yet the pericope gives every appearance of a self-evident chain which does not require extensive

³³Borgen, "Some Hebrew," 154-9.

³⁴Longenecker, *Galatians*, 200-6.

³⁵Longenecker, *Galatians*, 205.

³⁶Longenecker, *Galatians*, 206.

explanation. We read this series and find ourselves expected to accept something as obvious which, to us, remains quite opaque.

2.1.2.2 The Problem of Galatians 4:25

The problem of the unexplained identification centers in the difficulties posed by v. 25. Such difficulties are indicated, first of all, by the textual variants in the first portion of the verse. The major variations are the inclusion or omission of 'Αγὰρ and the option of the particle δὲ or γὰρ. The manuscript evidence is not decisive on this issue. Most commentators support the variant: τὸ δὲ 'Αγὰρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ 'Αραβίᾳ.³⁷ The other major variants omit 'Αγὰρ: either τὸ γὰρ or τὸ δε Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ 'Αραβίᾳ.³⁸ The longer variant is generally favored, partly because scribes would be more likely to omit the word 'Αγὰρ than to add it, and partly because the verse without 'Αγὰρ leaves a stray piece of geographical information dangling.³⁹

³⁷This is the text chosen in NA²⁷, supported primarily by A B and D. Commentators who choose this variant include: Betz, Burton, Dunn, Longenecker, Lührmann, Matera, Oepke, and Schlier. See also Martin McNamara, "'to de (hagar) Sina oros estin en tē Arabia' (Gal. 4:25a): Paul and Petra," *Milltown Studies* 2 (1978) 27.

³⁸The major manuscript evidence for the former is \aleph C F and G. Lightfoot and Lagrange both support this variant, writing before the discovery of \mathfrak{P}^{46} , which supports δὲ in place of γὰρ. The latter is favored by Mußner. Lightfoot (*Galatians*, 192-3) and Burton (*Galatians*, 259-61) include extended discussions of the variants. Most commentators discuss this issue at some length.

³⁹Barrett, "The Allegory," 11. Betz (*Galatians*, 244-5) suggests that the inclusion of Hagar is the *lectio difficilior* but also that it could be a later insertion. Burton (*Galatians*, 259) argues for δὲ rather than γὰρ on the grounds that the verse is a parenthesis. Lightfoot (*Galatians*, 181) also sees it as parenthetical but would omit Hagar and opt for γὰρ.

Lagrange, on the other hand, sees the phrase as a parenthesis with Hagar as the subject, but argues that the inclusion of "Aγap is inexplicable because it would mean that Paul had based his allegory on two uncoordinated bases, Hagar as covenant and Hagar as Mount Sinai. Telling is his statement that Hagar is not evidence that the Jewish people are in slavery because she is a mountain, but she stands for the covenant because she, like the covenant, bears children for slavery.⁴⁰ Notable here is the fact that this does not explain why she is said to be a mountain.

Read according to either variant, v. 25a includes a second and related oddity to be explained. The article τὸ is neuter where we would expect the feminine, if it refers to Hagar either here or in v. 24. An explanation offered by some commentators is that the neuter article refers to the name or word Hagar rather than the woman.⁴¹ Andrew Perriman objects, "This however, would . . . imply that Paul meant 'Mount Sinai' to be substitutable for 'Hagar,' *which is completely inappropriate* [emphasis added]."⁴² Again the equation of Hagar to Sinai as the mountain is assumed to be impossible and unexplained.

⁴⁰Lagrange, *Galates*, 124-7. "Qu'on relise le texte, on n'y verra pas que le peuple juif est esclave parce qu'Agar signifie montagne, mais que Agar signifie l'alliance du Sinai parce que toutes deux enfantent pour la servitude. . . ." (127).

⁴¹Betz, *Galatians*, 244, n. 65; and Matera, *Galatians*, 170. According to Lightfoot (*Galatians*, 193) the neuter indicates a reference to the "thing" Hagar as the Hagar of the allegory, if the TR is to be accepted.

⁴²Perriman, "The Rhetorical Strategy," 37.

Perriman offers a simpler explanation, also offered by Dunn, that the neuter article attaches to ὄρος. This would also explain a third oddity usually not addressed by commentators, the reverse word order of "Sinai" and "mountain," not only from the order found in the immediately preceding verse but also from the order commonly found in the LXX.⁴³ V. 25a would thus be translated, "The Hagar-Sinai mountain is in Arabia," or "This Hagar-Sinai is a mountain in Arabia."⁴⁴ How the link is made between Hagar and Sinai the mountain remains a question.

Several geographical and etymological solutions to this problem have been proposed related to the detail, "in Arabia."⁴⁵ Some rely on an Arabic etymology, pointing to the similarity of "Hagar" to the Arabic word for rock, *hadjar*, "used in reference to mountains in the Mount Sinai area."⁴⁶ This interpretation assumes that the article τὸ refers to Hagar, to the effect that "Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabic." It could also be plausible, however, as "The *Hadjar*-Sinai is a mountain in Arabia." While this may suggest how the connection may have originally

⁴³The word order found in v. 25a does not appear in the LXX or elsewhere in the NT. Most commonly it is τό ὄρος τὸ Σινᾶ (Exod 19:11,18,20,23; 24:16; 31:18; 34:2,4) or ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ (Exod 34:32; Lev 7:38; 25:1; 26:46; 27:34; Num 28:6; Acts 7:38). See also Neh 9:13; Num 3:1; Exod 19:16; and Acts 7:30 (ὄρος Σινᾶ).

⁴⁴Dunn, *Galatians*, 250; Perriman, "The Rhetorical Strategy," 37-9.

⁴⁵Earlier in the century a series of numerological solutions were also proposed. See Lagrange, *Galates*, 126-7, for a discussion of them.

⁴⁶This is the explanation of the verse given by John Chrysostom. Burton (*Galatians*, 260-1) proposes this as a possible explanation. See also Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 194. Betz (*Galatians*, 245) considers it the most plausible explanation of the long reading.

occurred to Paul, given his stay in Arabia, it does not explain how it would be readily intelligible to the Galatian audience, unless we assume that they knew Arabic or that Paul had presented this line of reasoning to them before and here reminds them of it.⁴⁷

Scholars propose other geographical and etymological solutions based on the location of Mount Sinai, and in connection with the flight of Hagar into Arabia and the descent of the Arab people through her son Ishmael. Michael G. Steinhauser, for example, attempts to solve the problem by reference to Targumic interpretations of the Genesis passage.⁴⁸ He cites evidence for the association of Hagar and Hagra and the use of "Hagra" for Shur, the wilderness in Sinai. This relies on multiple geographical identifications of Hagra, Bered, Shur, and Halusa, and contends that the traditional association of Hagar with Hagra enables Paul to associate the two as a location in Sinai and hence Mount Sinai. G. I. Davies and Martin McNamara propose variations on this argument.⁴⁹ We might well wonder whether the constellations of implicit and complex geographical links these scholars propose would leap to mind

⁴⁷This is unlikely given the lack of any epistolary formula or other indication that this is the case. As already discussed, he appears to be introducing something that will be new to them. Mußner, (*Galaterbrief*, 323) discusses this solution and questions how the Galatian audience would comprehend it. See also Ridderbos, *Galatians*, 177 n. 8.

⁴⁸Michael G. Steinhauser, "Gal 4,25a: Evidence of Targumic Tradition in Gal 4,21-31?" *Bib* 70 (1989) 234-40.

⁴⁹McNamara, "'to de (Hagar),' " 24-41; and G. I. Davies, "Hagar, El-Hegra and the Location of Mount Sinai," *VT* 22 (1972) 152-63. See also Lührmann, *Galatians*, 90.

for Paul's audience, since he does not explain it for them. McNamara acknowledges this difficulty and resorts to the explanation that this is an instance in which Paul in a moment of "heightened tension . . . seems to have written from the abundance of his own mind rather than from what his readers would be expected to know."⁵⁰ In other words, it is inexplicable. This solution, then, like the Arabic etymology, might explain why the link occurred to Paul, but not how he expects his audience to accept or even understand it. This is the major problem with all of the solutions of this type.⁵¹

One of the stumbling-blocks here has been a fixation on the reference as a geographical designation. The problem has thus frequently been formed as a question of explaining the introduction of the place and its connection to Arabia. Part C of this disseration will show that the significance is not to be found so much in Mount Sinai as a place on a map or in a territory but in the identification of Sinai as a mountain.⁵²

⁵⁰McNamara, " 'to de (Hagar)' " 36.

⁵¹Barrett ("The Allegory," 12) also glosses over the issue with the comment, "we need not linger over the etymological arguments with which Paul might have supported his [interpretation of the name]."⁵¹ The fact is, however, that Paul offers no such etymological explanation. He expects the Galatians to understand and to accept the connection from what he says.

⁵²Perriman's work is noteworthy in this connection. His grammatical analysis of 25a leads him to the translation, "the Hagar-Sinai mountain," but this brings him to understand the phrase itself in his reconstruction of the whole verse as "This Hagar-Sinai concept [emphasis added]." His lengthy paraphrase omits the word mountain entirely. Mount Sinai is, for him, a metonymy for the Law, not the mountain. Perriman, "The Rhetorical Strategy," 36-9.

The geographical problem remains, however: Why would Paul specify the location of this mountain "in Arabia?" Some commentators indicate that identification of the Arabs as "sons of Hagar" suggests the location in Arabia.⁵³ Even if the audience was aware of this connection, we are still left to account for how this mother of the Arabs becomes a mountain in Arabia, specifically the mountain identified with the Jewish Law. Another suggestion has been made that Paul emphasized a location in the land of "subjugated peoples," outside the "scene of salvation history."⁵⁴ While this is a possibility, we do not know that the Galatians saw the Arabs as such "subjugated peoples," and it is the city of Jerusalem which is "enslaved," not the Arabs. Such an association may exist but still would not explain how Paul came to that conclusion in v. 25c. If, as many commentators have indicated, the actual location of Mount Sinai was understood to be in Arabia, Paul includes a geographical detail understood to be fact with little other significance. Based on this line of interpretation, some commentators, such as Mußner, suggest an adversative connotation here in connection with the remainder of the verse, "Mount Sinai lies in Arabia, seen geographically, but in actuality, for my allegorical understanding, it corresponds to the present-day Jerusalem."⁵⁵ For this, discussion of the

⁵³Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 181; See also the discussion by Lagrange, *Galates*, 124-7.

⁵⁴Schlier, *Galater*, 219-20 ("daß die Lage des Berges Sinai außerhalb Palästinas, des Schauplatzes der Heilsgeschichte, und im Lande von unterjochten Völkerschaften").

⁵⁵Mußner, *Galaterbrief*, 324. ("Gewiß liegt das Sinaigebirge,

problems in the remainder of the verse must be considered without forming a decisive conclusion about other reasons suggested for why Paul specifies "in Arabia."

The rest of the verse completes the concatenation of associations with Hagar. One issue in v. 4:25b is the meaning of συστοιχέω. Many commentators point out that the verb has a technical meaning beyond simply "corresponds to" but that it indicates opposing principles lined up in a manner known in Pythagorean tables of categories, so that it indicates the two columns Paul is contrasting.⁵⁶ While this use of the verb describes what Paul does, it does not explain the "line-up" in the "Hagar column." Likewise, a decision on the issue of whether the subject of the verb is Hagar from v. 24b or Mount Sinai in v. 25a tells us little. The two have, in any case, already been equated.

While decisions on these and other issues are required to settle on a translation, the essential issue in the verse remains the multiple-tiered equation Paul makes.⁵⁷ The same tiers are present in all

geographisch gesehen, in der Arabia; in Wirklichkeit aber, für mein „allegorisches“ Verständnis, entspricht es dem heutigen Jerusalem.") Matera (*Galatians*, 170), Dunn (*Galatians*, 251), and Ridderbos (*Galatians*, 177, n. 9) concur.

⁵⁶Betz, *Galatians*, 245; Burton, *Galatians*, 261; Dunn, *Galatians*, 252; Lagrange, *Galates*, 127-8; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 181; and Matera, *Galatians*, 170. Borgen ("Some Hebrew," 154-8) suggests that Hagar as the model proselyte stands in line enslaved here, but the difficulty of his interpretation has already been discussed. See also J. Louis Martyn, "Apocalyptic Antimonimies in Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *NTS* 31 (1985) 410-24.

⁵⁷Options exist as well in the grammatical construction of these verses, especially which noun is the subject of each of the verbs. See especially Cosgrove, "The Law Has Given," 227-9. Patte would call this

textual variants and translations: the covenant from Mount Sinai, Hagar the slave-concubine of Abraham, Sinai the mountain in Arabia, present-day Jerusalem, and Hagar/Mount Sinai/Jerusalem in slavery with her children.⁵⁸

Grammatically, the final clause, "for she is in slavery with her children" appears intended to explain the alignment between present-day Jerusalem and the Hagar-Sinai mountain in some seemingly self-evident way. What Paul assumes would be obvious to his audience, however, remains opaque to subsequent interpretation. We are left with the question, "Why this concatenation of images and figures?" How is each element connected and how is it to be understood? As the answer emerges from our tour of the Anatolian context, the infrequently-asked question will also become significant, "Why the *mountain*?" So far we have seen several instances in which scholars have dismissed the mountain. Part C of this dissertation will show that the mountain holds a major key to interpretation of this verse, and the letter as well.

"multiple-tiered equation" a "homologation." See Patte, *Paul's Faith*.

⁵⁸It should be noted that the spelling of Jerusalem here, differs from that used previously in the letter: Ἱερουσαλήμ (4:25,26) not Ἱεροσόλυμα (1:17,18; 2:1). Here it is the Hebrew version of the name. (See Longenecker, *Galatians*, 213.) Several commentators indicate that Jerusalem here stands for the whole "Jewish race" or "Judaism." (Betz, *Galatians*, 246; Burton, *Galatians*, 261; and Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 181.)

2.1.2.3 Missing Pieces in Galatians 4:26

To the list that Paul assembles under Hagar on the one side, he counterposes another list in v. 26.⁵⁹ All the elements in the list on the side of the "mother of Isaac" have a corresponding element in the list under "Hagar:" Jerusalem above (ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ) corresponds to "present-day Jerusalem;" free (ἐλευθέρα, also "legitimate wife") to enslaved (δουλεύει); and "our mother" (μήτηρ ἡμῶν) to their mother (she who is enslaved with her children, v. 25c). Two items in the list under Hagar, however, are missing from this list: a corresponding mountain and a name for the ἐλευθέρα (legitimate wife or the one who is free).

Jerusalem above (ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ) corresponds to "present-day Jerusalem," although it is a spatial reference where a chronological one might be expected (e.g. "the Jerusalem to come."). A number of references in Jewish texts are cited by commentators as background for the reference to a "Jerusalem above" as "our mother," but the combination of the reference to the city as the mother and to a heavenly city does not appear together in any of them. The closest is the LXX of Ps 86:5 which refers to Μήτηρ Σιών as a city in whom people claim their birth registry with pride. The future tense could conceivably be interpreted as a future action of God in establishing Mount Zion, although it appears to be more simply Jerusalem. It is not clear that

⁵⁹Longenecker (*Galatians*, 213-4) sets this forth in chiastic structure which does not, however, follow the order of the clauses in the Greek.

this is the "Jerusalem above" which can be found in Jewish apocalyptic references.⁶⁰

This and other such references indicate little more than the identification of the city as a female figure as the mother of the inhabitants. As will be seen below and in Part B of this dissertation, such an identification was quite common and hardly requires Jewish background texts. Without denying the relevance of the Jewish texts, the reference will be better understood in a broader context. The same applies to the suggestion that "Jerusalem is Our Mother" was a slogan of the circumcision advocates.⁶¹ If this was a slogan, the question will emerge after an examination of the Anatolian context of why the circumcision advocates might use such a slogan there.

No mountain is mentioned in the column under Abraham's legitimate wife. Longenecker fills in this blank with "Mt. Zion" on the basis of the contrast in Heb 12:18-24, and the work of Terence L. Donaldson on this contrast in Second Temple Judaism. Mt. Sinai in that typology is the "mountain of revelation" while Mt. Zion is the "mountain of

⁶⁰On this and other references, see Matera, *Galatians*, 170; Dunn, *Galatians*, 253-4; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 182; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, 214-5. Schlier (*Galaterbrief*, 224-5) points out that the spatial concept is similar to Gnostic adaptations. Other citations from Jewish texts include: Isa 50:1, about "your mother's bill of divorce;" Isa 66:7-11, which refers to Zion giving birth without labor as the birth of Israel as a nation; and 4 Ezra 10:7, which portrays "Zion, the mother of us all" as a grieving mother. On the Jewish apocalyptic references see Dunn, *Galatians*, 253-4.

⁶¹See Matera, *Galatians*, 170.

eschatological redemption."⁶² This is not unreasonable, considering Ps 86:5 in the LXX, but whether Paul intended his audience to infer the connection remains questionable. Paul, after all, does not specify this where he conveniently could, and it would, as Longenecker himself points out, introduce confusion into Paul's typology. Here the blank will be left blank as a continuing question in the pericope.

A second blank in the list is the name of the legitimate wife. I have chosen to refer to the two figures here as the "slave concubine" and the "legitimate wife," rather than as "Hagar" and "Sarah" as many scholars do. This choice assumes an analysis of the typology as a contrast of the women's social location in the family in relation to Abraham. This in turn assumes a background of understanding about the relation of the slave system and the family system which few commentators take into account, but which is contained in the contrast of παιδίσκη and ἐλευθέρα as mothers of sons of the head of the household. Paul does not name Sarah, so here she will be referred to as she is in the pericope: "the legitimate wife." To be born as the son of the legitimate wife is to be born into freedom as a son who can inherit the status, social location, and family property of the head of the household. To be born as the son of the slave-concubine does not afford this possibility and means the inheritance of her slave status. This is

⁶²Longenecker cites Terence L. Donaldson, *Jesus on the Mountain: A Study in Matthean Theology*, JSNT Supplement Series, 8. (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1985) 30-83.

the significance of the fact that she is "our mother" while "their mother" is a slave as "they" are.

Just as the concatenation of images in the Hagar column has no precedent, neither does this particular combination. The link of the "Jerusalem above" and the legitimate wife of Abraham is Paul's. The emphasis on the "Jerusalem above" as free is also his, and it relies upon the contrast to the enslaved present-day Jerusalem. The most unusual aspect of what Paul does in this pericope is to set the contrast so starkly. While a distinction might be made in some of the Jewish apocalyptic literature between the imperfect present-day and earthly city of Jerusalem and the perfect heavenly one to come, the attachment of such negative connotations to the current Jerusalem remains, as has been said, "shocking." We continue to be left with the question of how Paul as a Jew could use Jewish imagery in such a manner. The problem has not been adequately explained within the "Jewish zone."

2.1.2.4 The Use of Isaiah 54:1 at Galatians 4:27

The pericope continues with a citation from Isaiah. On this the recent work of Karen H. Jobes is significant.⁶³ She points out that, due to its position within the passage, the Isaiah citation ought to support the claims in the preceding and following verses, that: "(1) the Jerusalem above is free; (2) the Jerusalem above is our mother; (3) Christians are like Isaac, i.e., Sarah is our mother (and therefore

⁶³ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 299-320.

Abraham is our father)." ⁶⁴ On the surface it is hardly self-evident how the citation can accomplish this. Jobes seeks the connection in an interpretation based on a "hermeneutic of intertextuality" suggested by Richard B. Hays. He indicates that some of the major links in Paul's image-chains are found in the LXX of Isaiah. ⁶⁵ In particular, the identification of Sarah, "not as the mother of the great patriarch Isaac, but as the mother of οἱ διώκοντες τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ζητοῦντες τὸν κύριον ("Those who pursue justice and seek the Lord," Isa 51:2) could provide the foundation on which Paul includes the gentiles as sons of Abraham by Sarah. ⁶⁶ In connection with the pericope in Galatians this explanation is problematic, however. For one thing, Paul explicitly makes the connection to the Galatian gentiles through Isaac, and for another, the Isaiah passage (51:1ff) offers hope to those "hewn from the rock" of Abraham and Sarah as their ancestors. The further contention that Isaiah provides the connection of Abraham and Sarah to the eschatologically restored Jerusalem also founders on the texts used to make the case. ⁶⁷ The city or people expressed as a female figure is named not as Sarah but as Zion in the verses immediately following, and no further direct connection with Sarah is made by Isaiah in the

⁶⁴ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 303.

⁶⁵ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 305. She cites Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) 105-21.

⁶⁶ Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 307-8.

⁶⁷ See Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 305, quoting from Hays, *Echoes*, 120.

subsequent chapters. While the images exist together with the mention of Sarah's name along with Abraham in Isaiah 51-54 and may have suggested such a connection to Paul, the links are made by Paul, not Isaiah. Paul appears to make the link of Sarah to the quotation from Isa 54:1 at Gal 4:27 by the theme of barrenness, relying on Isaiah's transformation of the theme of barrenness "from 'the story of a birth of a child to the story of a birth of a people.'"⁶⁸ Yet Isaiah does not make this connection to Sarah specifically.

Jobes points out that the identification of female barrenness with the city of Jerusalem relies on the assumption in Isaiah's lifetime that cities were frequently identified as female and frequently as a goddesses, and the population as their "children." Cities were described as barren when they had been overrun by invading armies.⁶⁹ What Jobes does not account for is the continuing importance of this pattern not only in Isaiah's time but in the immediate surroundings of Paul's audience in his time.

The background in Isaiah which Jobes illuminates provides some background for the source of Paul's imagery, although it does not provide most of the connections contended by Jobes and Hays. This background also fails to explain the concatenation of images in the

⁶⁸Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 307. She cites Mary Callaway, *Sing, O Barren One: A Study in Comparative Midrash*, SBLDS, 91 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 63. On the connection made on the theme of barrenness, see also Dunn, *Galatians*, 234-5 and Longenecker, *Galatians*, 215-6.

⁶⁹Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 308-9.

contrast to Hagar, and how the audience would supply the assumed background themselves. Her brief attention to the question of the audience is worth considering, however. Given the arduous journey her analysis has made through intertextual space, she says, "One can only wonder how Paul could have expected the Galatian Christians to understand his argument, which can be fully comprehended only by hearing it within the echoes of the Greek text of Isaiah."⁷⁰ Her explanation is that Paul had previously taught the Galatian churches from Isaiah. This may be a possibility worth exploration in conjunction with the audience's context. The themes and imagery from Isaiah to which Jobes points would have strong resonance with the Anatolian context, but explanations are more readily accessible directly in the context than by means of the LXX text of Isaiah, as we shall see in Parts B and C.

2.1.3 *Problems and Issues in the Construction of Galatians 4:21-5:1*

The citation of Isa 54:1 and the peculiar concatenation of images on both sides of the contrast have presumably been fit together for some purpose. The issue of whether this is an "argument" or an "appeal" as the pericope relates to the structure of the letter has already been discussed. Here we turn to the issues internal to the pericope to examine how the passage is constructed and what is the main point Paul is making. There is no lack of varying opinions. One basic division among scholars may be seen between those who would emphasize the

⁷⁰Jobes, "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 318.

inclusion of the audience by their identification as "sons like Isaac" and those who see the command to the audience to exclude the "sons of Hagar" as central.

We mentioned above that when the pericope is viewed as an appeal, it focuses on the command from Gen 21:10 cited at Gal 4:30.⁷¹ The contrast of the two columns is constructed to appeal to the Galatian audience to expel the behavior or mode of thinking or the persons represented by the Hagar column.⁷² When the pericope is viewed as an argument, however, vv. 28 and 31 appear to be more prominent. These verses emphasize the identification of the Galatian audience as "sons of the legitimate wife, like Isaac."⁷³

Matera, who suggests that the pericope is both an argument and an appeal, sets forth a division of the pericope into an introduction (v. 21), allegory with interpretation (vv. 22-27), and application and

⁷¹See Hansen, *Abraham* 145-6, 150-4; Matera, *Galatians*, 172-3; Dunn, *Galatians*, 258; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 217; Perriman, "The Rhetorical Strategy," 32; and Jobes "Jerusalem, Our Mother," 301. Barrett ("The Allegory," 13) asserts that this is a "command of God to his (angelic) agents," but provides little basis for this contention.

⁷²See also Cosgrove, "The Law Has Given," 225. He sees the main point of the pericope as the identification of the Torah and Hagar. The question of what or who it is that the Galatians are being commanded to expel is one upon which scholars are divided, basically according to how the advocates of circumcision are identified. Andrew Perriman argues that they are asked to expel the Sinaitic covenant as a "concept" rather than persons ("The Rhetorical Strategy," 40-1).

⁷³See Betz, *Galatians*, 249, 251-2. So also Lagrange (*Galates*, 118) see the main point to prove that Christians are free and should not submit to legal observances: and Burton (*Galatians*, 251) who sees it as "intended to induce the Galatians to see that they are joining the wrong branch of the family."

appeal (vv. 28-31). The first and last verses of the final section, vv. 28 and 31, are the ones which identify the Galatians, and enclose v. 29 which identifies the "sons of Hagar" as persecutors and v. 30 which issues the command to expel them.⁷⁴

When 5:1 is considered in this construction as a transitional verse which functions to complete this pericope as well as point toward what follows, the integral relation of the identification of the Galatians and the command to them is seen. Gal 5:1a restates their identity as "free" and how they came to be so, "For freedom Christ has freed us," (τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν). This is followed in the remainder of the verse by the pivotal command, "Stand firm therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery" (στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε.) Their identity is central but can only be maintained if they stand firm. To do so requires expulsion of whatever is indicated concretely by the metaphor of the sons of Hagar.

The pericope comes into relief in a different way when we consider not only the contrast of the various figures, mothers and sons, but also the contrast of means of birth, by spirit or by flesh. J. Louis Martyn has focused attention on this factor.⁷⁵ He observes that the key prepositional phrases which express the opposition, κατὰ σάρκα (vv. 23 and 29) and κατὰ πνεῦμα (v. 28) or δι' ἐπαγγελίας (v. 28), are adverbial

⁷⁴Matera, *Galatians*, 174.

⁷⁵Martyn, "The Covenants," 160-92. This factor has not gone unnoticed by other commentators. See, for example: Schlier, *Galaterbrief*, 217, and Betz, *Galatians*, 242. Relying on Martyn, see also Matera, *Galatians*, 169, 175; and Dunn, *Galatians*, 246-7.

and not adjectival. This means that they modify the verb Paul uses to indicate the means of birth, not the peoples formed. Martyn also shows the significance of Paul's choice of the verb that these phrases modify. Paul uses γεννᾶν, the verb used in the LXX and the NT for the male action of "begetting" rather than the verb used in the LXX of the passages from Genesis he cites. The verb there is τίκτειν, the verb used for a female giving birth. Paul's choice is deliberate.⁷⁶ Martyn describes Paul's choice and use of the verb γεννᾶν as a "missioning verb" used to indicate the genesis of Christians through the power of the gospel.⁷⁷ Thus two different birthing processes are opposed to one another, one according to the flesh and the other according to the spirit or by means of the Promise. The one according to the flesh, as Martyn and others point out, refers to the rite of circumcision.⁷⁸ He uses this and the contrasting birth process to distinguish the allegorical references as two different missions within formative Christianity, rather than between Judaism and Christianity.⁷⁹ In this he accomplishes his clearly stated exegetical purposes in relation to

⁷⁶Martyn ("The Covenants," 174-6) indicates that the use of τίκτειν in the question from Isa 54:1 could be better connected with rabbinical rules of interpretation that Paul clearly knows if he used τίκτειν elsewhere in the pericope rather than γεννᾶν. The choice of this verb is thus likely to be quite deliberate.

⁷⁷Cf. Phlm 10 and 1 Cor 4:14-15. See Martyn, "The Covenants," 176-7.

⁷⁸Martyn, "The Covenants," 180. See also Dunn, *Galatians*, 246-7.

⁷⁹Martyn, "The Covenants," 179.

twentieth century issues.⁸⁰ His worthy motivations, however, mask further implications of his analysis. The two birthing processes refer to contrasting rituals of incorporation: circumcision and baptism.⁸¹ This issue will receive further attention in Part C of this dissertation.

2.1.4 *Summary*

We have seen that Gal 4:21-31 is pivotal in the structure of Galatians because it summarizes what has already been said and lays the groundwork for what will follow. We have also seen that the pericope poses more questions for scholars than it answers. In a position where we would expect lucidity, we find shocking and unusual connections. Explanations are offered which acknowledge the confusion, such as the one Betz cites from Ps.-Demetrius that dark and mysterious arguments can be stronger than clear ones and various resorts to "Paul's emotionalism." We are left with the question, however, of why Paul would place such a confusing and slippery appeal/argument in such a crucial position.

The position and content give every indication that Paul considered this appeal/argument to be a strong one. Whether he himself introduced an interpretation of the Genesis passage or responded to his opponents'

⁸⁰Martyn, "The Covenants," 161-3.

⁸¹See also Oepke, *Galater*, 110-1. Oepke relates the two birth processes to a religious ontology as opposed to an ethical one, in connection with birth in the mysteries and Hellenistic thinking about spiritual birth.

use of the passage, Paul would need a very strong case to overcome the surface meaning of the Genesis passage. Yet the connections he makes in his multi-layered allegory appear to be confusing and tenuous at best.

We are left with questions. Why, for example, is Hagar identified as a mountain? Why is that mountain said to be in Arabia? How does the clause "for she is in slavery there with her children" explain why that mountain corresponds to present-day Jerusalem? How does a quotation from Isaiah which commands a barren woman to rejoice because now she has many children explain that Jerusalem above is free and is our mother? Why are there blanks in the column under that "free mother" when it is compared to the column under Hagar? Perhaps more basically, how can the Jewish Law be identified with slavery and with a slave concubine who was expelled from the family with her son, and how can all these negative elements be connected to the city which is at the heart of Jewish life? How can a Jew in the mid-first century C.E., even as a convert to Christ, not only think such things but also offer them as explanations he assumes will be self-evident to his audience?

As an appeal, the allegory appears to define a clear contrast and choice for the audience. Yet we are left with the question of how this contrast is expected to be persuasive and, it would appear, self-evident to the Galatian gentile audience. The concatenation of images in the two columns Paul forms are, as we have seen, frequently explained on the basis of various aspects of Jewish background texts. All of these, however, require information that there is no reason to expect that the audience would necessarily know. Even if they did have such knowledge,

the connections contended are complex and would not necessarily be readily apparent. This factor is frequently acknowledged by scholars who propose these explanations.

We will see in Parts B and C that the Anatolian context provides a reasonable explanation for the concatenation of images in the configuration found in this pericope in a manner that would be readily apparent to anyone who lived there. This, as we shall see, will require substantial reconsideration of many other aspects of the letter as well.

2.2 Galatians 3:19-4:11: Law, Stoicheia, and the Family System

In the previous section, we saw that some scholars explained the link that Paul makes between Hagar and the Law (as the Mount Sinai covenant) on the basis of the link already made to the Law and enslavement in 3:19-4:11. The link made in this passage poses problems of its own which will be discussed further in this section. It should be noted that the choice of 3:19-4:11 has been made on the basis of the content and the interrelated metaphors the passage contains. No case about this as a discourse unit in relation to the structure of Galatians.⁸²

In 3:19-4:11 Paul makes another multiple analogy based on a family system. The family system, it must be remembered, was a major arena of the relational dynamics of the slave system in antiquity, and this is where the metaphor of slavery and freedom has significance. In the pericope already discussed, 4:21-31, the family system in question revolved around Abraham. The family system assumed in Gal 3:19-4:11 corresponds to a more general pattern in the Greco-Roman world. Here issues which relate to Paul's metaphorical use of the family system will be addressed.⁸³ A description of the basis of the metaphor and how it operates in the letter will be useful in order to understand the

⁸²The definition of this passage includes several units as defined by Betz and others. The division includes the portion of the letter in which the issue of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου and the family system metaphor is concentrated.

⁸³Paul's mention of inheritance and the time appointed by the father, along with the roles of administrators who would have charge of the inheritance during the period of minority of the future head of the household, has caused commentators to question which legal system Paul

problems it raises for interpretation. Then the metaphorical referents which the family system describes will be discussed: the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου and the Law.

2.2.1 *Metaphorical Use of Social Locations within the Family System*

In Gal 3:19-4:11, Paul mentions several social locations within the family system. The focus of attention in the metaphor is on the son of the head of the household who will, at a specified time, assume the position of master (κύριος). The issue of freedom and slavery in this case is not a contrast of free and slave status so much as it is a contrast of phases of development of the master's son.⁸⁴ Figures within the family system are designated as enslaving forces during the son's time of minority, and although at least two of the figures named might

has in mind in this metaphor. Longenecker surveys the various arguments and points out that the inheritance laws to which many scholars refer post-date Paul, and that Paul does not conform to any of them (*Galatians*, 163). That the preoccupation with legal codification itself post-dates Paul means that Paul was far more likely to be presenting this family metaphor as his audience would observe it directly than by means of legal references. Use of the metaphor from the point of view of the future master, it should be noted, does not imply that Paul's audience is made up of future masters but that the household system centered in masters and their sons is their frame of reference. Just as the nuclear family today can form a general frame of reference even when a large proportion of our society does not live in one, so in antiquity the family system of the large household could easily form a metaphorical frame of reference beyond those who participated in it directly. While the legal systems reflected in the extant codes were interrelated with the family systems, it is a pattern of development within the system of family relations which is at the fore in the metaphor.

⁸⁴This is an essential distinction which is not always made, and rich with unexplored implications. Some of these implications will be explored in their cultic and metaphorical dimensions in Part C.

commonly be slaves themselves (παιδαγωγός and οἰκονόμος), their slave status is not in direct view. Rather it is the future master's time of minority "enslavement" which is contrasted with the time of majority at which he attains his freedom.

The family system which Paul appears to assume is the Roman one, or a Galatian one similar to it. The legal underpinnings of the Roman family system and Roman institutions are found in the legal principle of *patria potestas*.⁸⁵ In this the male head of the household (*paterfamilias*) had ultimate control over both children and slaves in his household as a kind of "magistrate" of the domain in which they lived. His powers included the power of life and death (*vitae necisque potestas*), the legal right of the *paterfamilias* to order the execution of any of his children or slaves. Included in this power was the

⁸⁵On this see: J. A. Crook, "Patria Potestas," *CQ* 17 (1967) 113-22; William V. Harris, "The Roman Father's Power of Life and Death," in *Studies in Roman Law in Memory of A. Arthur Schiller*, eds. Roger S. Bagnall and William V. Harris (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986) 81-96; Max Kaser, "Der Inhalt der Patria Potestas," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 58 (1938) 62-87; W. K. Lacey, "Patria Potestas," in *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1986) 121-144; Richard P. Saller, "Familia, Domus, and the Roman Conception of the Family," *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 336-55, and "Pietas, Obligation and Authority in the Roman Family," in *Alte Geschichte und Wissenschafts geschichte, Festschrift für Karl Christ*, eds. Peter Kneissle and Vler Losemann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1988) 393-410, and "Patria Potestas and the Stereotype of the Roman Family, *Continuity and Change* 1 (1986) 7-22; Suzanne Dixon, "The Sentimental Ideal of the Roman Family;" Emiel Eyben, "Fathers and Sons;" and Richard P. Saller, "Corporal Punishment, Authority, and Obedience in the Roman Household," in *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Oxford and Canberra: Clarendon Press and Human Research Center, 1991) 99-113; 114-43, and 144-65; and Suzanne Dixon, *The Roman Family* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

father's right to decide at birth whether to recognize his child as legitimate or to have the child exposed. While there is little evidence of this ever being used against adult sons, it was apparently used against daughters for drunkenness or extramarital sexual relations.⁸⁶ On a practical day-to-day basis, this right allowed corporal punishment and control of all other aspects of the lives of children and slaves. This formidable legal power has led some scholars to construct a harsh view of how *patria potestas* functioned in family relationships, portraying a family relatively devoid of affection.⁸⁷ Recently scholars have assembled evidence for much more affection in family life, at least between children and parents, based on the familial virtue of *pietas*.⁸⁸

The family system based on *patria potestas* meant that children and slaves both came under the control of the *paterfamilias*. Gaius, the renowned Roman jurist of the second century C.E., notes that the power of the master over slaves is generally recognized among all peoples.⁸⁹

⁸⁶See Harris, "The Roman Father's Power," 87.

⁸⁷Paul Veyne is usually cited as the major exponent of this view. See Paul Veyne, "The Roman Empire," in *A History of Private Life*, eds. Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., vol. 1, *From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, Paul Veyne, ed., trans. Arthur Goldhammer, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987), 1-207.

⁸⁸See the works of Crook, Eyben, Harris, Dixon, and Saller cited above.

⁸⁹Gai. *Inst.* 1.52-3. He also notes efforts in his day to curb excessive severity on the part of masters (1.53), although the effectiveness of legal remedies is a matter of scholarly dispute outside our purview here. Translations of Gaius are from: Gaius, *The Institutes of Gaius*, trans. Francis de Zulueta (Oxford: Clarendon, 1946).

He indicates that such power over children is unique to Romans, with the notable exception of the Galatians.⁹⁰ This suggests a similar but not identical system of family law in Galatian custom, but one which would also support the similarity of children and slaves assumed in Paul's metaphor. This family system is centered, as is Paul's metaphor, on the relationship of father (*paterfamilias*) and son (future *paterfamilias*).

2.2.1.1 Son and Heir

The metaphor of the son and heir operates in a less than simple manner in this pericope.⁹¹ The status of son in the family is assumed metaphorically in the use of the reference to being "under a pedagogue" (ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν), at 3:24-5. It is then made explicit in the reference to "sons of God" (υἱοὶ θεοῦ) in 3:26. By means of baptism and faith (πίστις) in Christ, that sonship status is conferred and also implies status as "heirs" (κληρονόμοι) to a legacy from Abraham, through Christ, as Abraham's seed. The son does not receive control of his inheritance,

⁹⁰Gai. *Inst.* 1.55: "the Galatians regard children as being in the *potestas* of their father" (de Zulueta translation). Francis Lyall also cites this ("Roman Law in the Writings of Paul -- Adoption," *JBL* 88 [1969] 465, n. 34.)

⁹¹"Son" is specified. How and whether daughters are conceptually included is an issue beyond this project and one to which little attention has been given to date. Lightfoot (*Galatians*, 170) points toward the question in his discussion of whether Paul has Roman or Jewish law in mind here, since: "the Roman law of inheritance supplied a much truer illustration of the privileges of the Christian, than the Jewish. By Roman law all the children, whether sons or daughters, inherited alike . . . ; by Jewish, the sons inherited unequally, and except in default of male heirs the daughters were excluded." This confines the notion of "inheritance" to property. Inheritance of the position of the male head of household as a free and as a full participant in society is not in view in Lightfoot's analysis.

however, while he is a minor, even though he is "master of all" (κύριος πάντων, 4:1), but at the "time pre-appointed by the (his) father" (τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρός).⁹²

To describe the "appointed time," more than one aspect of Paul's metaphor is operating. The appointed time is when God sends his son to "redeem" (ἐξαγοράζειν) those "under" the Law as pedagogue. This would appear to imply redemption from slavery even though those redeemed are metaphorically understood to have free status by birth (4:4-5). This is further complicated by the reference to the moment also as the time of reception of adoption as sons, although there is no original birth status indicated for the adopted sons (4:5). The moment is marked also by the son's cry "αββα ὁ πατήρ." The metaphorical reference for such a cry in the family context would appear to imply a more childlike call to the father as parent, although this is not entirely clear (4:6).⁹³ This moment is described at 4:7 as one of transition from being a slave to being a son, and, as a consequence, also an heir. This is consistent with the redemption language and conceivably the adoption language as

⁹²This poses some problem since it appears to mean that the father is dead. See Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 165. He clarifies that, "The point of comparison lies not in the circumstances of the father, but of the son," and that all metaphors cease to apply at some point.

⁹³I find no comment on this question in the commentaries, which focus on the retention of the Aramaic address, Αββα, its origin as a prayer address in Palestine and Jesus himself. See Betz, *Galatians*, 210-11; Burton, *Galatians*, 223-4; Dunn, *Galatians*, 221-2; Lagrange, *Galates*, 104-5; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 169-70; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 174-5; Matera, *Galatians*, 151; Mußner, *Galaterbrief*, 275-6; Oepke, *Galater*, 97-8; Schlier, *Galaterbrief*, 199, n. 1.

well. In 4:8-11 the metaphor continues to assume a previous slave status under confining supervision followed by free adult status.

For Paul's audience, such a complex metaphor of family relations would have required no clarification. For us, however, this is one of the assumptions which Paul and his audience share but to which we are not entirely privy. They would apparently understand, for example, "the time appointed by the father," although efforts to explain this from the evidence of Roman law remain problematic.⁹⁴

The equation of the stage of minority and slave status is one such assumption. While one commentator considers the equation of the young future heir and the slave to be hyperbole,⁹⁵ some equivalences of the son and the slave are assumed under the Roman family system characterized by *patria potestas*.⁹⁶ While sons differed markedly from slaves because they were able finally to reach an age of majority, during childhood they were equated with slaves in several ways. This is reflected in both Greek and Latin vocabulary, in which *παῖς* and *puer* refer both to child and slave.⁹⁷ In addition to this social equation, children were also identified anthropologically with slaves because of their "unbridled

⁹⁴See, for example, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 166.

⁹⁵Longenecker, *Galatians*, 162.

⁹⁶Dunn, *Galatians*, 210. See also Belleville, "Under Law," 61.

⁹⁷This will be discussed further at 6.2.3. See also David J. Lull, "The Law Was Our Pedagogue," A Study in Galatians 3:19-25," *JBL* 105 (1986) 494, n. 89. He cites Plato, *Leg.* 7.808E, "who says that, although children are treated as *freeborn* insofar as they are sent to teachers, they are treated as *slaves* when they are disciplined by pedagogues."

passions" which had to be held in check.⁹⁸ Minor sons were also unable to dispose of their inheritance.⁹⁹

Distinctions between slaves and sons in this system are significant, however. Richard Saller points out a major distinction based on the Roman virtue of *pietas* which established a web of relations and mutual obligations which included the children and wife of the *paterfamilias* but not his slaves.¹⁰⁰ A related distinction is that the major threat of punishment used against an adult son would be disinheritance, while the slave would be threatened or punished by the whip. This was as much a matter of honor and status as physical pain, since exemption from beating was an important symbolic dividing line between free citizens and all others.¹⁰¹

The distinction between slave and free also reveals the equation of slave and child. Like a slave, a minor son would be subject to corporal punishment. His minority status is equated with slavery as a phase of development which ends when he reaches the age of majority and inherits. Coming of age, then, is a kind of "ransom" from enslavement into the category of persons not subject to beatings, persons who can participate fully in a society where obligations can be more mutual.

⁹⁸See Lull, "The Law Was Our," 493-4.

⁹⁹See Betz, *Galatians*, 202.

¹⁰⁰Saller, "Corporal Punishment," 146, as a summary of "*Pietas*."

¹⁰¹See Saller, "Corporal Punishment," 151-61. Saller also indicates how the line shifts during the course of the Empire so that the citizen poor become subject to corporal punishment later in the Empire.

2.2.1.2 Son by Adoption

Paul also equates attainment of the age of majority as a "ransom" with the moment of reception of adoption as son and heir, indicated by the cry, "αββα ὁ πατήρ" (4:6). This metaphor relies upon assumptions of a legal and family system closest to that found in Roman law. Under Roman law, and to a lesser extent Greek law, the status of son and heir could also be conferred by adoption.¹⁰² The primary purpose of adoption was to assure the continuation of the family line of the adopting family. It was not for the sake of the adoptee.¹⁰³ Adoption was rare in Jewish legal practice, since other means were provided for the succession of the family line.¹⁰⁴

As part of the system of Roman family law, legal adoption (*adoptio*) was an aspect of the concept of *patria potestas* already mentioned. By *adoptio*, the adopted son comes under the *patria potestas* or paternal authority of the adopting father by a purchase which mimics the purchase of a slave.¹⁰⁵ The adopted son was not a slave, however, but equal to a

¹⁰²For a few notes on the Greek practice, see *TDNT*, s.v. "υἱοθεσία," by Peter Wülfing von Martitz.

¹⁰³See Lyall, "Roman Law . . . -- Adoption," 459.

¹⁰⁴See Lyall, "Roman Law . . . -- Adoption," 459-64. For citations of those who do contend a "semitic" background for adoption references in the NT, see Atkins, "Paul's Use," 179.

¹⁰⁵Atkins, "Paul's Use," 176-7. Another form of adoption, *adrogatio*, was similar but applicable only at Rome. According to Dunn (*Galatians*, 217), *adoptio* included, "the legal possibility of a father's releasing his son from his *potestas* by formally selling him (*emancipatio*). According to early Roman law, if this was done three times the son was finally free of his father's *potestas*. After the

natural-born and recognized son. The Greco-Roman papyri indicate that the adopted son became equal to a biological son in every way.¹⁰⁶

The specific Greek term which Paul uses for adoption, υἱοθεσία, is relatively rare. The earliest known uses of the word are found in funerary inscriptions from Delphi and Crete from the early second century B.C.E. These contrast "by birth" (κατὰ γένεσιν) with "by adoption" (καθ' υἱοθεσίαν).¹⁰⁷

The use of the term in the NT and specifically by Paul points toward a religious significance. As Betz points out, in the NT the notion of adoption "is always used in the religious sense describing

first two sales, however, the son could be manumitted (like a slave) back to his father, who would receive him back by a fresh act of *adoptio*. This helps explain how Paul's thought could move so easily from the thought of redemption (from slavery) to that of adoption to sonship. Presumably also included in Paul's use of the analogy was the fact that the adopted person was for all legal purposes in the same position as the natural son, with the same rights of succession -- so that 'adoption' is fully equivalent to 'sonship'."

¹⁰⁶Matera, *Galatians*, 151: "(1) the adopted son becomes the true son of his adopted father; (2) the father agrees to provide the necessities of food and clothing; (3) the adopted son cannot be repudiated; (4) the adopted son cannot be reduced to slavery; (5) the natural parents cannot reclaim the adopted son; (6) adoption leads to the right of inheritance." He relies on D. R. Moore-Crispin, "Galatians 4:1-9: The Use and Abuse of Parallels," *EvQ* 60 (1989) 215. See also Barry Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law*, Clarendon Law Series (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962) 77-9.

¹⁰⁷RAC, s.v. "Adoption," by Leopold Wenger and Albrecht Oepke. They cite SIG³ 1255: Δαμ[οφ]ῶν : Εὐφραγόρα Παλαιοπολίτας : κατὰ γένεσιν, καθ' υἱοθεσίαν δὲ : Ἀθανοδώρου Βουλίδας. (The inscription omits the first ι in υἱοθεσίαν.) The distinction is also made between the adoptive son as ποιητὸς or θετὸς υἱός and physical γνήσιος υἱός. See also Atkins, "Paul's Use," 175, who indicates that literary use can be traced to the first century B.C.E.

adoption as sons by God."¹⁰⁸ Betz assumes a background for the concept in mystery initiations, although the evidence he cites is more problematic than he indicates.¹⁰⁹ In any case, Paul clearly associates adoption with the reception of sonship in the ritual of baptism. Baptism as adoption includes the one baptized in a fictive kinship relationship which promises some future inheritance as well as a change of present status.¹¹⁰

Paul uses adoption, then, as a metaphor for the ritual inclusion of an adult as a son in the family. The event of adoption is equated to the moment when a natural son reaches the age of majority. For both this means inclusion in the family and in society as free adult men.

¹⁰⁸Betz, *Galatians*, 208-9.

¹⁰⁹Betz, *Galatians*, 208-9. In addition to a source on the Mithras cult, which postdates Paul's letters, he refers to the collection in *RAC*, s.v. "Adoption," by Leopold Wenger and Albrecht Oepke, 99-112. Some of their citations are problematic and associate supposed evidence of "rebirth" with adoption (100). They also indicate that adoption could also take place in the mysteries as a relationship of the initiate and the priest who initiates (110), with an illustration from the cult of Cybele and Attis to be discussed in Part B.

¹¹⁰This fictive kinship is not unprecedented. See Atkins, "Paul's Use," 178-9. He cites the work of Wayne Meeks (*The First Urban Christians: the Social World of the Apostle Paul* [Mew Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983] 87-8) on "the use of the concept of adoption in inscriptions in the Bosporean kingdom from the early empire." The inscriptions in question are from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani* 1281, 1283, 1285, 1286, unavailable to me at this writing. Cult members refer to one another as "adoptive brothers worshipping the Highest God." (εἰσποιοῖτοι ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὑψιστον). (See A.D. Nock, "The Historical Importance of Cult-Associations," *CIR* 38 [1924] 105.) Meeks and others assume these are Jewish syncretists, but since references to θεὸς ὑψιστος are no longer taken by scholars as proof of Jewish presence or influence in and of themselves, this must be questioned without additional indications in the inscriptions themselves.

2.2.1.3 Pedagogue

The παιδαγωγὸς was over the son during his minority. The παιδαγωγὸς was "the slave guardian appointed by a father to supervise his son's activities and behavior from the time the child woke up in the morning until he went to bed at night."¹¹¹ This supervisory control generally started when the boy left the care of a nurse at the age of six and continued until well after puberty.¹¹² At the age of majority, the pedagogue's administration ended and the boy "became his own master."¹¹³ The custom is attested as early as Herodotus and was widespread among Greeks, Romans, and well-to-do Jews in Paul's day.¹¹⁴

Pedagogues were frequently slaves of foreign origin and usually aged.¹¹⁵ The pedagogue was often portrayed visually as "an old, grumpy-looking Socrates," and the ugliness of some of these portrayals is said to indicate the "proverbial dread that children had" of them.¹¹⁶ The role of pedagogue was considered appropriate for slaves unfit or

¹¹¹Norman H. Young, "The Figure of the *Paidagōgos* in Art and Literature," *Biblical Archaeologist* 53 (1990) 80-1.

¹¹²Young, "The Figure," 81.

¹¹³Young, "The Figure," 80.

¹¹⁴Norman H. Young, "*Paidagogos*: the Social Setting of a Pauline Metaphor," *NovT* 29 (1987) 150.

¹¹⁵Young, "*Paidagogos*," 151. A pedagogue could also be a freedman (158).

¹¹⁶Young, "*Paidagogos*," 152 and n. 21; and "The Figure," 82.

unsuitable for other tasks due to age, injury, or alcoholism.¹¹⁷ Not surprisingly, then, negative portrayals of pedagogues abound in ancient art and literature. They had a reputation for administration of vigorous punishment, and the basic accoutrements of their position included the cane, whip, rod, and crooked staff.¹¹⁸ They were expected to be strict disciplinarians and to guard their charges from harm and from unsavory influences.¹¹⁹ They were also seen as the child's guide to good morals and good grammar, and their guidance was given with a firm and controlling hand.¹²⁰ From the child's viewpoint, the pedagogue was the ruler.¹²¹

The pedagogue's image was not one of unmitigated cruelty, however, and some commentators emphasize the more positive side of his relationship with his charges. Given the constant presence of the pedagogue in the child's life, affection and warmth is also seen in accounts of the relationship. This shows in the intimate care-taking

¹¹⁷See Young, *Paidagogos*, 152. He cites the criticisms of this practice by several of the moralists. See also Young, "The Figure," 82.

¹¹⁸Young, "The Figure," 80, 83; and *"Paidagogos,"* 162-3. The staff, as Young points out ("The Figure," 83-4), could be a sign of freed status but was readily available for other uses.

¹¹⁹Young, *"Paidagogos,"* 159. He cites a passage from the fourth century C.E. writer Libanius in which the vocabulary of guarding and imprisonment is thick in the description of the role of the pedagogue, as is the theme of protection of the boy from "undesirable lovers."

¹²⁰Young, *"Paidagogos,"* 159-60.

¹²¹See also Linda L. Belleville, " 'Under Law': Structural Analysis and the Pauline Concept of Law in Galatians 3:21-4:11," *JSNT* 26 (1986) 59-60.

functions expected of pedagogues and in the expressions of affectionate remembrance and care for pedagogues not infrequently shown by grown men.¹²²

In Paul's metaphorical use of the figure, some scholars emphasize the positive and protective aspect of the guardianship role.¹²³ Most, however, see the negative and confining aspect as dominant.¹²⁴ The issue hinges partly on the interpretation of a phrase in Gal 3:23: ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συγκλειόμενοι. Norman Young, for example, takes the participle as an exegetical clarification of the finite verb, thus "we were guarded, being confined under the law." As a result, in v. 24, "the law was actually our pedagogue."¹²⁵ This puts the confining role of the pedagogue to the fore in the metaphor.

David Lull, on the other hand, takes the participle as a substitute for the imperfect, "indicating 'continued action antecedent to that of the principal verb.'"¹²⁶ Thus Lull connects the verse to the previous

¹²²Young, "Paidagogos," 165-8; and "The Figure," 83-4.

¹²³T. David Gordon, "A Note on Παιδαγωγός in Galatians 3:24-25," *NTS* 35 (1989) 150-4; and Lull, "The Law was Our," 486-94. See also Dunn, *Galatians*, 197. Lightfoot emphasizes the role of moral training (*Galatians*, 148-9.) It should be noted that Paul's metaphorical use of the pedagogue is hardly original. Philo, for example, associated the παιδαγωγός with law (νόμος) and custom (ἔθος). See Young, "Paidagogos," 154-5. For other examples see Betz, *Galatians*, 177-8; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, 146-8.

¹²⁴Betz, *Galatians*, 177-8; Burton, *Galatians*, 199; and Lagrange, *Galates*, 90-1. See also the works cited by Lull, "The Law was," 481, n. 2; and Belleville, "Under Law," 57-9.

¹²⁵Young, "Paidagogos," 170.

¹²⁶Lull, "The Law Was," 487. He cites E. D. Burton, *Syntax of*

one, so that "The scripture enclosed all things under sin . . . " is indicated again in the participle: "we were guarded, having been enclosed [with everything under sin] . . . " He sees this as slightly adversative, so that "the Law *mitigates* the condition of being 'enclosed with everything under sin.'¹²⁷ Even if this is the case, enclosure is still emphasized, and the Law as pedagogue is instrumental in the maintenance of that confinement.

Confinement as a negative and undesirable condition must be taken as the point of the metaphor in Paul's rhetorical strategy. While the Law as pedagogue may once have served the protective purpose Lull emphasizes, Paul's point is that no adult man would want to return to the control of his childhood disciplinarian, regardless of the fact that the disciplinarian once protected him from harm. As Norman Young indicates, Paul's use of the metaphor emphasizes guardianship and the temporary aspect of the role.¹²⁸ Since status was established by the distinction of whether or not a person was subject to corporal punishment, this negative aspect of the meaning of "under a pedagogue" must not be undervalued.

the Moods and Tenses in NT Greek (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1976; reprint, original publication information not cited) § 127.

¹²⁷Lull, "The Law Was," 487. This relates also to his reading of 3:19, which will not be discussed here. See also Gordon, "A Note."

¹²⁸Young, "*Paidagogos*," 170-6.

2.2.1.4 Custodians

Equated with the figure of the pedagogue are the custodial figures of the ἐπίτροπος and the οἰκονόμος, translated variously as the "steward, trustee, or administrator" or the "one to whom the charge of anything is entrusted" and the "one who manages a household" or the "house-steward," "manager," or "administrator."¹²⁹ The οἰκονόμος was usually of servile origin, either a slave or a freedman.¹³⁰ The association of ἐπίτροπος, as a legally appointed guardian of an orphaned minor, and the παιδαγωγός, as a guardian by virtue of social position by the father's appointment, is not unknown.¹³¹ These are thus figures in the household distinct from the pedagogue but equated metaphorically by the confining and controlling role they would have in relation to the future head of the household during his age of minority.¹³² These custodial figures are, in turn, equated with the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου which formerly ruled over the gentile Galatians.¹³³

¹²⁹LSJ, s.v. "ἐπίτροπος," and "οἰκονόμος."

¹³⁰Dunn, *Galatians*, 211.

¹³¹Young, "*Paidagogos*," 155.

¹³²In this light, various interpretations and questions about the precise role of these two figures are not particularly significant. As Lightfoot (*Galatians*, 166) points out, these terms are meant to be comprehensive, not to correspond to technical terms in Roman law. On the equation of these figures with the pedagogue, see Longenecker, *Galatians*, 162.

¹³³While it would be tempting to distinguish these figures from the παιδαγωγός as those who ruled over the gentiles, the analogy would break down if any effort were made to associate these figures with the adoptive son. Paul's point here is the equation, not the distinction.

2.2.2 Equation by Analogy: *Stoicheia* and Sons, Jewish and Pagan

Above we mentioned that Paul constructs a multi-tiered analogy in Gal 3:19-4:11 based on the metaphor of the son and the figures who rule his life during his time of minority. While scholars are not unanimous in their interpretations of the structure of this analogy or the equations it appears to make, the correspondence of the elements can be lined up. One layer is represented by the son under the control of the pedagogue or the custodians.¹³⁴ This corresponds to another layer of the Jewish people and the Law. This is in turn equated to the gentile Galatians and the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*. Thus the controlling forces of a previous period are equated as pedagogue-custodians, Law, and *stoicheia*, as are those controlled as the inheriting son, Jew before Christ, and gentile before Christ.¹³⁵ The equation is represented as in fig. 1.

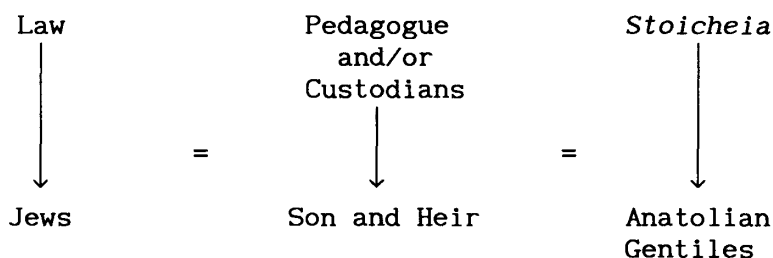


Fig. 1. Chart of metaphorical equations in Gal 3:19-4:11.

¹³⁴This layer could also be defined as two if pedagogue and custodians are seen as distinct metaphorical referents which correspond to Jewish and gentile respectively.

¹³⁵For versions of the structure of this equation, see, for example, Matera, *Galatians*, 155; and Belleville, "Under Law," 54-5.

The extent of these equations, particularly the inclusion of the Law as one of the *stoicheia* has been the subject of much debate. This has been made more difficult by the question of what Paul means by the *stoicheia*. Again a basic element of the letter that Paul assumes his audience will readily comprehend is a source of confusion for subsequent readers. Here we will address the question of what Paul means by the *stoicheia* and then go on to look at how the Law functions as one of them in the letter.

2.2.2.1 Who or What are the Στοιχεῖα τοῦ Κόσμου?

What Paul meant by the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου is not entirely clear. Burton provides a basic table of meanings in an appendix to his commentary.¹³⁶ Of the meanings he lists, Frank Matera has summarized four prominent interpretations for the phrase in Galatians: (1) the physical elements of the world, i.e. earth, air, fire, and water; (2) heavenly bodies, especially stars; (3) spirits associated with heavenly bodies and (4) the rudimentary principles of religious knowledge.¹³⁷

¹³⁶Burton, *Galatians*, 510-8. Other basic meanings he lists, like "letters of the alphabet," will not be discussed here. He treats στοιχεῖα and κοσμοῦ independently. For another survey, see Belleville, " 'Under Law,' " 64-9.

¹³⁷Matera, *Galatians*, 155. In an extensive study of the history of Christian interpretation of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, Andrew John Bandstra traces the history of these meanings as three types of interpretation: the "principalial," the "cosmological," and the "personalized-cosmological." He shows that most of the early Christian writers assumed that the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου were heavenly bodies or physical elements, although some saw them as some form of elementary instruction. Few of the Christian writers themselves saw them as

In favor of the first suggested meaning, "the physical elements of the world," scholars have assembled philological evidence to show that this was the meaning before the second century C.E.¹³⁸ An ancient understanding of the elements can help explain how Paul can match them conceptually to controlling figures in the family system. In antiquity, the elements were not understood merely as materials but had personal aspects as well. For example, in Schweizer's own argument for this interpretation he uses citations from Philo which indicate that many of his non-Jewish contemporaries attributed some form of personal

personal beings, although several indicate that they were commonly understood by others as the angels over the elements or heavenly bodies understood to be deities (5-12). In the nineteenth century the "cosmological" and "personalized-cosmological" interpretations became more prominent (15-19), and while each position has its supporters among twentieth century scholars, the majority support various versions of a "personalized-cosmological" view (19-30). Andrew John Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements of the World: An Exegetical Study in Aspects of Paul's Teaching* [Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam and J. H. Kok N. V. Kampen, 1964].

¹³⁸Evidence for this use of the phrase can be found in Wis 7:17; 19:18; 4 Macc 12:13; 2 Pet 3:10, as Matera points out *Galatians*, 149-50. See also Burton, *Galatians*, 515; Eduard Schweizer, "Slaves of the Elements and Worshipers of Angels: Gal 4:3, 9 and Col 2:8, 18, 20," *JBL* 107 (1988) 455-68; Josef Blinzler, "Lexikalisches zu dem Terminus τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου bei Paulus," *AnBib* 17-18, Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus, 1961, vol 2 (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1963) 429-43; and Dietrich Rusam, "Neue Belege zu den στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (Gal 4,3.9; Kol 2,8.20)," *ZNW* 83 (1992) 119-25. The other meanings of "letters" and "fundamental principles" are taken to be less likely with the specification "τοῦ κόσμου."

identification to these elements.¹³⁹ They were understood to have power and to be forces in their own right.¹⁴⁰

The second interpretation of the στοιχεῖα as the heavenly bodies is one which is made explicit beginning in the second century C.E. It appears in church literature as early as Justin Martyr, and other early Christian writers assume this meaning or attribute it to others.¹⁴¹ In order to make sense of this meaning in the context of Galatians, however, the same notion of power inhering in these heavenly bodies must be taken into consideration, just as with the physical elements.

While the third interpretation also sees the στοιχεῖα as heavenly bodies, the notion of personal beings is also included. Beyond a notion of "power," personal identity is also understood as attached to the heavenly bodies. Betz is a major exponent of this interpretation. He points to the large number of scholarly investigations on this issue and concludes that Paul refers to "demonic forces which constitute and control 'this evil aeon.'"¹⁴² He points to a negative view of the κόσμος in Paul's time, which saw it as composed of elements which were "not

¹³⁹Schweizer, "Slaves," 459-61.

¹⁴⁰Schweizer, "Slaves," 467.

¹⁴¹Matera, *Galatians*, 149; and Burton, *Galatians*, 515. For a survey on early Christian writers interpretations, see also Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements*.

¹⁴²Betz, *Galatians*, 204-5.

just material substances but demonic entities of cosmic proportions and astral powers which were hostile towards [humanity]."¹⁴³

One of the objections to this interpretation is the late date of the evidence for this meaning of the word. A recent article by Clinton E. Arnold treats this issue, and indicates that while the documents themselves may not be dated before the second century B.C.E., the traditions that they represent can.¹⁴⁴ Besides this, the identification of heavenly bodies as deities was common from a much earlier date.

Again, the context of the letter suggests such a meaning, as Arnold points out.¹⁴⁵ The metaphorical identification suggests that the στοιχεῖα can readily be conceptually personified as enslaving beings. At v. 4:8, Paul indicates that someone assumed the στοιχεῖα were deities when he refers to the Galatians' former "enslavement" τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσιν θεοῖς ("to beings which by nature are not gods")¹⁴⁶ which are τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα ("the weak and beggarly *stoicheia*").

Whether Paul himself assumed that the *stoicheia* existed is another question. It is not clear whether he denied their real existence or

¹⁴³Betz, *Galatians*, 205.

¹⁴⁴Clinton E. Arnold, "Returning to the Domain of the Powers: *Stoicheia* as Evil Spirits in Galatians 4:3,9," *NovT* 38 (1996) 57-9.

¹⁴⁵Arnold, "Returning," 60-1.

¹⁴⁶Other possible translations include, for example: "to those who in reality are not gods." (Longenecker, *Galatians*, 179); "to beings that by nature are no god (literally, 'to gods which by nature are not')" (Dunn, *Galatians*, 223); and "beings that by nature are not gods" (NRSV).

only their claim to be gods.¹⁴⁷ While this remains an open question, Paul clearly acknowledges that the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου had a real existence and "enslaving power" in the world of his Galatian audience. The question becomes: What did the word στοιχεῖα mean in the experience of the audience? The Anatolian locations of the audiences for the only Pauline uses of the word, in Galatia and at Colossae (Col 2:8), indicates that the Anatolian context will probably be enlightening.¹⁴⁸ Given the fact that the στοιχεῖα were part of the Galatians' former religious experience, the possibility should be considered that he uses

¹⁴⁷Arnold takes the latter for granted. In this he concurs with Mußner. See Arnold, "Returning," 60, n. 22. Bo Reicke has also argued that the *stoicheia* are represented as personal beings. His further contention that the *stoicheia* and the angels mentioned in 3:19 are the same figures is more difficult to accept, however. See Bo Reicke, "The Law and This World According to Paul: Some Thoughts Concerning Gal 4:1-11," *JBL* 70 (1951) 259-76 (originally published in Swedish in *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 8 (1943) 49-70. As Betz (*Galatians*, 214-5) points out, the phrase "by nature" (τοῖς φύσει) evokes this question, known as the "euhemeristic question" in Greek philosophical thought.

¹⁴⁸Arnold ("Returning," 71) also makes this same suggestion that the key to why Paul chose this term probably lies in Anatolia. He also points out, based on evidence only from Apuleius, that the "term 'elements' was prominent in mystery initiation ritual, magical recipes, and astrology -- all of which would have been an integral part of the Galatians' pre-Christian past. It is, therefore, quite likely that the Gentile readers would have been familiar with the term and would probably have associated it with deities or divine intermediaries." In spite of this, Arnold contends that Paul's thought on the *stoicheia* was not influenced by the "pagan" traditions he mentions but by Jewish apocalyptic tradition, represented by 2 *Enoch*.

στοιχεῖα as a general term for a variety of possible entities in the Galatians' experience.¹⁴⁹

Dunn articulates such an inclusive view when he suggests that all of these meanings are relevant and that emphasis on a distinction between personal and impersonal beings is inappropriate.¹⁵⁰ He suggests that Paul did not have such distinctions in mind but was "referring to the common understanding of the time that human beings lived their lives under the influence or sway of primal and cosmic forces, however they were conceptualized."¹⁵¹

These three meanings, then, can be associated into a general reference to elements and forces and demonic beings that people experienced as having control over their lives. Some variance must be allowed in how different groups of people may have conceptualized the operation of these forces or beings, with greater and lesser degrees of personality. Paul could, nevertheless, intelligibly refer to them collectively under the rubric στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, entities experienced as "enslaving."

¹⁴⁹Betz (*Galatians*, 213) notes that "Paul has nothing to say about the religions to which the Galatians adhered in the past . . . [but] prefers to lump them all together under the heading of 'the elements of the world' (τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου)."

¹⁵⁰Dunn, *Galatians*, 213. (On the latter distinction, contra Oepke, *Galater*, 131.)

¹⁵¹Dunn, *Galatians*, 213. Especially significant for the analysis to be presented in Part C is Dunn's inclusion of Fate as one of the *stoicheia* and as a figure who could be personified. Fate or *Tyche* was represented iconographically as a city goddess with a mural crown in a manner often indistinguishable from Cybele, as will be seen at 4.3.5.

In addition to these three interpretations so merged, a fourth remains. Many scholars have argued that Paul has in mind the "rudimentary principles of religious knowledge or instruction." This is the interpretation favored by Burton, Lightfoot, Matera, Belleville and others.¹⁵² While various arguments are advanced, the appeal of this interpretation appears to lie in a parallel conceptualization of the Law and the στοιχεῖα as "rules." The difficulty with this, however, is that both are metaphorically identified with controlling human figures and are portrayed as enslaving entities.

Andrew John Bandstra's exploration of the use of the word, and its Latin synonym *elementa*, by the Greco-Roman authors provides some helpful insights for all four interpretations. While the word means "basic component parts" in various contexts, the idea of the δύναμις (power) of those parts or elements is also present.¹⁵³ Plato, for example, saw the στοιχεῖα as the geometrical figures which generate the four elements of earth, air, fire, and water, and which "give to the physical bodies those motions and powers (δυνάμεις) characteristic of each."¹⁵⁴ Aristotle also "classifies στοιχεῖον as an ἀρχή, which, when it changes,

¹⁵²Matera, *Galatians*, 150; Burton, *Galatians*, 518; and Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 167. Belleville ("Under Law," 67-9) calls them "the regulatory principles of the world."

¹⁵³For this Bandstra (*The Law and the Elements*, 39-46) relies heavily on the work of A. W. Cramer, *Stoicheia tou Kosmou: Interpretatie van een nieuwtestamentische term* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1961).

¹⁵⁴Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements*, 41 and n. 63. He cites Pl. *Ti.* 53b; 56b.

affects that which follows from it."¹⁵⁵ For him the δύνανμεις inhere in the στοιχεῖα. The Stoics also developed this association of power with the physical elements in their understanding of the constitution of the universe.¹⁵⁶ Such a use can be seen as well in the *Dream-Book* of Artemidorus, where he speaks of the στοιχεῖα as categories to be taken into account in the interpretation of a dream. Some concept of "power" is included in this use, since these στοιχεῖα affect the circumstances of the dreamer.¹⁵⁷ A further example from Plutarch is also telling, that the "hope of honor or reward" and the "fear of punishment" are the στοιχεῖα of virtue. The meaning is not, as Bandstra points out, "merely 'fundamental principles,' but something more active, such as 'modifying' or 'controlling forces' that are inherent in the moral order."¹⁵⁸

Thus whether the στοιχεῖα are understood as elemental in the moral or physical or cosmic order, some form of controlling power is understood to inhere in them. By virtue of having such power, they must be considered in some sense beings or entities.

Paul, in any case, casts the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in a negative light. They threaten to reenslave the Galatians but are themselves

¹⁵⁵ Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements*, 41 and n. 64. He cites Arist. *Metaph.* 4.1.1013; and *Gen. An.* 1.2.716b3 and 4.1.766.

¹⁵⁶ Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements*, 42.

¹⁵⁷ Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements*, 36 and 45-6. The six στοιχεῖα are: φύσις, νόμος, ἔθος, τέχνη, ὀνόματα, and χρόνος. He cites Artem. *Onirocriticon* 1.3 and 3.66.

¹⁵⁸ Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements*, 46. He cites Plutarch, *De liberis educandis* 12c.

"weak and poor," not deities. As Arnold points out, "The *stoicheia* are seen only in terms of their malevolence in Galatians 4. Nothing good is said about their influence."¹⁵⁹ The major problem for interpretation emerges, then, in the way Paul associates the Law with these negatively-portrayed *stoicheia*.

2.2.2.2 Στοιχεῖα τοῦ Κόσμου and the Law

Fig. 1 above illustrated Paul's use of the family system metaphor described in the previous section to equate the previous experiences of Jewish Christians with those of gentile Christians. In the process the Law becomes equated with the *stoicheia* as one of the guardian figures who control the time of childhood "enslavement." The fine points of precisely what kind of association is made here can be argued, whether the Law is one of the *stoicheia* or is merely "associated" with them.¹⁶⁰ There is, in any case, what one commentator describes as an equation of "Judaism and paganism," which he characterizes as "radical in the

¹⁵⁹ Arnold, "Returning," 63.

¹⁶⁰ Some see the Law as one of the *stoicheia*. See Dunn, *Galatians*, 213; and Matera, *Galatians*, 155-6. Arnold ("Returning," 68) asserts that it is not an equation but an "association," while Longenecker (*Galatians*, 181) and Dunn (*Galatians*, 216) portray the relation as an equation. Lightfoot (*Galatians*, 173) sees the Law and the *stoicheia* equated as "elementary systems of training." The equation is possible because the "higher element in heathen religion" corresponds with the "lower element in the Mosaic law." The "lower element" is, for Lightfoot, the ritualistic, and that forms the "meeting point of Judaism and Heathenism."

extreme."¹⁶¹ Yet no matter how this equation or association is posed, the basic difficulty remains that the Law is portrayed quite negatively.

One attempt to mitigate this negative view was seen above in the discussion of the role of the pedagogue. Positive views of the pedagogue are emphasized in order to lessen the negative aspects of the metaphorical association of pedagogue and Law. Even if the pedagogue is viewed as a protective guardian over children, the prospect of return is portrayed as an uninviting idea.

Various meanings of the στοιχεῖα and degrees of association with the Law are also used to lessen the intensity of the unfavorable view of the Law. The more benign the interpretation of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, for example, the less the problem the association becomes for the Law. On the other hand, as Arnold's interpretation illustrates, a more malevolent interpretation appears to require some distancing of the Law from a pure equation with them

Although Paul specifically says that the Jews were 'under law' (ὕπὸ νόμου; Gal. 3:23; cf. also 3:13) and that the function of redemption was to rescue those who were 'under law' (ὕπὸ νόμου; Gal. 4:5), he does not *equate* being under the law with being under the *stoicheia*. It is doubtful Paul would have made the Torah coextensive with demonic powers. This is not, however, to deny a conceptual relationship between 'law' and *stoicheia*. It is more appropriate to speak in terms of a close association.¹⁶²

Arnold mitigates the negative presentation to which his analysis points by suggesting that the Law, for Paul, belongs to the "old aeon" and "is

¹⁶¹Longenecker, *Galatians*, 145, 181.

¹⁶²Arnold, "Returning," 68.

not a power for enabling the people of God to live" (3:21).¹⁶³ The Law, as Arnold presents it, is thus not itself a "demonic power" or an agent of evil but "it has been manipulated and exploited by the powers of this present evil age -- sin and the flesh."¹⁶⁴

The difficulty with Arnold's analysis is not that he sees that the *stoicheia* in Galatians appear to be demonic powers but that he shrinks from the full weight of what that identification implies for the Law. Paul does, indeed, "equate being under the law with being under the *stoicheia*." Without harmonizing the view of the Law in Galatians with that found in Romans, the Law has to be seen as a negative force equated with the enslaving *stoicheia*. While the Law had not always been an evil force, Paul describes it as an enslaving force if applied to the present life of the Galatians.

This is at the heart of Paul's rhetorical strategy. He equates the Law with the *στοιχεῖα* by metaphorically identifying both with figures who exercise control over minor sons. The point of the strategy is to equate the Law with a return to the gentiles' time under the *στοιχεῖα* and to make the prospect of return to that time appear as unappealing as possible. When the focus is upon Paul's attitude toward the Jewish Law as central to his thought, this negative portrayal emerges as a problem. When the focus is on the audience, however, the issue of the Law becomes a different question, as we shall see in Part C.

¹⁶³Arnold, "Returning," 69.

¹⁶⁴Arnold, "Returning," 69. For this he refers to Romans, not Galatians.

A second difficulty that plagues analysis of this part of the letter and of Paul's view of the Law is that it appears to be a "personal concept" as much as a set of rules or writings. Linda Belleville, for example, sees an apparent difficulty with the conception of the *stoicheia* as the angels associated with astral bodies because, "it is difficult to understand in what way being 'under law' (an impersonal concept) can be equal to being 'under angels' (a personal concept)."¹⁶⁵ This is not such a difficulty once we recognize that Paul does, in fact, portray the Law as a personal concept. The Law is identified with the slave-concubine Hagar in 4:21-31. Here the Law is metaphorically equated with personal figures in the family.

Other scholars recognize that Paul portrays the Law as a personal figure. Dunn, for example, in discussing 3:23 declares, "Very strikingly, Paul speaks of the law as a spiritual power, like sin (!) in verse 22. This confirms that Paul in this section [3:19-4:11] was playing with the thought of the law as a kind of angelic being."¹⁶⁶ Functioning "as one of those cosmic forces which were then popularly thought to control and dominate life," the Law was being "misrepresented to function just like another false god."¹⁶⁷ David Lull also notes that with the introduction of the metaphor of the pedagogue, Paul presents

¹⁶⁵Belleville, " 'Under Law,' " 66.

¹⁶⁶Dunn, *Galatians*, 197.

¹⁶⁷Dunn, *Galatians*, 226.

the Law as a personal concept or personified as an "active agent."¹⁶⁸
 This will become a key factor in understanding the letter in its
 Anatolian context, as will be seen in Part C.

2.2.3 Summary

We have seen in this portion of the letter that Paul uses a metaphor based in the family system to identify the Jewish Law with the *stoicheia* as experienced by the gentiles. The Law and the *stoicheia* were identified as confining entities similar to the figures in the family who ruled over the future *paterfamilias* during his time of minority. The time of minority, in turn, was equated with slavery so that the Law and the *stoicheia* were also identified as "enslaving" entities. This leaves us with a negative portrayal of the Law which has posed a problem for interpretation of Galatians. The multi-tiered analogy also contains, as we have seen, the implication that the Law is understood as in some sense a "personal" entity and not just a set of texts or rules.

¹⁶⁸Lull, " 'The Law was Our,' " 486. While Lull sees the first instance of this in the letter at 3:24, in Part C it will be seen that Paul's understanding of the Law as a personal being can already be seen in 3:1-5.

2.3 Galatians 3:6-14: The Curse of the Law

So far in this chapter we have seen that a negative portrayal of the Law poses a difficulty for the interpretation of Galatians. Paul likens the Law to a slave-concubine mother who bears children into slavery and to the controlling figures who discipline and confine the son of the *paterfamilias* during his time of minority, a time equated with slavery. Both metaphorical equations cast the Law in a negative light. The latter metaphor explains an even more negative characterization of the Law at 3:10-13 as a curse. Expressions like "shocking" and "radical in the extreme" have already been used to describe the characterizations discussed. This identification requires even stronger language. To call the Law a curse, as Paul does, is a more than shocking declaration for a Jew of Paul's day, or any time. Yet Paul makes this statement in an undiluted form. This is the primary difficulty with the pericope 3:6-14, which is dense with other problems as well, not all of which will be addressed here.¹⁶⁹ This major problem and some of the specific difficulties will be discussed as they appear in vv. 10-13.

2.3.1 *Galatians 3:10-12*

In Gal 3:6-16 Paul concatenates scripture citations. In vv. 10-13, many scholars see Paul employing his "midrashic skills" by use of the exegetical device known as "equal category" (*gezerah shawah*) which uses

¹⁶⁹Gal 3:6-14 is generally regarded as an appropriate discourse unit, but the focus here is actually on vv. 10-13. Analysis of these verses in the context of 3:6-14 will await further investigation.

link-words to string the texts together.¹⁷⁰ Reference to rabbinical techniques does not, however, provide much explanation nor does it solve the problems presented by Paul's choice of these citations or how they work in his overall rhetorical strategy.¹⁷¹

2.3.1.1 Self-Evident (?) Explanations

One of the difficulties in these verses is that Paul makes statements he assumes to be self-evident for which explanation would be helpful. In 3:10, for example, Paul appears to assume that it is self-evident that to be ἐξ ἔργων νόμου is to be "under a curse," and that this somehow explains the previous verse.¹⁷² "Curse" here appears to be placed in opposition to the blessing of the "faith of Abraham." Betz explains this as Paul's second proof from Scripture, and 3:10 as the conclusion, stated first.¹⁷³ What follows should thus explain and

¹⁷⁰Ardel Caneday, "'Redeemed from the Curse of the Law': The Use of Deut 21:22-23 in Gal 3:13," *Trinity Journal* 10 n.s. [1989] 187. He provides additional citations.

¹⁷¹Caneday (" 'Redeemed,' " 187) also points this out. Paul's use of scripture must be distinguished from midrash in the sense that exegesis of scripture is not his purpose here but rather convincing the Galatians not to be circumcised.

¹⁷²The phrase ἐξ ἔργων νόμου is usually translated "from works of the Law." In Part C of this dissertation significantly different translations will be discussed. Here the phrase will be left untranslated.

¹⁷³Betz, *Galatians*, 144. Few other commentators note this as a difficulty.

defend the statement. The problem is that what follows also appears to rely upon this assumption.

At 3:11, Paul states that "it is obvious" that "no one is justified before God by Law." This is also not inherently self-evident from the verse itself without assuming Paul's "gospel" of justification through πίστις Χριστοῦ. It relies on the previous verse, which declared those ἔξ ἔργων νόμου to be under a curse and hence not justified. Paul also finds scripture support in Hab 2:4, according to Paul's unique interpretation.¹⁷⁴ Dunn explains that this is "so luminously clear to Paul that he could assume, realistically or rhetorically, that it was equally self-evident to his readers."¹⁷⁵

"Luminously clear" though it may have been to Paul, there seem to be puzzle pieces missing for us. How are those ἔξ ἔργων νόμου under a curse? Why is it obvious that no one is justified before God by the Law? In a framework in which the Law is the means God has given for keeping the covenant and thus being blessed, how would this make any self-evident sense? Perhaps in a Christian framework steeped in two millennia of quotation from Paul's letters, this can be self-evident, but considering these words for the first time, these notions would seem to be quite opaque. These problems are compounded in two instances by Paul's use of scriptural defenses which assume a reversal of the plain meaning of scripture in order to serve Paul's argument.

¹⁷⁴On this see Betz, *Galatians*, 146-7. For Jewish interpretations of the verse in Paul's day, see Longenecker, *Galatians*, 118-9.

¹⁷⁵Dunn, *Galatians*, 174.

2.3.1.2 Paul's Use of Scripture: Twisting the Text

In 3:10-14, Paul cites four different verses from the OT. Two of these are especially problematic because, in a straightforward reading, the verse cited says the opposite of what Paul indicates. Longenecker, following Barrett, assumes that the scripture citations that Paul uses in 3:10-14 were previously introduced into the discussion by the opponents.¹⁷⁶ Burton also describes the passage as an attack, in which Paul contends on the basis of these same two citations, "that those who claim on the basis of scripture that justification is by law must on the same basis admit that the actual sentence of law is one of condemnation."¹⁷⁷ If Paul is making his attack based on these verses, we might well wonder why he provides so little counter-interpretation, particularly of verses which argue more strongly against his case than for it.¹⁷⁸

The first of these two citations is at 3:10, where Paul cites a verse of scripture from Deut 27:26 which is the last of a series of twelve curses to be pronounced by the Levites on Mount Ebal against

¹⁷⁶Longenecker, *Galatians*, 109-10, 116. See also Barrett, "The Allegory," 6; Matera, *Galatians*, 122. According to Caneday ("'Redeemed,'" 185, n. 3.), Barnabas Lindars also takes this position in his *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961) 232-37.

¹⁷⁷Burton, *Galatians*, 163.

¹⁷⁸Dunn (*Galatians*, 169) acknowledges this problem also in more general terms, "that talk of blessing would at once invite the corollary of blessing on law-keeper and curse on law-breaker."

disobedience to the Law (Deut 27:9-26). Paul cites this verse as if it proves his statement, when it actually says the opposite, that disobedience to the Law is a curse.¹⁷⁹ This is a problem for which several explanations have been attempted.

Betz summarizes four such explanations.¹⁸⁰ One, represented by Martin Noth, suggests that Paul correctly understands Deuteronomy. The curse, in this case, was part of the Sinai covenant in which "the Torah was given with the expectation that Israel would keep it faithfully." A single infraction would thus imply apostasy and the breaking of the covenant, thus making the curse effective. Noth thus argues that Israel, according to Deuteronomy, is already under a curse due to infractions of the Law.¹⁸¹ A second position is represented by Hans

¹⁷⁹The verse as Paul cites it does not correspond exactly to the one found in the LXX or the MT. The major variation is the substitution of τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου ("everything that is written in the book of the Law") for τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου ("the words of the Law.") This can be seen as a conflation with Deut 28:61, as does Caneday, "Redeemed," 195. Dunn (*Galatians*, 170-1) characterizes Paul's use of Deut 27:26 in terms of "boldness" and "brazenness" since it is such a direct reversal of what "typical Jewish thinking" would assume about this text. Francis Watson calls it "a startling *non sequitur*." (*Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles*, 71).

¹⁸²Betz, *Galatians*, 145-6.

¹⁸¹Betz, *Galatians*, 145. He cites (n. 65) Martin Noth, "For all who relay on works of the law are under a curse," in *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966) 118-31. According to Dunn, other versions of this argument have apparently been made also by N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991) 141-2; and F. Thielman, *From Plight to Solution: A Jewish Framework for Understanding Paul's View of the Law in Galatians and Romans* (Leiden: E. J. Brill) 68-9. On these see the summary in Dunn, *Galatians*, 171-2.

¹⁸²Dunn, *Galatians*, 171.

Joachim Schoeps, that Paul intends "to show the unfulfillable nature of the Torah from the Torah itself."¹⁸³ Unstated is Paul's assumption that it is self-evident that "nobody is able to keep *the whole law*," and thus everyone is under a curse. Heinrich Schlier represents a third position, according to which Paul's emphasis is on *doing* the Torah rather than believing.¹⁸⁴ A fourth explanation, offered by Mußner, emphasizes "not doing" rather than doing. It is impossible, he says, to fulfill all the demands of the Law.¹⁸⁵ Betz notes that none of these solutions is satisfactory but considers that Galatians itself "sufficiently presents Paul's view of the matter."¹⁸⁶

Betz's own explanation relies on a distinction between the "Jewish" concept of fulfillment of the Law by works and what he implies is Paul's "Christian" concept in which salvation in Christ and fulfillment of the Law are linked.¹⁸⁷ How this is any more satisfactory is unclear, since Paul still cites a verse of scripture which indicates that those who do the "works of the Law" would be the blessed ones, not the cursed ones.

¹⁸³Betz, *Galatians*, 145. He cites (n. 67) Hans Joachim Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History*, trans. Harold Knight (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961; Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1959) 175-7. See also Burton, *Galatians*, 164-5; and Longenecker, *Galatians*, 118. Among others who concur he cites: Oepke, *Galater*, 72; and Mußner, *Galaterbrief*, 224-6.

¹⁸⁴Betz, *Galatians*, 146. He cites Schlier, *Galaterbrief*, 132-4.

¹⁸⁵Betz, *Galatians*, 146. He cites Mußner (*Galaterbrief*, 74) who also follows Ulrich Luz. The explanation is based on Romans 3:19-20 rather than on Galatian.

¹⁸⁶Betz, *Galatians*, 146.

¹⁸⁷Betz, *Galatians*, 146.

Concurring with the position of Schoeps as described by Betz, Longenecker assumes that Paul's citation of Deut 27:26 in Gal 3:10 provides a "direct and vigorous attack" against the circumcision advocates' use of the verse. This attack is effective because he shows that "there is no reference to faith, righteousness, or blessing, but rather only curse."¹⁸⁸ This can be inferred, perhaps, but Paul does not provide such a comment on his citations. Such an argument from inference could hardly be expected to stand against the plain reading of the verse. Longenecker provides no further explanation.

All these explanations fit into what Dunn characterizes as the assumption that ἐξ ἑργῶν νόμου means reliance on one's own righteousness or blamelessness by means of one's own perfect obedience to the commandments. He points out that given Jewish thought concerning the means of atonement as part of the Law, such "impossible perfection" is "not part of the context of the argument at this point and should not be read into it."¹⁸⁹ Dunn points instead toward a closer analysis of the phrase ἐξ ἑργῶν νόμου. He emphasizes those particular aspects of the "works of the Law" which serve to distinguish Jews from gentiles and sees the restrictiveness as "an abuse of what God demands of those in relationship with him" and by extension a "curse."¹⁹⁰ While Dunn's rendering of ἐξ ἑργῶν νόμου will require reexamination in light of the

¹⁸⁸Longenecker, *Galatians*, 116-8.

¹⁸⁹Dunn, *Galatians*, 171.

¹⁹⁰Dunn, *Galatians*, 172-3.

Anatolian context, his identification of the need for closer analysis of this phrase points toward issues which will be important in Part C of this dissertation.

A second instance of Paul citing a verse which says the opposite of what he intends is found at 3:12, where Paul cites Lev 18:5. He cites only, ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς ("The one who does these things will live in them") to prove that ὁ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως ("the Law is not from faith.") The whole verse in Leviticus, however, proclaims the benefits of obedience to the Law as life, "You shall keep my statutes and my ordinances, by doing so one shall live: I am the Lord. (NRSV)" Here again Paul twists the statement of a blessing conferred by doing the "works of the Law" into a curse.

Longenecker makes the same assumption about this verse as he does about 3:10, mentioned above. Somehow the citation functions as an attack on the view of "doing" the Law vv. "faith."¹⁹¹ Matera suggests that Paul interprets one citation by another, setting the citation from Lev 18:5 in contrast to Hab 2:4.¹⁹² Dunn sees the use of Lev 18:5 as a "description of the limited role of the Law."¹⁹³ All of these explanations, however, still require a reversal of the plain reading of Lev 18:5 which is not entirely clear. Paul uses the verse not to dispute what it says but as if it proved his own point.

¹⁹¹Longenecker, *Galatians*, 120.

¹⁹²Matera, *Galatians*, 123-4.

¹⁹³Dunn, *Galatians*, 176.

2.3.2 Galatians 3:13

This verse contains several problems for interpretation: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law by becoming a curse for us, for it is written, "Cursed be everyone who hangs upon a tree." The questions to be considered here include: (1) how Christ can be considered to have "become a curse;" (2) what it means that Christ "redeemed" (ἐξηγόρασεν) us from a curse by becoming a curse; (3) how Paul can dare to speak of the "curse of the Law;" and (4) how "hanging on a tree" is explanatory.

2.3.2.1 Christ Considered to Have "Become a Curse"

The statement that Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law by γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα ("becoming a curse for us") appears as another statement that Paul presumes will be readily understood by his audience. What this means is hardly self-evident to us, even if it is, as Dunn suggests, "simply a more vivid way of saying 'become accursed.'"¹⁹⁴

One possible interpretation is the notion that "Christ became the *object* of the curse in place of us," as some form of scapegoat.¹⁹⁵ The

¹⁹⁴Dunn, *Galatians*, 177. He refers also to the OT citations of Mußner, *Galaterbrief*, 233. On the expression as a metonymy see also Burton, *Galatians*, 171.

¹⁹⁵Betz, *Galatians*, 150, and n. 122. This is the position of Schlatter (*Galaterbrief*, 138); Longenecker, *Galatians*, 121-2; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 139-40; and others. Daniel R. Schwartz bases an argument for this perspective on Paul's use of ἐξαπέστειλεν for God "sending forth his son" (4:4-5) and linking it to the action of the priest in transferring impurities and sins to a bird or goat which is "sent forth" in Leviticus 14 and 16. (See "Two Pauline Allusions to the Redemptive Mechanism of the Crucifixion," *JBL* [1983] 259-68.)

question of the origin of this atonement logic in Paul's thinking is open, however, and the assumption of an expiatory explanation has not gone unchallenged.¹⁹⁶ Bradley McLean, for example, disputes a traditional assumption that Paul's soteriology relies upon the such a "concept of Christ's expiatory death." He shows that this concept is unfounded either in its supposed Jewish background or in Paul's own letters.¹⁹⁷ What McLean's analysis suggests, although he does not specifically draw out the implication in his article, is that further exploration of the "pagan" background is warranted for some of the Pauline texts usually associated with the "expiatory soteriology." This will be particularly helpful for this verse, as we shall see in Part C.

Others, including Morna Hooker, Dunn, and Matera, explain this by a logic of "interchange," in which, as Matera puts it, "Christ assumes humanity's situation so that humanity can assume his situation."¹⁹⁸ In another version of this exchange model, Burton distinguishes between a curse of the Law and a curse of God, so that the meaning of Christ

¹⁹⁶Longenecker (*Galatians*, 122-3) suggests that it comes from "a pre-Pauline, Jewish Christian confessional statement that epitomizes the work of Christ in terms of an 'exchange curse.'" Against this, see Dunn, *Galatians*, 177.

¹⁹⁷McLeans's dismissal of the *hatta't* sacrifice (usually mistranslated as "sin-offering") as background merits reconsideration in the light of Mary Douglas's analysis of the role of boundary transgression, to be discussed further in Part B. Nevertheless he is correct that it does not provide the direct notion of expiation for sin usually attributed to it. See Bradley H. McLean, "The Absence of an Atoning Sacrifice in Paul's Soteriology," *NTS* 38 (1992) 531-53.

¹⁹⁸Dunn, *Galatians*, 177; Matera, *Galatians*, 120. See also Morna D. Hooker, "Interchange in Christ," *JTS* n.s. 22 (1971) 349-61; and "Interchange and Atonements," *BJRL* 60 (1978) 462-81.

becoming a curse (accursed) is that he "fell under the curse of the law."¹⁹⁹ F. F. Bruce's position is similar, that the curse of the Law is neutralized for believers by Christ's enduring it himself, and because the manner of his death brought him under a curse specified in the Law.²⁰⁰

2.3.2.2 Christ "Redeemed" Us from Curse by Becoming a Curse

What this "becoming a curse for us" accomplishes is "redemption:" Christ "redeemed" (ἐξηγόρασεν) us from the curse. This "redemption" has been explained by reference to the practice of manumission by purchasing a slave, used also as a religious metaphor elsewhere.²⁰¹ This can be seen as "the transaction in Christ that liberates" from the condition of slavery or minority to sonship and freedom.²⁰² Few commentators point to

¹⁹⁹Burton, *Galatians*, 172. He lists four other possible interpretations for how Christ became a curse: (1) as an object of divine disapproval; (2) as a vicarious object of divine disapproval; (3) as one who experienced God's wrath against sinners; (4) as "the object of human execration." The first is untenable, and the other three are variations on scapegoat interpretations.

²⁰⁰F. F. Bruce, "The Curse of the Law," in *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honor of C. K. Barrett*, ed. M. D. Hooker and S. G. Wilson (London: SPCK, 1982) 29-31.

²⁰¹See Betz, *Galatians*, 149-50, esp. n. 150, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 139, and Bruce, "The Curse," 33. Longenecker (*Galatians*, 121) calls it euphemistically a "commercial metaphor used in a religious setting." Dunn (*Galatians*, 121) also indicates this more general meaning.

²⁰²Caneday, "'Redeemed,'" 202-3. (The language is his, although he emphasizes the context of the curse as primary.)

the particular relevance of this metaphor in relation to the use of curses in central Anatolia.²⁰³

2.3.2.3 The "Curse of the Law"

More problematic is the notion of the Law as a curse. We have seen repeatedly in this chapter that Paul's severely negative portrayal of the Law is a major difficulty for interpretation. As Betz has noted, "The concept of 'curse of the law' is strange and occurs only here in Paul."²⁰⁴ To call the Law itself a curse is severe indeed and requires some explanation.²⁰⁵ The array of possibilities is illustrated by a few of the suggestions scholars have proposed.

Betz explains "the curse of the Law" primarily by reference to the metaphor developed in 3:21-4:11, already discussed.²⁰⁶ Dunn explains it according to one of his basic interpretive principles, that Paul's real concern is about Jewish boundary-markers.²⁰⁷ A more negative outlook on the Law is exemplified by F. F. Bruce, following Hübner, who considers

²⁰³Burton (*Galatians*, 168-71) provides an extensive treatment which draws the meaning of the verb in relation to the curse, but does not mention the Anatolian context.

²⁰⁴Betz, *Galatians*, 149.

²⁰⁵It would be impossible here to address the enormous body of scholarly writings on Paul's view of the Law.

²⁰⁶Betz, *Galatians*, 148-52.

²⁰⁷Dunn, *Galatians*, 176-7.

the Law a curse because it was "introduced by angelic powers hostile to human beings in order to lure them into sin."²⁰⁸

Another suggestion is made by T. L. Donaldson who sees the curse of the Law as "Israel's plight" which is part of the universal plight of all people under the demonic forces of the cosmos. The Law is a curse, then, because it is one of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου. The curse is in the fact that the Law cannot be kept, and thus the purpose of the Law is "to clarify the universal human plight."²⁰⁹

Christopher Stanley argues instead that the Law is called a curse because it functions primarily as a threat since, "Anyone who chooses to abide by the Jewish Torah in order to secure participation in Abraham's 'blessing' is placed in a situation where he or she is threatened instead with a 'curse,' since the law itself pronounces a curse on anyone who fails to live up to every single one of its requirements."²¹⁰

While these suggestions are informative, the "curse of the Law" remains a strange concept within a Jewish framework. We will see that some of these same suggestions are more intelligible when seen against the gentile religious background in Anatolia.

²⁰⁸Bruce, "The Curse," 27, cites H. Hübner, *Das Gesetz bei Paulus* (Göttingen, 1978) 28ff.

²⁰⁹Donaldson, "The 'Curse,'" 103-4.

²¹⁰Stanley, " 'Under a Curse,' " 500.

2.3.2.4 "Hanging on a Tree" as Explanatory

To support his statement that Christ "became a curse for us," Paul cites another verse of scripture, this one from Deut 21:23. It is part of an instruction regarding the execution of criminals, that they should be buried the same day, ὅτι κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμώμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου ("because everyone who hangs upon a tree has been cursed by God," LXX) and as a consequence, leaving the corpse unburied will defile the land.²¹¹ The manner of Christ's death, then, provides evidence that he has become a curse.²¹² For Burton, who contends that Christ fell specifically under the curse of the Law, the manner of his death proves that he is accursed because this verse from the Law specifies the applicable curse.²¹³

It may be that Paul was turning a Jewish charge to a different purpose, the charge against Christians that Jesus could not be the Messiah since the manner of his death would make him accursed, according to Deut 21:23.²¹⁴ How this explains how Christ "redeems us" from the "curse of the Law," however, remains unclear.

²¹¹Paul's citation varies from the LXX. He uses a different variation on the root word for "curse," ἐπικατάρατος, omits the phrase ὑπὸ θεοῦ and uses a different word order. For various explanations see Betz, *Galatians*, 151-2.

²¹²By the first century C.E., this language was applied specifically to crucifixion. For references see Dunn, *Galatians*, 178. Additional references from Jewish sources can be found in Caneday, " 'Redeemed,' " 196-201.

²¹³Burton, *Galatians*, 173-5.

²¹⁴Dunn, *Galatians*, 178.

2.3.3 *Summary*

We have seen that Paul's argument in Gal 3:10-13 is less than lucid from the perspective of a Jewish framework. Paul makes what would surely be a shocking presentation of the Law as a curse, and uses scripture citations from that same Law in a rather odd fashion to defend his statement. This, like his presentation of the role of Christ "becoming a curse" in order to "redeem us from the curse of the Law," may seem clear in the light of Christian assumptions. Without assuming a framework of Pauline Christianity's interpretation of the OT, however, these concepts can become quite opaque.

2.4 Chapter Summary: Twenty Questions about Galatians

The opaque quality of Gal 3:10-13 is one which we have already seen repeated in the two other pericopes discussed as well. The difficulty revolves around Paul's negative portrayal of the Law²¹⁵ and the sense that something has been assumed that is not stated explicitly in the letter. Part C will show that the Anatolian context provides important explanations for the complex of difficulties which have been discussed in this chapter. Before leaving these difficulties, however, it will prove helpful to summarize a list of the questions and issues to which we will return.

²¹⁵As Betz states it (*Galatians*, 149), ". . . the only positive thing Paul can say about the Torah is that it was limited in time and function."

Regarding the concatenation of images and figures in Gal 4:21-5:1:

- (1) How can the "shocking alignment" under Hagar be explained, specifically the identification of the Law with slavery and with a slave-concubine who is expelled from the family with her son? How can this "Law" be connected, in turn, with the city at the heart of Jewish life? How could such a shocking equation occur to any first century Jew?
- (2) Even if the connections made in this "shocking alignment" under Hagar can be explained on the basis of how they could have occurred to Paul, how can Paul present this alignment to his audience as if it would be self-evident? How is the clause, "for she is in slavery there with her children" explanatory?
- (3) Why is Hagar identified as a mountain? Can this explain the concatenation of images?
- (4) Why is that mountain said to be "in Arabia?" Can the geographic location provide an explanation?
- (5) What is Paul's purpose in this passage and why is it placed at such a crucial juncture in the letter?
- (6) Why are blanks left in the list under the ἑλευθέρα? Why does she have no identification with a mountain and no name?
- (7) Why is "Jerusalem above" identified spatially in contrast to the chronological identification of "present-day Jerusalem?"
- (8) How is the link made between "Jerusalem above" and the ἑλευθέρα?
- (9) How does the quotation of Isa 54:1 support the claims that Jerusalem above is free and that she is "our mother?"

Regarding the Gal 3:19-4:11:

- (10) Who or what are the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου?
- (11) How can the Law be equated with the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου?
- (12) How can the Law be understood as a "personal concept?"

Regarding Gal 3:6-14:

- (13) How can the Law be considered a curse?

- (14) How can Paul make statements as if they were self-evident, such as the equation of ἐξ ἔργων νόμου with "under a curse," or that "no one is justified before God by Law?"
- (15) How can Paul use citations from scripture with a complete reversal of their meaning without providing any counter-interpretation, specifically Deut 27:27 and Lev 18:5, cited at 3:10 and 3:12? How can he twist the blessing given in these verses into a curse?
- (16) How can Christ be considered to have "become a curse?"
- (17) What does it mean that Christ "redeemed us from a curse by becoming a curse?"
- (18) How does "hanging on a tree" explain anything?

Regarding these three passages:

- (19) How can the Law be identified with a curse, a pedagogue, the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου and Hagar all at once?
- (20) How can Paul present the Law so negatively?

To answer these questions, we must take a long detour through central Anatolia in the first century C.E. This will occupy our attention in Part B, and in Part C we will return again to the text of the letter.

PART B

THE CENTRAL ANATOLIAN RELIGIOUS CONTEXT OF GALATIANS

INTRODUCTION

This middle portion of this dissertation detours into central Anatolia in the first century C.E. in order to understand the religious world of the audience to whom Paul addresses his letter. While the initial insights which indicated that such a detour would be productive for interpretation of Galatians were found in aspects of the cult of the Mother of the Gods, it has proved important to look first at the popular religious ethos of central Anatolia.

We saw in Chapter 1 the necessity of viewing the cults of antiquity on their own terms and not according to a uniform "template." This has proved essential to gain some understanding of the cult of the Mother of the Gods which forms a major aspect of the context of Galatians. While it would have appeared convenient and sufficient to rely upon general overviews of the cult of Cybele and Attis as one of the "mystery cults" of antiquity, and to use general information about the cult as it was known at Rome, the cult does not come into proper focus as a background for Galatians unless we see it in its Anatolian form. This has required a preliminary detour also into Anatolian popular religiosity.

This preliminary detour will be found in the discussion of the Anatolian "divine judicial system" in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 provides an

overview of the Anatolian Mountain Mothers in their identification as "guardian goddesses" and as manifestations of the Mother of the Gods. The castrated male figure who accompanies the Mother of the Gods, Attis, is the focus of attention in Chapter 5. The interrelation of the two in myth and ritual is seen in Chapter 6 as the context for understanding the *galli* as the self-castrated cultic functionaries of the Mother, in Chapter 7.

What we will see is a pattern of guardian goddesses of particular places, identified with overseeing mountains. These guardian goddesses thus take their place among Anatolian "enforcer deities" who maintain order and justice in their communities by the power of their overseeing vision. The *galli*, overtaken by the *mania* of this awesomely powerful Mountain Mother, show her power in their self-castration and thus show that they belong to her irrevocably. In their self-castration they also represent Attis, who is mourned annually and about whom the myths are recounted.

Part C will demonstrate that within this pattern circumcision as an initiation ritual is too similar to castration to be understood simply as a "Jewish" action. Paul sees the implications that circumcision would have for his audience in this background. He perceives circumcision as a potential return to the very religious context from which he hoped to release them by his proclamation of Christ. Circumcision is thus a grave threat to Paul's gospel. We will see that Paul's rhetorical strategy in Galatians relies upon the pattern of the Anatolian Mountain Mothers.

CHAPTER 3

POPULAR RELIGIOSITY AND THE DIVINE JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN THE CENTRAL ANATOLIAN ZONE

With this chapter we begin an extended detour from Paul's letter to the Galatians into the world of the audience of the letter, a detour which will occupy the next five chapters. The most neglected aspect of the world of the audience, and perhaps the most informative, is the "Anatolian zone," as was proposed in Chapter 1. Having defined central Anatolia as the appropriate context to consider as the background of Paul's letter to the Galatians, a picture of the popular religiosity of this area may begin to be drawn.

People living in the central high plains of Anatolia at the time of Paul experienced the presence of the Mother of the Gods towering above them in the various mountain peaks by which they named her. As various ethnic groups invaded, migrated into, and settled this region over the course of the two millennia before Paul's arrival, the "goddess with the lions" claimed religious devotion from each successive group. Chapters 4 to 7 will describe this Mother of the Gods and her cult. In this chapter, her towering presence must be noted in the background while attention is turned to other general features of religious life in the Anatolian zone.

Most of this chapter will provide a description of several aspects of popular religiosity which emerge from the epigraphical evidence. After a brief overview of the popular religious ethos, the divine figures unique to Anatolia will be introduced, as well as the cultures which influenced central Anatolia in the first century C.E (3.1). Then the aspects of evidence of a "divine judicial system" and its operation in central Anatolia will be elaborated (3.2). At the end of the chapter these will briefly be set in the context of the social and economic role of the sanctuaries in this area (3.3).

3.1 The Popular Religious Ethos of the Anatolian Zone: An Overview

The popular religious ethos of central Anatolia can be generally characterized as one in which the gods and divine intermediaries are experienced as "enforcers" of cultic and social order. This description especially characterizes the rural areas. Stephen Mitchell provides a useful summary description in his chapter on rural Anatolia. He notes that at the village sites in Anatolia, and particularly in Phrygia, the most numerous inscriptions are first the tombstones and then the votive dedications to the gods. Other types of inscriptions are rare. He observes that the graves were more lavishly decorated than the houses of the living, and concludes:

A villager who looked around him for visible symbols of permanence in his family and community would turn to the cemetery and the family tombs; for visible symbols of authority he would turn to the sanctuary or, if his village had been prosperous enough to build one, to a temple.

The gods should then have a major role to play not simply in protecting the dead, but in regulating the conduct and relationships of the living. Traditional patterns of behaviour will have taken the places of regulations and law codes, whose

custodians were not magistrates or village councils but the gods and, where necessary, their priests, prophets, and other interpreters.¹

Misdemeanors appear in many cases to have been a matter for divine administration of justice, in a "divine judicial system" in which the deities took the place of local magistrates.² In central Anatolian popular religiosity, then, divine entities were conceived as autocratic rulers feared by their worshippers as subservient subjects.³ We shall see in the epigraphical evidence how Anatolians experienced this subjection. This framework of religious understanding has been understood to reflect an autocratic societal organization which emerges with "the rise of absolute rulers in the Hellenistic-Roman kingdoms."⁴ This to some extent reflects the social and economic role of some of the

¹Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 189.

²See also Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 183.

³The work of A. D. Nock and F. Bömer expresses what has been described as the "orthodox" position on this. H. W. Pleket provides a helpful brief summary of this position in his terminological study on worshippers' subservience to deities in the Greek-speaking world. (H. W. Pleket, "Religious History as the History of Mentality: the 'Believer' as Servant of the Deity in the Greek World," in *Faith, Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. H. S. Versnel [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981] 154-5; A. D. Nock, "Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire," *JHS* 45 [1925] 84-101; reprint in *Essays* I 33-48; Franz Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*, 4 vols. [Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 1960-81].) Opinions on the origins of this mentality are not part of this project.

⁴Pleket, "Religious History," 154. In his study on the Jewish synagogue at Sardis, A. T. Kraabel also summarizes the general piety of Anatolia from the perspective of the worshipper as one of submissive humility, in which "the worshipper often sees himself as a humble, insignificant person, a slave, not a free man." A. T. Kraabel, "'ΥΠΙΣΤΟΣ and the Synagogue at Sardis," *GRBS* 10 (1969) 82.

temples and sanctuaries in central Anatolia, to be discussed in the last section of this chapter. First a brief indication of the "cast of characters" in Anatolia, divine and human, will be helpful.

3.1.1 *Cultural Influences and Human Populations in the Anatolian Zone*

Archaeologists have surfaced evidence of settlements in Anatolia from as early as the sixth millennium B.C.E. Notable is the excavation at Çatal Hüyük where the Mother Goddess is the prominent human form, and where a statuette of her has been found seated on a throne between two feline figures in much the same configuration as she appears in the Greco-Roman era.⁵ During the third millennium B.C.E., the peninsula was known in Mesopotamia as the Land of Hatti for a distinct culture which flourished there. The second millennium saw the incursion of Indo-European tribes and the rise of the Hittite Empire which dominated most of the peninsula during various phases. Evidence remains of numerous Hittite city states in the interior as well as their monumental art and architecture at cult sites.

In the middle of the first millennium, more geographically restricted kingdoms are seen. The short-lived Phrygian Empire (ca. 725-675 B.C.E.) arose in west central Anatolia, founded by King Midas. The Phrygians were originally a tribe from Thrace. They left rock

⁵Ekrem Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey from Prehistoric Times Until the End of the Roman Empire*, trans. John Whybrow and Mollie Emre, 4th ed. (Istanbul: Haşet Kitabevi, 1978) 4. CCCA I, no. 773.

monuments at several sites which show their devotion to Cybele.⁶ These will be discussed in Chapter 4. Phrygians continued to be known as an ethnic group throughout the Roman Empire, although sometimes the word "Phrygian" is a synonym for "slave."

The Lydian Empire under the Mermnad dynasty (ca. 700-550 B.C.E.), southwest of Phrygia, endured somewhat longer than the Phrygian empire, and the Lydians also continued as an ethnicity and territory. Lydia was an area rich in resources and was a major trading crossroads. The Lydians had come to dominate most of the interior plateau when their last king, Croesus, was defeated by the Persians who made Lydia their chief satrapy in the West with their headquarters at Sardis.⁷

Persian domination in Anatolia lasted from their conquest of the Lydian kingdom in 546 to the arrival of Alexander's forces in 334 B.C.E. and left a legacy of cultural influence. Several deities prominent in the first century C.E. are included in this legacy, including Mên and Anaeitis.

Other groups are associated with particular Anatolian territories. The Lycians in the mountainous southwest probably came from Crete and continued to have a cohesive identity in spite of domination by various other powers from the Persian era on.⁸ The Carians formed another group

⁶Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations*, 14-5.

⁷*OCD*, s.v. "Lydia," by W. M. Calder and J. M. Cook.

⁸*OCD*, s.v. "Lycia," by George E. Bean.

dwelling in hilltop villages to the northwest of them.⁹ The Pisidians were more successful in maintaining relative independence from both Lydians and Persians as were the Isaurians in the mountainous region to the east of them.¹⁰ The Lycaonians were dominant around Iconium.¹¹ The variety of ethnic territories reflects a similar variety of languages.

The coming of Alexander and the Hellenistic rulers after him ended Persian domination of Anatolia, and some areas nearer the Aegean coast saw the influence of Hellenization. The interior, however, saw relatively little of this influence before the coming of Rome in the imperial period. Other than installations which protected the holdings of the Hellenistic rulers, there were "virtually no Greek cities in Phrygia, Lydia, Galatia, Lycaonia or further east."¹²

The Galatians were relative late comers to central Anatolia. They were the descendants of a mass migration of hundreds of thousands of Celts who crossed the Hellespont to arrive in Anatolia in 278 B.C.E. They were known for their raiding and plundering in the western areas until they were contained in the interior by Attalus I of Pergamum in 230 B.C.E. Even after their containment, they continued to exert a threatening pressure there. They maintained their tribal organization under autocratic chieftains in three groupings, the Tolistobogii,

⁹OCD, s.v. "Caria," by J. M. Cook.

¹⁰OCD, s.v. "Pisidia," and "Isauria," by George E. Bean.

¹¹OCD, s.v. "Lycaonia," by A. H. M. Jones.

¹²Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 7. The overland trade route to Syria and the territory of Pisidia are exceptions.

Tectosages, and Trocmi. Each of these groups had its distinct territory in the areas with capitals at Pessinus, Ancyra, and Tavium.¹³ Their military strength figured prominently in the shifts of power as Rome began to dominate the peninsula.

A Jewish presence was also known in Anatolia probably beginning with the settlement of 2,000 Jewish families in Lydia and Phrygia at the end of the third century B.C.E. under Antiochus III.¹⁴ They were prominent at Sardis as is attested by the sizable synagogue there,¹⁵ and evidence of their presence is attested at other locations in the interior.¹⁶

By the first century C.E., central Anatolia was under Roman administration, and Roman colonies and estates were becoming a factor in life in the interior. Notable is the foundation of Roman cities in Galatian tribal territories under Augustus and the creation of other colonies in the newly defined province of Galatia.¹⁷

Central Anatolia in the first century C.E. cannot be easily defined culturally. A variety of ethnic and language groupings are overlaid by

¹³OCD, s.v. "Galatia," by W. M. Calder; and Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 13-26.

¹⁴Paul R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 5-7.

¹⁵See Kraabel, "Ὑψιστος," 81-93; and "Judaism in Western Asia Minor under the Roman Empire with a Preliminary Study of the Jewish Community at Sardis, Lydia" (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1968).

¹⁶See also Mitchell, *Anatolia* II, 31-7.

¹⁷See Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 86-91. See also Barbara Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967).

Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman cultural influences. To this mixture are joined cultural immigrations of the Jews we have mentioned and others as well, such as Syrians. If anything characterizes Anatolia it is cultural complexity.

3.1.2 *Deities and Divine Figures in the Anatolian Zone*

The variety of deities unique to the Anatolian pantheon reflects the multiple cultures of Anatolia. In addition to the particular prominence of the Mother of the Gods, the divine population included other unique entities, and Anatolia worshipped deities known elsewhere in its own distinct way.

The continuing presence of the god Mên and the goddess Anaeitis have already been mentioned as part of the legacy of Persian influence. While Artemis of Ephesus was known by her Greek name, she remained in many ways a version of the Anatolian Mother and her priesthood was held by a Persian family.¹⁸ She will be discussed along with other Anatolian Mother goddesses in Chapter 4. Other deities may be considered distinctly Anatolian even though some bear names recognizable as part of the Greek pantheon.¹⁹ For example, a rider-god associated with a double-axe appears as Apollo Lairbenos, Apollos Archegetes, and Apollo Propylaios.²⁰ Zeus appears in various Anatolian versions as well, as do

¹⁸Mitchell, *Anatolia* II, 29. The Ephesian Artemis will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

¹⁹For numerous examples see the "Index of Non-Christian Cults" in Mitchell, *Anatolia* II, 185-7.

²⁰See P. Carrington, "The Distribution and History of Elements of

Hermes, Artemis, Leto, and others. Distinctive to Anatolia also are the figures the Holy and the Just ("Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιος) known in masculine, feminine, and neuter forms.²¹ They are usually represented as a standing pair of beardless figures, one of whom holds a scales while the other holds a staff.²² Another goddess of justice, Dikaiosyne, was familiar in many rural contexts and was especially prominent as the chief deity of Prynnessus in eastern Phrygia.²³

With the coming of Rome, the Roman Emperor also took his place among the deities of Anatolia. The process of his deification in the East illustrates Anatolian popular religiosity, and has been discussed at length by S. R. F. Price.²⁴ The faraway emperor readily fits the role of the monarchically-understood deity. Angels were also a feature of the divine population of Anatolia.²⁵

the Native Culture of Roman Phrygia with Reference to their Ethnic Origin" (Ph.D. diss., University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1976) 87-9.

²¹The corpus of inscriptions which attest to their cult has been assembled by Marijana Rici, "Hosios kai Dikaios, Premiere partie: Catalogue des inscriptions," *EA* 18 (1991) 1-70; "Hosios kai Dikaios, Seconde partie: Analyse," *EA* 19 (1992) 71-102.. See the corpus and her discussion for further bibliographical citations.

²²See Mitchell, *Anatolia* II, 26-7, fig. 14.

²³Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 191.

²⁴S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

²⁵A. R. R. Sheppard, "Pagan Cults of Angels in Roman Asia Minor," *Talanta* 12/13 (1980/81) 77-101.

3.2 The Anatolian Divine Judicial Order: Illustrations from Inscriptions

Through epigraphical evidence it is possible to gain a general characterization of the religious experience of people living in Anatolia in Paul's time. For the purposes of this investigation, a selection of inscriptions has been made to illustrate aspects of Anatolian religiosity which others have analyzed.²⁶

3.2.1 *Overview of the Divine Judicial Order*

Several kinds of inscriptions have left us a record of how the divine judicial order functioned. Curses were an especially prominent

²⁶Most of these inscriptions will be included in footnotes, without full indication of the degree of certainty of the letters. Full epigraphical notes can be found in citations given. The selection of these inscriptions has been made using a number of criteria. Examples have been chosen first for their illustrative character, especially those which offer some information about life and religiosity in Anatolia. Where possible, dated inscriptions have been chosen which are as close as possible to the time of Paul. For the categories of inscriptions in question here, this means that most examples are from the late first century through the mid-second century. Later examples have been included when they clarify something in an earlier example. This also means that many intriguing inscriptions from the third century C.E. are not included. Provenance has also been a consideration for selection. In Chapter 1, central Anatolia as a whole was defined as the context for Paul's letter to the Galatians. Within that area, a selection has been made which gives priority to examples from within the boundaries of the Roman province of Galatia and the territories bordering it immediately to the west in Phrygia and eastern Lydia, and in some cases to the east in rough Cilicia. In most cases, inscriptions have been chosen which require minimal restoration. Finally, the selection has been made from among inscriptions considered "pagan," meaning that they show no definite sign of being either Jewish or Christian. Many are identifiable as pagan because they identify pagan deities. This is important since the purpose here is to illustrate the popular religiosity of Paul's gentile audience. On this issue see Ross S. Kraemer, "Jewish Tuna and Christian Fish: Identifying Religious Affiliation in Epigraphic Sources," *HTR* 84 (1991) 141-62.

feature of funerary and other inscriptions in Phrygia. Various forms of curses have been found. Protective curses placed a structure under divine protection and named the consequences of an offense against it. By threatening the punishing action of the deities, these curses were intended to prevent the offense from happening. Other curse tablets sought divine assistance for retribution against enemies. By a particular form of curse categorized as "judicial prayers," a "plaintiff" brought an offense that had already occurred to the attention of the deities to invoke their administration of justice. Guilty culprits, on the other hand, might experience such divine administration of justice as punishment. In a form of inscription distinctive in west central Anatolia, such "defendants" left a record of "confession inscriptions" by which they apparently hoped to end the punishing action of the deities which had been let loose upon them.

In what follows, each of these kinds of inscriptions will be illustrated in turn. Then indicative elements which recur in these inscriptions will be noted and an overall picture of the divine judicial order suggested.

3.2.2 *Protective Curses: Plaintiff Petitions the Deities Before the Offense*

One category of inscriptions may be grouped together under the general heading of "curses." In the judicial analogy, the curses represent the "plaintiff." The plaintiff is the victim or potential victim who seeks the avenging or protecting action of the deities by means of some form of curse.

3.2.2.1 Funerary and Protective Imprecations

Most prevalent in the epigraphical record are the curses included in the inscriptions on gravestones to protect the stone and the tomb. Central Anatolians placed a high priority on the importance of the protection of their graves, which showed a distinctive architecture. Many of the tombs were shaped like houses or carved with a door in relief, and others formed altars. The cemeteries, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, contained lavishly decorated tombs and stood as one of the major symbols of permanence in this area. After the obvious investment of effort and resources on these tombs, most families wanted to make sure they were protected.²⁷ Such effort appears to have been expended because the tomb itself was the completion of a vow to a deity and itself formed a kind of sanctuary, or sacred place.²⁸ The curses show concern about disruption or removal of the bones, the addition of unauthorized corpses to the tomb, and the sale of the land upon which the tomb is built.²⁹ The tomb was a sacred place for the

²⁷In addition to curses, the tombs were protected by the specification of fines for violation to be levied by civic authorities.

²⁸Cf. W. M. Calder, "Inscriptions grecques métriques inédites d'Asie Mineure (Phrygie, Galatie, Lycaonie, Isaurie)," *RevPhil* n.s. (1922) 114-5. Cf. Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. 28, nos. 1-2 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1942) 106.

²⁹Several such references are listed by J. H. M. Strubbe, "'Cursed be he that moves my bones,'" in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 35. Other examples can be found in Lattimore, *Themes*, 108-9.

exclusive use of those who built it and those they authorized to occupy it in death, a place which needed protection from those who might envy it or who might seek to take advantage of it by adding other remains.

The curses which protected these tombs, "funerary imprecations," were especially prevalent in Phrygia, although examples of funerary imprecations are found in a broader area than Phrygia.³⁰ As J. H. M. Strubbe points out, funerary imprecations are nevertheless rare in the Greek world outside Asia Minor. They are found in indigenous languages in Anatolia. The earliest curses in Greek appear in bilingual inscriptions at the end of the fourth century B.C.E., as the Persians retreated in the face of Alexander's forces.³¹

Several words and phrases are used frequently to describe the kind of violation which the curses are intended to prevent. Various forms

³⁰L. Robert, "Malédictiones funéraires grecques," *CRAI* (1978) 253 (=OMS V, 709). He has described Phrygia as "le domaine par excellence des imprécations funéraires." Illustrative curses included here include citations from Mysia on the northwest coast of Asia Minor to Iconium in south Galatia. An example from the Piraeus near Athens is also included, and several such funerary imprecations are found also in the Ankara district of North Galatia. See *RECAM*, nos. 129, 148, 246 (late probably Christian), 294, 306, and 362.

³¹Funerary imprecations also appear much earlier than the period covered in this investigation. Various west-Semitic inscriptional sources from as early as the eleventh century B.C.E. include a curse to protect the grave. (Strubbe, "'Cursed be,'" 38.) Strubbe's study indicates that funerary imprecations emerged in languages indigenous to Asia Minor in the period of Persian supremacy and appeared in Greek as soon as Persian rule ended. Several of the curses from these inscriptions are collected by S. Gevirtz, "West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law," *VT* 11 (1961) 137-158. Cf. also *ANET*², 504-5. Egyptian funerary imprecations are also quite early but are not within the purview of this investigation.

related to the rare form "προσαμαρτάνειν," appear in this context.³²

Another verb frequently used to describe the action against the grave or stone is "ἄδικειν," from the root for "justice."³³ It could be rendered, "act unjustly or lawlessly upon" or "injure" (the grave or stone). Here it will be translated, "violate." Other expressions speak of "doing evil" (κακῶς ποίειν) to the stone or "laying an evil or envious heavy hand" upon it (προσοίσει χεῖρα τὴν βαρύφθονον).³⁴ Such vocabulary suggests the forensic atmosphere surrounding the curses and confessions.

Examples abound of divine action invoked in such "funerary imprecations" to protect these graves. In a sampling, mostly from the first century C.E., the inscription might indicate that the scepters of named deities, such as Mên or Anaeitis, were raised up to protect the tomb.³⁵ The threat might instead be that the scepters, in and of themselves, have been enraged against any potential offender.³⁶ It also

³²Christian Naour comments on this, "Inscriptions du Moyen Hermos," ZPE 44 (1981) 19-20. The root of the verb is the same as the NT and LXX word usually translated as "sin." Here it is generally rendered "offend against."

³³According to Strubbe ("Cursed be," 35), Robert comments on this formula in *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 100-3. This volume is not available to me at this writing.

³⁴See L. Robert, "Malédiction funéraires," 254.

³⁵On the grave of Patere and Tryphaina, from Saittai in Lydia, 93/4 C.E., after a dedication specifying the date and the individual family members honored, the curse states: "Ἴνα μή τις προσαμάρτη τῇ στήλῃ ἢ τῷ μνημείῳ, σκῆ-ιπτρα ἐπέστησαν τοῦ Ἀξιόττηνου καὶ Ἀναείτιδος. ("In order that no one offend against this stele or the tomb, the scepters of Axiottenos and Anaitis were raised up.") See TAM V.1, no. 172; cf. no. 160; and Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 192.

³⁶From Saittai (modern Içikler), Lydia, dated 26/7 C.E., after the

indicates the sacred aspect of the graves, the violation of which is an offense against the deities as well as the grave itself.

The rage of the deities themselves, rather than the scepters, could also be invoked for protection. Another inscription from Saittai, dated 79/80 C.E., says of anyone who would violate, presumably either grave or marker, "let him cause the enraging of the god."³⁷ The threat of the deity's rage might also extend to the offender's household or posterity, for generation after generation.³⁸

date and names of the honored family members, the curse reads: *κᾶν ἰ προσμαρτόντι τῷ μνημεί-ῳ κεχολωμένα τὰ σκῆπτρα*. ("And against anyone who would offend against the tomb, the scepters have been enraged.") See Hasan Malay, "Funerary Inscriptions from Northeast Lydia," *ZPE* 47 (1982) 112-18, no. 1. Similar language is used, with only the reference, "because the scepters have been raised up," (*διὰ τὸ ἐπεστάσθαι σκῆπτρα*), on a gravestone dated 108/9 C.E., from the same area, Köleköy, Northeast Lydia. See Hermann, *Ergebnisse*, no. 56.

³⁷From Saittai (modern Içikler), Lydia, dated 79/80 C.E. After the dedication, the curse reads: *εἴ τις προσμαρτήσ-ῃται, κεχολωμένου τύχοι-ῖτο τοῦ θεοῦ*. ("If anyone will violate (this tomb), let him cause the enraging of the god.") See Malay, "Funerary," 112-18, no. 2. From the same location, dated 113/4 C.E., after the dedication the curse reads, *Εἰ δέ τις ποσαμάρτη [sic]: τῇ στήλῃ, τεύζεται ἰ κεχολωμένου τοῦ Ἀ-ῖξιόττηνοῦ*. ("If anyone should accompany them under this tomb-marker, that person will cause Axiottenos to have been enraged.") See *TAM* V.1, no. 174; *CMRDM* I, no. 71; and Herrmann, *Ergebnisse*, no. 55. Cf. Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 192.

³⁸Also from Saittai, Lydia, dated 108/9 C.E., after the dedication, the curse reads: *εἰ δέ τις προ[σαμάρ]-ῖτῳ ἐκεῖ δωδεκάθην καθήμ[ενον ?]: [ᾧ]νεξείλαστον τέκνα τέκν[ων] ἰ ἔχει* ("And if anyone should violate the stele, he or she will have Axiottenos who is enthroned in the dodekathemon implacable (against him or her) until his children's children. See *SEG* 29 (1979) no. 1179. On the δωδεκάθην, the entry in *SEG* suggests that this indicates the twelve scepters attested in another village near Saittai. Cf. *SEG* 28 (1978) no. 113. Another from Shohut Kasaba, in the area of Synnada in eastern Phrygia, from the first or second century C.E., reads: *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ (leaf) ἰ μνημείῳ κεῖν-ῖτα[ι] δύο λ[ά]ρακες ἰ τίς οὖν π[ο]τε τὰ ὅσ-ῖτέα σ[κυβλίσει]ῖ κατὰρα ἰ αὐ[τῷ] γένοιτο εἰς ἰ ἐγ[γόνων] ἐγγόνους*. ("In this tomb lie two

A series of gravestones from Iconium in Lycaonia, South Galatia, expresses this sentiment with specific reference to the god Mên, specifically the "chthonic Mên," or "Mên of the underworld." The one who damages these graves or markers is to "have (or know or suffer) Mên of the underworld enraged."³⁹ Richmond Lattimore renders this in better English, "may he incur the wrath of Mên of the underworld."⁴⁰ The anger of the gods could also be expressed negatively, as a stele dated 84/5 C.E. shows, "let whoever violates this stele never gain the favor of Mên Axiottenos."⁴¹ An undated doorstone gravemarker from northern Phrygia alludes more clearly to the assumption of the divine judicial context by cursing the potential violator as "one who stands accused before the gods."⁴²

coffins/urns. Therefore whoever at any time desecrates the bones let there be a curse on him into generations of generations.") See *MAMA* IV, no. 84.

³⁹In an undated inscription, the curse reads: Ἐάν τις τὴν στήλην ἰ ἀδικήσῃ, χεχολω-μένον ἔχοιτο ἰ Μηνὰ καταχρό-νιον. ("If anyone should harm (violate) this stele, let him be held by the chthonic Mên who has been enraged.") See G. Radet, "Inscriptions de Pisidie de Lycaonie et d'Isaurie," *BCH* 10 (1886) 500-14, no. 6. Cf. *CMRDM* I, nos. 145-51 and a similar example from Lystra, in Lycaonia, Southern Galatia, no. 154.

⁴⁰Lattimore, *Themes*, 110.

⁴¹From the region of Moven Hermos, near Saïttai, Lydia, after the dedication, the curse: τίς τούτῳ ἰ ποσαμαρτήσεται, μηδέ-ποτε τοῦ Ἀξιόττηνοῦ Μῆ-ινος ἔλεως τύχοιτο. See Naour, "Inscriptions de Moven Hermos," 11-44, no. 1; and G. Petzl, "Addenda et Corrigenda," *ZPE* 46 (1982) 134. The misspelling of ποσαμαρτήσεται is common. Cf. *NIP*, no. 48.

⁴²Undated, from Kuyucak, in the Upper Tembris Valley, Phrygia Epictetus, the stele includes representations of several items as well as standing figures which match figures of Attis and Hecate on another

The envisioned calamity wished upon the household in the curse could also be more elaborate and immediate.⁴³ Such a sentiment is expressed in a metric inscriptions collected by Calder, mentioned and translated also by Lattimore.⁴⁴ A development of the usual "Phrygian formula" the curse wishes for the violator, "Let him leave orphaned children, an estate at its end, a deserted house, a widowed wife mourning about her children."⁴⁵

stele. A complete description can be found in *MAMA* X, no. 2. After a dedication, the curse reads: τίς τούτῳ μνήματι κακῶς ἰ ποιήσῃ εἰς θεοὺς κατη[ρ]αμένος ἦτω. ("Whoever will do evil to this tomb let him be one who stands accused in/before the gods.") Cf. Robert, "Maledictions funéraires," 261-2 for this formula.

⁴³This is seen in an undated stone from a site near Synnada in Phrygia, a location which, it should be noted was an imperial estate with quarries of marble understood to be "stained with the blood of Attis." See W. M. Calder, "Julia-Ipsus and Augustopolis," *JRS* 2 (1912) 234-5, no. 12. In this case not only the marker and the tomb are protected but also the roofed building there and the trees. The curse itself, in Calder's opinion, "is made up of tags of several formulae, unintelligently strung together." (254). The self-contradictory string reads, "Let the god (Zeus) take offense at the sight of his live children and may he see his children dead before him and may he leave alive a widowed (or bereft) and empty household." ὃς ἄν κακῶς ποιήσῃ ἰ ταῖς σοροῖς ἢ τῷ ἰ τάφῳ ἢ τῷ στεγνῷ ἰ ἢ τοῖς δένδρασιν, ὃ ἰ θεὸς αὐτῷ πορσκόναῖ-ἰ το ὀράσει τέκνοις βί-ἰω καὶ προίδοιτο τέ-ἰκνα λίποιτο χηρὸν ἰ βίον οἶκον ἔρημον. See also *MAMA* I, no. 437.

⁴⁴Lattimore, *Themes*, 113. Published in Calder, "Inscriptions Grecque Métriques 114-31, no. 19. From Antioch in Pisidia, set out metrically, the curse reads:

Τίς δέ κε τύμβῳ τῷδε βαρῖαν χίρα θή[σει] ἰ
ἢ ἕτερον σῶμα ἐφ' ἡμετέροισιν ἀμίψη ἰ
ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λίπη βίον ἔσχατον οἶκον ἔ[ρη]μον.
τὴν δ' ἄλοχον χήραν ὀδυρομένην ἰ περὶ τέκνων.

⁴⁵Another metric formula wishes death upon the violator himself, "Let him or her leave behind the splendor of light (or eyesight) and the light of the sun." From Durgut, after a dedication, it reads: Τίς ἄν ταύτῃ τῇ ἰσθήλῃ κακοθ[έ]α χεῖρα ἰ προσοίσει αὐγῆς φῶς ἰ λίποιτο κὲ ἡλίου τὸ ἰ φῶς. See Calder, "Inscriptions Grecques Métriques," 128, no.

Not all of the epitaphs which include funerary imprecations were short, as the examples cited so far might indicate. One extended example was found near Philomelion in the area of eastern Phrygia surrounded on three sides by the Roman province of Galatia.⁴⁶ It is an epitaph modeled on a Hellenistic dialogic epigram found in the *Greek Anthology*, one in which the passerby asks questions which are answered as if by the person entombed there.⁴⁷ A comparison of the model epigram to the East Phrygian epitaph shows that even those with literary pretensions would add a curse to what would otherwise be beneficent wishes upon the passersby who might read the inscription. Where the model ends, "And may Fortune, O stranger, steer the course of all thy life before a fair breeze," the Phrygian version states the same but continues to protect the marker with the curse: "let [the violator] receive a share of the same fate [which befell] me." Even with the beneficent model verse, these Phrygians add the curse to make the epitaph complete.⁴⁸

14.

⁴⁶See *MAMA* VII, no. 201; *CIG* 3982; Kaibel, *EG*, no. 248; J. G. C. Anderson, "A Summer in Phrygia: II," *JHS* 18 (1898) 112, no. 52; and W. M. Calder, "Inscriptions of Southern Galatia," *AJA* 36 (1932) 455-6, no. 10.

⁴⁷*Gr. Anth.* 7.164.

⁴⁸The Jewish population also adopted the custom of adding curses. On this see Pieter W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs: An Introductory Survey of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 BCE - 700 CE)*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology, ed. Tj. Baarda and A. S. van der Woude, no. 2 (Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1991) 54-60.

Curses protected the graves of Phrygians buried outside of their homeland as well. An epitaph for a Phrygian slave, for example, found in the Piraeus in Greece, protects his tomb by invoking quick destruction by Nemesis upon anyone who mutilates the marker.⁴⁹

Curses also protected other structures, such as temples or statues. One, for example, protected the temple-grounds of a goddess, probably Atargatis, the Syrian goddess similar to Cybele to be discussed in Chapter 4. From the coastal city of Smyrna, from the first century B.C.E., it threatens anyone who violates the sacred fish or anything in the temple will be "destroyed in utter evil ruin, becoming fish-food."⁵⁰

⁴⁹This inscription is discussed and previous bibliography provided by L. Robert, "Malédiction funéraires grecques. I. Une épitaphe métrique au Pirée," *CRAI* 1978, 242 (= *OMS* V, 697). After surveying other curses found in epitaphs from Greece, Robert (253) shows that this one corresponds most closely to those found in the dead man's homeland of Synnada in Phrygia. This shows the strength of this expatriated central Anatolian's concern for the protection of his grave and his expectation that the invocation of a curse guaranteed by a deity would be effective to provide that protection.

⁵⁰[ι]χθῦς ἱεροὺς μὴ ἄδικεῖν, ἰ μηδὲ σκεῦος τῶν τῆς ἰ θεοῦ λυμαίνεσθαι, μηδὲ ἰ ἐκφέρειν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπ[ι] ἰ κλοπὴν· ὁ τούτων τι ποιῶν ἰ κακὸς κακῇ ἐξωλεία ἀπό-ἰλοιτο, ἰχθυόβρωτος γενόμε-ἰνος. ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν ἰχθύ-ἰων ἀποθάνῃ, καρπούσθω ἰ αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ. ἰ τοῖς δὲ συμφυλάσσουσιν ἰ καὶ ἐπαύξουσιν τὰ τῆς ἰ θεοῦ τίμια καὶ τὸ ἰχθυο-ἰτρόφιον αὐτῆς βίου καὶ ἰ ἐργασίας καλῆς γένοιτο ἰ παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ ὄνησις. "Do not violate the sacred fish nor maltreat the accoutrement of the goddess, nor take (anything) away from the temple in stealth. May whatever evil person does any of these things be destroyed in utter evil ruin, becoming fish-food, and if any of the fish should be killed (or die), make an offering of them on the altar on the same day. And to those who keep watch together and augment the honors (precious possessions) of the goddess and her live-fish-raising pond (?) and those who practice good care (of the fish) let him/them be benefitted by the goddess. See *LSAM*, 48-50, no. 17; and Guarducci, *EG*, 23-4

Protective curses were also used for protection in other situations across a wide geographical and chronological range. For example, such an imprecation completes an Amphictyonic oath from the 6th century B.C. to protect the plain of Cirrha from being tilled.⁵¹ The curse threatens that the land of whatever people would till the plain will become barren and their children be born monsters and that their whole race be destroyed and that the gods not accept their sacrifices. This form of curse is hardly unique.⁵²

Protective curses generally function in the divine administration of justice to stipulate the penalties to be divinely administered in the case of transgression against the protected property or agreement. Whatever is protected by a curse thus falls within this sacred domain so that transgression against it excites the anger of the deities or their scepters, and hence pain and calamity in the life of the transgressor. Evidence that such divine wrath could be invoked in other ways has been left in other types of curse inscriptions.

⁵¹Strubbe, "‘Cursed be,’" 37. He cites the oath as recorded by Aeschines, *Or.* 3. 111 and includes the translation by Ch.D. Adams, *The Speeches of Aeschines* (London, 1948), 393-5.

⁵²An example of a similar curse is found in a letter of Ptolemy II and Decree of Telmessos, from 279 B.C.E., inscribed at Telmessos in Lycia, on the southern coast of Asia Minor. Cited by Strubbe, "Cursed Be," 50, n. 39. *SEG* 28 (1978) no. 1224; translated into German w. commentary by Michael Wörrle, "Epigraphische Forschungen zur Geschichte Lykiens II: Ptolemaios II. und Telmessos," *Chiron* 8 (1978) 201-246. Curses were a standard feature of Hittite and Akkadian treaties as well. On this see Klaus Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary in Old Testament, Jewish, and Early Christian Writings*, trans. David E. Green (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 14-5. Translations of the treaties can be found in *ANET* 201-6 and 529-41.

3.2.2.2 Curse Tablets (Defixiones or Κατάδεσμοι)

Evidence of another kind of curse is left to us in the form of "defixiones" or "curse tablets," defined by D. R. Jordan as "inscribed pieces of lead, usually in the form of small, thin sheets, intended to influence, by supernatural means, the actions or welfare of persons or animals against their will."⁵³ There is also evidence to suggest that materials less durable than lead may have been used for these tablets, such as wax.⁵⁴ According to Jordan, some 1,100 examples of these curse tablets provide evidence of their continuous popularity for the whole of Greco-Roman antiquity, from the fifth century B.C.E. to the sixth C.E.⁵⁵ The two major collections of these *defixiones* were produced at the turn of the century by R. Wuensch and A. Audollent.⁵⁶

⁵³D. R. Jordan, "A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora," *GRBS* 26 (1985) 151. This definition is cited by H. S. Versnel, "Beyond Cursing: The Appeal to Justice in Judicial Prayers," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 61.

⁵⁴Christopher A. Faraone, "The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 7.

⁵⁵Jordan, "A Survey," 151.

⁵⁶R. Wuensch, *Defixionum tabellae* (= *IG* III.3 [1897]), reprinted in *Inscriptiones Atticae: Supplementum Inscriptionum Atticarum*, ed. A. N. Oikonomides (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1976); and August Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* (Paris: Alberti Fontemoing, 1904; reprint, Frankfurt: Minerva GmbH, 1967). Jordan's article is an effort to complete the work of K. Preisendanz, who had partially completed a corpus of *defixiones* that had been published since Audollent.

Most *defixiones* were buried, either in the grave of one of the "untimely dead" (ἄωρος) or in the sanctuary of one of the chthonic deities, or placed in wells.⁵⁷ Many of them are characterized by the intent to "bind" the person cursed, and it is frequently the curse itself which appears to have been believed to accomplish the desired action. Christopher A. Faraone has analyzed them as "binding spells," which primarily intend to bind but not destroy the victim. He suggests that they were used primarily in a situation of rivalry, to launch a "preemptive strike" against an opponent in a competition, whether in the arena of sports or theater, love or business or litigation, rather than being an effort at retaliation for some past injury.⁵⁸

The catalogues of Wuensch, Audollent and Jordan do not give any indication that this form of curse was particularly prevalent in central Anatolia. The collection by Wuensch is almost entirely from Greece. The *defixiones* from Asia Minor included in the listings of Audollent and Jordan include two from Phrygia and a larger collection from Chidus in Caria. Interestingly enough, all of these belong to the category of "judicial prayers" which were part of the divine judicial order, to which we can now turn our attention.

⁵⁷Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 61.

⁵⁸Christopher A. Faraone, "The Agonistic Context," 3-4.

3.2.3 *Judicial Prayers: Plaintiff Petitions the Deities After the Offense*

H. S. Versnel's study⁵⁹ of the *defixiones tabellae* or "curse tablets" in both Latin and Greek has led him to define a distinctive category which he labels "judicial prayers," tablets which look like curse tablets but have a purpose and content different from the "binding curses." A binding curse generally does not specify an offense committed by the one to be bound nor is the author of the curse named.⁶⁰ On the other hand, the tablets which Versnel categorizes as "judicial prayers" petition a deity, with some justification, to act on the curser's behalf to right a wrong or to wreak revenge.⁶¹ Judicial prayers bring a case before the deity against an offense which has already been committed. The curser entrusts the revenge requested to the deity and assumes a dependent position before the god or goddess.

These judicial prayers on papyrus or lead or wax tablets are thus compared to prayers for revenge which appear on various kinds of

⁵⁹This section relies upon Versnel's article, "Beyond Cursing," 60-106.

⁶⁰H. S. Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 61-2.

⁶¹Versnel ("Beyond Cursing," 65-70) treats a number of changes in the formulae and content of the curses over the course of time. He cites early examples of judicial prayers from Egypt and the island of Amorgos. The first is one of the oldest Greek texts on papyrus, dated to the fourth century B.C.E, from the Serapeum of Memphis in Egypt, known as the curse of Artemisia. Dates for the second, discovered near Arkesine on Amorgos, range from around 200 B.C.E. to the second century C.E. These differ markedly from the "binding curses" in that they request irrevocable punishment, to be administered not by the curse itself but by the deity to whom petition is made.

steles.⁶² An example from Pessinus in north Galatia fits this category.⁶³ The stone was originally dedicated by a woman for herself and her son, an *archigallus* of the Mother of the Gods. Two lines added later give the names of two of her other sons. On the left and right faces of the stone, the uplifted hands characteristic of prayers for revenge are found, along with an inscription to "Lord Sun." This inscription seeks revenge for one of the sons, a Ménodoros, who apparently met his death by some form of foul play, by asking the Sun that the murderer "not satisfy you," or "not please you."

The inscriptions from Asia Minor in Audollent's collection of *defixiones* include one example from Phrygia.⁶⁴ The *defixion* consists of

⁶²These prayers for revenge, specifically as appeals to the Sun for vengeance, were assembled and analyzed by Franz Cumont, "Il Sole vindice dei delitti ed il simbolo delle mani alzate," *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia*, 3d Series, 1 (1923) 65-80; and "Deux monuments des cultes solaires," *Syria* 14 (1933) 392-5. David R. Jordan provides a summary of Cumont's results in an analysis of one of these inscriptions from Delos. (David R. Jordan, "An Appeal to the Sun for Vengeance," *BCH* 103 [1979] 521-5.) He indicates that Cumont's collection of sixteen examples are geographically diverse and that Cumont contends a Syrian background for them. All but two of the examples are inscribed on gravestones and seek vengeance from the Lord Sun on behalf of a victim of murder.

⁶³CCCA I, no. 57 and Pl. XI. See also P. Lambrechts and R. Bogaert, "Asclépios, archigalle pessinontien de Cybèle," in *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, vol. 2, ed. Jacqueline Bibauw, Collections Latomus, 102 (Brussels: Latomus, 1969) 404-14 and Plates; J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1968 (in *REG* 81 [1968]) 525-6, no. 535. Jordan, "An Appeal," indicates that Cumont's collection contains at least one other example from Galatia, a gravestone which concerns a desire to avenge and recover what was embezzled from the dead woman before her death in order that her estate not be diminished.

⁶⁴Audollent, *DT*, no. 14.

two lead tablets which were rolled together. The inscription is primarily a list of names of those being wished an untimely death, as retribution for unspecified harm already done to the curser. This inscription depicts Versnel's category of borderline *defixiones*, similar to the "judicial prayers," as does one curse tablet from Phrygia in Jordan's listing.⁶⁵

A group of *defixiones*, from Cnidus in Caria, illustrate what Versnel considers to be "judicial prayers." In all thirteen, the plaintiff is "a woman who has been injured by a usually unknown, or at least unnamed, person (or persons)."⁶⁶ This woman "dedicates" the culprit to the deity, in the case of this group to Demeter, Kore, and the gods with them. Versnel provides a translation of one of these, dated to the first or second century B.C.E. It illustrates some of the commonalities found in the thirteen *defixiones* in the group.⁶⁷

Artemis "dedicates" to Demeter and Kore and all the gods with Demeter, the person who would not return to me the articles of clothing, the cloak and the stole, that I left behind, although I have asked for them back. Let him bring them in person to Demeter even if it is someone else who has my possessions, let him burn, and let him publicly confess his guilt. But may I be free and innocent of any offense against religion . . . if I drink and eat with him

⁶⁵Jordan, "A Survey of Greek Defixiones," 194, no. 168. The provenance, known only from the dealer, is the upper Maiandros valley, the same area from which most of the confession inscriptions come. The intent of the curse is that the curser's opponents in a lawsuit be found guilty. Underworld gods are invoked to accomplish the task.

⁶⁶Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 72.

⁶⁷For the Greek transcriptions see Audollent, *DT*, no. 2. The translation is found in H. S. Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 72 and 99, n. 62.

and come under the same roof with him. For I have been wronged, Mistress Demeter.

A second inscription from this group is similar and will provide a background for one of the illustrative confession inscriptions in the following section.⁶⁸ A woman seeks revenge on someone who has spread vicious rumors against her:

[Ἀνα]τίθημι Δάματρι καὶ Κούραι τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ.....: ἐῖ[π(α)]ντα ὅτι ἐγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ ἀνδ[ρὶ] φάρμακα ποιῶ· ἀνα[βαῖ] : παρὰ Δάματρα πεπρημένος μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ [ιδίων] : πάντων ἐξαγορεύων καὶ μὴ τύχη εὐειλάτου [μήτε : Δ]άματος καὶ Κούρας μηδὲ τῶν θεῶν τῶν παρὰ Δά[μα-] : τρος· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡ<η> ὅσια καὶ ἐλεύθερα ὁμοστεγησάσῃ ἢ ᾧ πο[τε] : τρόπῳ ἐπ[ι]πλεκομένη· ἀνατίθημι δὲ καὶ τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ : γράψαντα ἢ καὶ επιτάξαντα· μὴ τύχοι Δάματος καὶ : [Κ]όρας μηδὲ θεῶν τῶν παρὰ Δάματος εὐιλάτων, ἀλλ' ἀ[ν-]α[βαῖ] μετὰ τῶν ιδίων πάντων παρὰ [Δ]άματρα πεπρημένος.

I raise up to Demeter and Kore (a curse against) the one who publicly spoke against me (saying) that I had made a poison for my husband. Let the person go up after "burning" to Demeter with all his relatives publicly confessing (or publicly confessing all his secrets) and may he succeed to propitiate neither Demeter and Kore (so that they would be) merciful nor the gods with Demeter. And may I possess holy (*hosia*) and free (*eleúthera*) things while under the same roof (with the perpetrator) and may I (not be) enmeshed in an way [i.e. May I be unharmed by any potential contamination from this curse.] And I raise up also the one who wrote against me and the one who conspired with another to accuse me. For them may neither Demeter and Kore nor the gods with Demeter be merciful (or propitiated), but may he go up into the presence of Demeter burning with all his relatives (or all his secrets).

The verbs used for "dedication" are either ἀνειρώ or ἀνατίθημι, from which the use of the word ἀνάθεμα to mean "curse," is taken.⁶⁹ The dedication thus puts the offending party before the judging action of

⁶⁸Also from Cnidus, Caria, dated to the first or second century B.C.E., the Greek transcription is found in Audollent, *DT*, no. 4A.

⁶⁹Cf. Gal 1:8-9.

the deity.⁷⁰ If the culprit does not right the wrong, he or she is subject to divine compulsion to come forward in the temple and publicly confess. The goddess uses some form of punishment to force compliance. This is indicated either by a form of *κολάζω* or a term which indicates some form of burning (*πεπρημένος*).⁷¹

Another curse tablet illustrates that stolen goods could also be "dedicated" (*ἀνατίθημι*) to the deity in order to place the matter before the deity's judging action. In this case the deity is the Mother of the Gods.⁷²

Ἀνατίθημι Μητρί σε Θεῶν : χρυσᾶ ἀπ[ώ]λεσ[α] πάντα ὥ-ιστε
ἀναζητῆσ[ι]ν αὐτ-ήν καὶ εἰς μέσον ἐνε-ίκεῖν πάντα καὶ τοὺς :

⁷⁰Versnel's description ("Beyond Cursing," 73) is that the offending party "has entered a provisional taboo situation. He is cursed for the time being and belongs in one way or another under the control of the divine powers of the underworld."

⁷¹Versnel indicates that the precise meaning of this term is disputed, but his citations do not indicate the nature of or the parties to the dispute

⁷²See Christiane Dunant, "Sus aux voleurs! Une tablette en bronze à inscription grecque du Musée de Genève." *Museum Helveticum* 35 (1978) 241-244; *CCCA* I, no. 868; and *SEG* 28 (1978) no. 1578. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* in *REG* 93 [1980] 373, no. 45. From an unknown location in Asia Minor, the tablet is dated by Dunant between the second century B.C.E. and the first century C.E. The tablet is in bronze, which is fairly unusual.

⁷³Robert is followed here, and the letters of the inscription, which are quite clear. Robert argues that the subjunctive here after ὥστε is appropriate and that this is a juridical term for an inquest.

⁷⁴Although the transcriptions printed in *CCCA* and Dunant omit it, the ι is quite clear in the inscription itself. Cf. *CCCA* I, pl. CLXXXIX; (= Dunant, Pl. 8.)

ἔχοντες κολάσεσθαι-ι ἀξίως τῆς αὐτῆς δυνά-ιμε[ω]ς⁷⁵ καὶ μήτε αὐτ[ήν]
 ! καταγέλαστον ἔσεσθ[αι].

I raise up to the Mother of the Gods the gold things which I have lost so that she may discover them and may reveal everything in public and that those who have the gold will be punished in a manner worthy of her power and that she will not be made ridiculous.

The inscription is a bronze plaque erected by a victim from whom some gold had been stolen. The gold is dedicated to the goddess and her action is invoked so that she may find the gold and publicly expose the thieves and punish them. The inscription, as a judicial prayer thus functions as a divine judicial inquest in which the Mother of the Gods is invoked for all of the tasks of administration of justice: police, judge, jury, and jailer. The plaintiff hopes that divine interrogation by torture will yield a confession by the culprit and vengeance for the wronged party.

A picture will begin to emerge when these inscriptions are juxtaposed to the confession inscriptions. Here someone who has been the victim of a theft brings a case against the unknown thief, with confidence in the ability of the deity to act on behalf of a just resolution. The deity is expected to discover the thief, make the thief known publicly, and punish him or her. We will see in the confession inscriptions that divine punishing action elicited the desired confession from the culprit in many cases.

⁷⁵The inscription reads "δυναμενος," which Dunant attributes to an error on the part of the engraver.

3.2.4 *Confession Inscriptions: Convicted Defendant Seeks Release from the Deities' Punishment*

A distinct category of inscriptions, known as "confession" inscriptions, has been found in the highlands of eastern Lydia bordering Phrygia or in Phrygia proper, in an area northeast of Sardis.⁷⁶ The first major collection and study of these inscriptions, also known as the "penitential" inscriptions," from the German "*sühneninschriften*," was provided by Franz Steinleitner in his 1913 dissertation, still acknowledged as a foundational treatment of the topic.⁷⁷ Additional inscriptions added to the published record since Steinleitner's collection have have been gathered with them in an updated corpus recently assembled by Georg Petzl.⁷⁸

3.2.4.1 Brief Illustrations of Confession Inscriptions

Several brief inscriptions can illustrate what is meant by a "confession inscription." These can be dated to the Roman imperial period but not more precisely. The first, from Eumenia in southeastern

⁷⁶The geographic distinctions within this category will not be discussed here.

⁷⁷Franz Seraph Steinleitner, *Die Beicht im Zusammenhange mit der sackralen Rechtspflege in der Antike*, Diss. Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1913.

⁷⁸Georg Petzl, "Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens," *EA* 22 (1994) v-xxi, 1-178. This corpus became available to me after the major work on this chapter was completed, hence Petzl's work is not thoroughly incorporated here. The confession inscriptions will be cited according to his numbering system, however, and his corpus is to be relied upon for complete bibliographical citations and notes on each inscription. He provides German translations, not all of which have been compared to the English translations which were made in the course of my own research.

Phrygia, is part of a votive tablet, engraved on either side of a double-axe in relief.⁷⁹ The basic elements in the inscription are the experience of punishment, indicated by the use of a passive participial form of κολάζω,⁸⁰ and the dedication of a votive altar, apparently in hope of relief from punishment. The offenders usually addressed a particular deity or deities and identified themselves by name. This first inscription does not identify the offense, only the experience of punishment. In a similar inscription, an Eisias simply indicates punishment by the Mêtêr Talimmêne.⁸¹

In another brief inscription on an altar from an unknown location in Phrygia, two individuals, Telesphoros and Hermogenes, dedicate an altar and identify themselves as perjurers.⁸² In this case, punishment

⁷⁹[Ἀπόλλω]-:[νι Προ]-:[πυ]λαίω : [Ἐπ]ιτύν-:[χ]ανος κολα-:ζόμενος : [ἀ]νέθηκεν. As translated in *NewDocs* 1 (1981) 32-3, no. 7, it reads, "To Apollo Propylaios, Epitynchanos, while under chastisement, set up (a dedication)." The iconography leaves little doubt that the missing letters identify the god Apollo Propylaios, although this is the only confession inscription to this particular divinity known to date. See also Thomas Drew-Bear, "Local Cults in Graeco-Roman Phrygia," *GRBS* 17 (1976) 260-2, no. 15. [= *EA* 22, no. 104.]

⁸⁰The use of the present participle is relatively rare. The form is usually the aorist passive, κολασθείς. Cf. *NewDocs* 1 (1981) 32, no. 7; Drew-Bear, "Local Cults," 261, n. 54.

⁸¹L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948) 107-8, no. 43 [= *EA* 22, no. 42, which indicates less certainty about the letters in "Talimmene."]. Further details about the offense may have been inscribed in the portion now broken off and lost.

⁸²[Τελ]έσφορος και Ἑ[ρμ]-:ιογένης Σταλλα-:ιηνοὶ παρορκή-:σαντες ἀνέθη-:καν. As translated in *NewDocs* 1 (1981) 32, no. 7, "Telesphoros and Hermogenes, the Stallaenoi, perjurers, set up (the dedication)." Drew-Bear. "Local Cults," 262-6, no. 17 [= *EA* 22, no. 105].

is not specifically indicated, but the altar itself forms a confession of the offense of perjury. The god to whom the confession is dedicated is not named in the inscription, but the two divine figures known as the Holy and the Just (Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιος) are represented in the relief above the inscription, portrayed as a pair of beardless figures, one of whom is holding a balance and the other a stick identified as a cubit rule or as a scepter or staff.

Sometimes an accompanying relief portrays the part of the body where the deity's punishment has been experienced. Another undated inscription, from the area of Kula in Lydia, shows this.⁸³ A relief represents an upper leg and buttock, and the inscription from a woman named Glykia states that having been punished by the Goddess Anaitis who sought out her buttock, she erected this stele. A similar inscription, from which the top is broken, mentions punishment in the eyes. The sacred slave (ἱερόδουλος) Trophimos was punished in this case by Mêtēr Hipta and Zeus Sabazios for something done under authority, the meaning of which is unclear.⁸⁴

3.2.4.2 Λύτρον Inscriptions

Several confession inscriptions also include some form of the word λύτρον, usually translated as "ransom."⁸⁵ One of the most frequently

⁸³SEG 29 (1979) no. 1174 [= EA 22, no. 75].

⁸⁴Herrmann, *Ergebnisse*, no. 45; *TAM* V.1, no. 459 [= EA 22, no. 49].

⁸⁵The major evidence on the λύτρον inscriptions has been assembled in two successive volumes of *NewDocs*, relying primarily on Eugene

cited of these inscriptions has been interpreted in a variety of ways. The stele from Lydia is some form of λύτρον dedicated by a female slave (παίδίσκη) either on behalf of a certain Diogenes or on her own behalf. All the commentators indicate that the "ransom" is offered to the god for release from a vow or a punishment.⁸⁶

Several other such inscriptions confirm and expand this understanding of λύτρον. Two of these appear to provide a kind of inscriptional "insurance policy."⁸⁷ In one, a command has been given by the gods indicating that such a stele should be erected, but no specific offense is indicated. It is a ransom (λύτρον) either "from things known

Lane's publication and comments in *CMRDM*. See *New Docs* 2 (1982) 90, no. 58; *New Docs* 3 (1983) 72, no. 46.

⁸⁶See *CMRDM* I, no. 90, for complete bibliography. Cf. comments in *CMRDM* III, 73; *NewDocs* 2 (1982) 90, no. 58; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 197; William H. Buckler "Some Lydian Propitiatory Inscriptions," *ABSA* 21 [1914-16] 181-3, no. 6; and Deissmann, *Light*, 328, n. 1. The inscription reads: Γαλλικὸν Ἀσκληπείας : κώμης Κερυζέων πα(ι)δίσκη (Δ)ιογένου : λύτρον. The translation in *NewDocs* 2 (1982) 90, no. 58, following the interpretation of Buresch and Buckler reads, "Galliko, female slave of the Asklepiian village of the Keryzeis (dedicates this as) a ransom of Diogenes." Deissmann's translation reads, "To Gallicus [=the god Men], Asclepias of the village of Ceryza, maidservant . . . of Liogenes [Diogenes?], presents this ransom.)"

⁸⁷Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 87; and *NewDocs* 2 (1982) no. 58 [= *EA* 22, no. 53]; Cf. *NewDocs* 3 (1983) 72, no. 46 and *CMRDM* I, no. 66. From Kula, dated 142/3 C.E., the inscription reads: [Ἔτ]ους σκζ', Ἀρτεμίδω[ρο-]ς Διοδότου καὶ Ἀμιάς : μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐξ ἰδῶ-ιτων καὶ μὴ ἰδῶτων λύτρ-ιον κατ' ἐπιταγὴν Μηνὶ : Τυράννω καὶ Διὶ Ὀγμην-ιῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ θεοῖς. In a translation modified from *NewDocs* 2 (1982) no. 58, based on comments in *NewDocs* 3 (1983) 72, no. 46, "In the year 227 (of the Sullan era = 142/3 C.E.). Artemidorus the son of Diodotus and Amias with their relatives, a ransom from things known and not known [or from those who know and those who do not know], according to a command of Mên Tyrannos and Zeus Ogmenos and the gods with him."

and not known" or "from those who know and those who do not know."⁸⁸

This may indicate a family's guilty conscience for something which it would not be appropriate to confess publicly but something for which the gods could nevertheless seek them out and punish them. The inscription appears to be intended as preemptive protection, authorized by the command of the god.⁸⁹

The metaphor which has been understood as the reference in the use of the term λύτρον is that of slavery. This is suggested by the use of λύτρον in Oxyrhynchus papyri from Egypt in the late first century C.E.⁹⁰

⁸⁸Cf. *NewDocs* 3 (1983) 72, no. 46 which comments on the clumsiness of the grammar in this and a similar inscription (*CMRDM* I, no. 66). Especially problematic are the participles, which Lane resorts to treating as passive (ἰδόντων or εἰδόντων), understanding the two inscriptions as release from witting or unwitting sin. Herrmann, in his note to a similar inscription in *TAM* V.1, no. 255, concurs with Lane.

⁸⁹Another λύτρον inscription must be acknowledged since it complicates the issue (*CMRDM* IV, new no. 127). It comes from Pisidian Antioch, within the territory of the province of Galatia, and is undated but from the Roman period. It commemorates an offering presumably from five adopted sons or θραεπτοί in honor of their adopted father. They state that "from the friendly home of our kind rearer we all made a vow and gave our hair . . . as is the custom and holy ransom (λύτρον ἀγνεΐης)." Eugene Lane indicates that while the phrase λύτρον ἀγνεΐης is reminiscent of the Lydian inscriptions, the phrase has a distinct usage here. The commentary in *NewDocs* indicates, following Lane, that λύτρον in this inscription is "a poeticism to describe the offering of hair," which Lane interprets as one of a number of deliberately archaic traits in the cult. See *NewDocs* 3 (1983) 73; *CMRDM* IV, 59. The offering of the hair as a ransom would not appear to refer to any specific impending punishment or illness, but seems to be something closer to a debt of thanksgiving owed to the man who reared them, a release, perhaps, from some social obligation. *NewDocs* (3 [1983] 74) relates this to Paul's action of cutting his hair (Acts 18:18, κειράμενος ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἶχεν γὰρ εὐχήν.) to suggest that it may not necessarily reflect a Jewish background.

⁹⁰Citations appear in Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, no. 11 and in

In the papyri the word is used to indicate payment for the manumission of slaves. According to Steinleitner, manumission inscriptions from Thessaly indicate the same. In the λύτρον inscriptions from Lydia, Steinleitner suggests that the offering of an inscribed altar or stele provides a ransom in a metaphorical sense. The guilty person, having fallen under some kind of "spell" (*Bann*) due to guilt, is enslaved to the divinity as if to an owner or captor. The offering is thus a release or "ransom" from this slavery or captivity and allows resumption of former good relations with the god.⁹¹ In general, then, the confession inscriptions are written from the point of view of someone who has committed an offense and, usually, has already experienced punishment from the deity in the form of disease or other calamity. The inscription stele itself appears to serve as some form of expiation to release the individual from divine punishment and to confirm for all who would read it the effectiveness of the deities' power to administer justice.

The confession steles show that the order of events for divinely administered justice differs from that of a human court system because the punishment is experienced before the public determination of guilt. Calamity, understood as punishment, is the first public indication of guilt. To understand the pervasive influence of this divine judicial

NewDocs 2 (1982) no. 58.

⁹¹Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, 37-8, no. 11; and *CMRDM* III, 21ff.

system attention may be turned to some of the offenses concerned and to some inscriptions with particularly vivid portrayals of everyday life.

3.2.4.3 Confessions of Offenses Against Community Order and the Community's Sense of Justice

A number of inscriptions indicate that one person might seek the assistance of the gods and goddesses to punish another person for an offense. Sometimes the community brought the case to the deity. A number of confession inscriptions provide a more detailed picture of how the deities upheld societal order. In the curses and judicial prayers, we have already seen theft, murder, and a presumably false accusation as offenses brought before the deities for the administration of justice. The longer confession inscriptions give evidence of the effectiveness of the deities' action.

A case from the mid-second century provides a glimpse of community life as well as mention of some of the major elements of popular religiosity which emerge in these inscriptions. A boy has stolen a cloak from the bathhouse. The relief on the stone above the inscription portrays the god Mên with a staff in his right hand and a pinecone in his left. Below a piece of clothing pictured at the god's left, a small boy stretches his hands upward. The inscription reads:

Great is Mên Axiottênos, ruler of Tarsi. Since a scepter was set up (Ἐπεὶ ἐπεστάθη σκῆπτρον) in case anyone steals something from the bathhouse, therefore, upon the theft of the cloak, the god became angry (ἐνεμέσθη) with the thief and after a time he made (the thief) bring the cloak to the god, and the thief confessed (ἐξωμολογήσατο). The god therefore commanded through an *angelos* that the cloak be sold and that his powers be commemorated on a stele. (Ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἐκέλευσε δι' ἀγγέλου παρῆναι τὸ εἶμάτιν καὶ

στηλλογραφῆσαι τὰς δυνάμεις.) The year 249 (of the Sullan era = 164/5 C.E.).⁹²

The statement about the raising of the scepter appears to indicate that a scepter was raised for the general protection of the possessions of those bathing at the community bathing facility. The fact that no one appears to have raised a scepter or a curse tablet for the return of the cloak, or to have claimed it once it was returned to the god, reinforces this impression. The bathhouse had apparently been put under the same form of protection as many tombs in the area. Precisely what form the invocation of protection may have taken cannot be determined. A curse may have been inscribed on the bathhouse building itself, some symbolic gesture made at the dedication of the building, or some statement posted in the local temple to indicate the god's protection of the bathhouse. It may simply have been commonly accepted by the community that the bathhouse fell under the protection of the god's vengeful scepter. The latter was the assumption no matter what symbolic action expressed it.

We have seen the anger of the god invoked for the protection of tombs. In this case the culprit experienced that anger in some unspecified way, perhaps as the simple guilt and fear of an adolescent for a prank he had committed. Some of the other confession inscriptions

⁹²From the area of Saittai, Lydia, dated 164/5 C.E. See *TAM* V.1, no. 159; *CMRDM* I, no. 69; and Herrmann, *Ergebnisse*, 30-4, no. 21 [= *EA*, no. 3]. Cf. *NewDocs* 3 (1983) 28; and Mitchell, *Anatolia*, I, 192. Another translation can also be found in Ramsay MacMullen and Eugene N. Lane, eds. *Paganism and Christianity, 100-425 C.E., A Sourcebook* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 105.

provide more detail about the experience of this anger, mostly in the form of illness and death.

The culprit's solution for his punishment is to rid himself of the cloak by handing it over to the god and making a clean breast of it by confessing. From the deity's side, the solution requires selling the cloak and, presumably, using the money to attest to the god's powers on a stele. The stele then functions as a warning to all others that the scepters which protect the bathhouse are indeed effective and others are inherently warned not to attempt any other theft there. The solution to the culprit's problem is communicated by means of an *angelos*. Whether this is a divine or human messenger will be discussed at greater length below.

An inscription from early in the second century concerns the community's expectations about the return of escaped livestock.⁹³

Μεγάλη Μήτηρ Ἀνάετις Ἀζι-ἰτα κατέχουσα καὶ Μεῖς Τιάμου ἰ καὶ αἱ
δυνάμεις αὐτῶν. Ἑρμογέ-ἰνης καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος οἱ Ἀπολλω-ἰνίου Μίδου
ἀπὸ Σύρου μανδρῶν ἰ πλαζομένων χοίρων τρειῶν Δη-ἰμαινέτου καὶ Παπίου
ἐξ Ἀζί-ἰτων καὶ προσμισγόντων αὐτῶν ἰ προβάτοις τοῦ Ἑρμογένου καὶ
Ἀ-ἰπολλωνίου, παιδίου αὐτῶν βόσ-ἰκοντος πενταετοῦς, καὶ
ἀπαγα-ἰγόντων ἔσω, ζητοῦντος οὖν τοῦ ἰ Δημαινέτου καὶ τοῦ Παπίου
οὐ-ἰκ ὁμολόγησαν διὰ τινα ἀχαριατί-ἰαν. Ἐπεστάθη οὖν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ
σκῆ-ἰπτρον καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τοῦ Τιάμου. ἰ Καὶ μὴ ὁμολογησάντων αὐτῶν ἡ
ἰ θεὸς οὖν ἔδειξεν τὰς ἰδίαις δυ-ἰνάμεις καὶ ἰλάσαντο αὐτὴν
τελευ-ἰτήσαντος τοῦ Ἑρμογένου ἡ γυνὴ ἰ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τέκνον καὶ
Ἀπολλώνι-ἰ ὅς ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἑρμογένου. Καὶ ἰ νῦν αὐτῇ μαρτυροῦμεν
καὶ εὐλο-ἰγοῦμεν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων. ἰ Ἔτους ρῑθ'.

Great is Mother Anaeitis, who holds Azita under her power, and
(great is) Mên Tiamou and (great are) their deeds of power.
Hermogenes and Apollonius the sons of Apollonius son of Midas from

⁹³From the area of Kula, Lydia, dated 114/5 C.E. See Louis Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure," *BCH* 107 (1983) 518-20; *TAM* V.1, no. 317; and *CMRDM* I, no. 43 [= *EA* 22, no. 68].

Syros Mandrai⁹⁴, when three pigs belonging to Demainetos and Papios wandered off and got mixed up with the sheep belonging to Hermogenes and Apollonius, while a five-year-old boy was pasturing them, and they were herded back inside. Therefore when Demainetos and Papias were looking for them, they did not confess through some ingratitude. The scepter of the goddess and of the lord of Tiamou was therefore set up, and when they did not confess, the goddess duly showed her deeds of power, and when Hermogenes died, his wife and child and Apollonius brother of Hermogenes implored her mercy. And now bear we witness to her and with the children we praise her. In the year 199 (of the Sullan era = 114/5 C.E.).⁹⁵

In the incident described, three pigs have run away and joined a flock of sheep owned by someone else. Hermogenes and Apollonius, the brothers who own the sheep, refuse to admit that they are in possession of the pigs, so the intervention of the deities is sought and apparently succeeds through punishment by the death of Hermogenes. His death shows the *δυνάμις* (power or deed of power) of the goddess. After Hermogenes' death, the other family members repent and set up the stele. The scepter of the deities is set up to incite a confession from the guilty party. We are not told who set up the scepter, but the raising of the scepter is ineffective until the death of one of the brothers is interpreted by the surviving kin as a result of the action by the power of the goddess. Then a full confession, in the form of this stele, is forthcoming. The stele warns others not to defy the scepter or the *δυνάμις* of the goddess.

⁹⁴This is one possible rendering of their identity. James Keenan in conversation has suggested that Syros-by-the-Animal-Pens may have been the name of a small village. The transcription of *CMRDM* would suggest, alternatively, that the pigs wandered off from the enclosure.

⁹⁵The translation is my own, following S. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, I, 192.

Another case illustrates that it was not always the scepter or the powers of the deity which sought out the guilty party. Sometimes more conventional witnesses came forward, but inscribing a confession was part of the remedy for the offense, nevertheless. In an inscription, to a local goddess, a slave woman named Rhodia offers a vow to the Mother Alianê on behalf of her thieving husband.⁹⁶ In this case, the theft was discovered and reported by human means, and it is the wife who attempts to make some recompense. The punishment is not stated.⁹⁷

Particularly revealing of the workings of this "justice system" is a case from the middle of the second century.⁹⁸

Ἔτους σμα', μη(νός) Πανήμιου β', ἡ Μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις Ἀνάει-ιτις καὶ Μὴν Τιάμου. Ἐπὶ ἡ Ἰουκοῦνδος ἐγένετο ἐν ἡ διαθέσι μανικῇ καὶ ὑπὸ πάν-ιτων διεφημίσθη ὡς ὑπὸ ἡ Τατίας τῆς πενθερᾶς αὐ-ιτοῦ φάρμακον αὐτῷ δίδου-ιθαι, ἡ δὲ Τατίας ἐπέστησεν ἡ σκήπτρον καὶ ἀρὰς ἔθηκεν ἡ ἐν τῷ ναῷ ὡς ἱκανοποιου-ισα περὶ τοῦ πεφημίσθαι αὐ-ιτῇ ἐν συνειδήσι τοιαύτῃ. ἡ Οἱ θεοὶ αὐτὴν ἐποίησαν ἐ[ν] ἡ κολάσει, ἦν οὐ διεφύγεν. Ὁ-ιμοίως καὶ Σωκράτης, ὁ υἱὸς ἡ αὐτῆς, παράγων τὴν ἴσοδον ἡ τὴν ἐς τὸ ἄλσος ἀπάγουσαν, ἡ δρέπανον κρατῶν ἀμπελοτ[ό-]μον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἔπεσεν ἡ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸν πόδαν καὶ οὐ-ιτως μονημέρῳ κολάσει ἀ-ιπηλλάγη.

⁹⁶TAM V.1, no. 257. See also Mitchell, *Anatolia*, I, 192.

⁹⁷Other cases illustrate the involvement of the deities and the scepters in offenses against the community's sense of justice and order. In one case dated 210/1 C.E. from the area of Kula, Lydia, a village raises a scepter on behalf of two orphans who have been wronged by several members of the village. See Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, 33-4, no. 9; *CMRDM* I, no. 62; and TAM V.1, no. 231 [= *EA* 22, no. 35]. In another case a bad debt is considered a matter of deception to be placed before the goddess. From Gjölde, Lydia, dated 118/9 C.E. See W. H. Buckler, "Some Lydian," 176-80, no. 4; and Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, no. 6 [= *EA* 22, no. 54]. Discussion of Buckler's case that judicial proceedings in a regular court are indicated in this inscription is beyond our purview here.

⁹⁸From the area of Kula, Lydia, dated 156/7 C.E. See *CMRDM* I, no. 44; TAM V.1, no. 318 SEG 4, no. 648; Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 76; and MacMullen and Lane, *Paganism and Christianity* 103-4 [= *EA* 22, no. 69].

Μεγάλοι οὖν οἱ θεοὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀζίττοις ἐπεζήτησαν⁹⁹ : λυθῆναι τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὰς ἰσχύας τὰς γενομένας ἐν τῷ ναῷ, ἃς λῦσαν τὰ Ἰουκούνδου : καὶ Μοσχίου, ἔγγονοι δὲ τῆς Τατίας, Σωκράτεια καὶ Μοσχᾶς : καὶ Ἰουκοῦνδος καὶ Μενεκράτης, κατὰ πάντα ἐξειλασάμενοι : τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ νοῖν εὐλογοῦμεν στηλλογραφῆσαντες τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν θεῶν.

In the year 241 (of the Sullan era = 156/7 C.E.) on the second of the month of Panemos. Great are Artemis Anaeitis and Mên Tiamou! When Jucundus got into a manic state, and it was being rumored about by all that poison was being given him by Tatia his mother-in-law, Tatia set up a scepter and placed oaths [or curses] in the temple that she would get her satisfaction about her being talked about in such a blameworthy way.¹⁰⁰ But the gods put her in a punishment from which she did not escape. Likewise her son Socrates, as he was going through the entrance that leads to the sacred grove holding a grape-cutting sickle in his hand, dropped it from his hand onto his foot, and so he died of the punishment that same day. Great then are the gods in Azitta. They commanded (ἐπεζήτησαν) that the scepter and the oaths (curses) that were in the temple be redeemed (λυθῆναι) and Jucundus's and Moschius's children, Tatias's grandchildren, Sokrateia and Moschas and Jucundus and Menekrates did redeem (them), in all ways propitiating the gods, From now on we bless them, writing the deities' deeds of power on a stele.¹⁰¹

The inscription leaves a hint that perhaps the party found guilty, a woman named Tatia, was wrongly accused. When a man named Jucundus has gone mad, the rumor has apparently circulated that his madness has been induced by a potion administered by his mother-in-law Tatia. Tatia

⁹⁹Lane renders this as the beginning of a new sentence and as Ἐπέστησαν, thus "They set up the scepter and the curses ...to be let loose." The plate (XX) in *CMRDM* appears to show a ζ, but is unclear. The stele itself was found before 1900 and transported to the *Evangelike Schole* in Smyrna and is now apparently lost.

¹⁰⁰Versnel translates, "as if to show that she was not guilty of the transgressions attributed to her." The note on this line in *TAM* V.1, note on indicates that ἱκανοποιεῖν is the equivalent of the Latin 'satisfacere.' The *LSJ* Supplement, 74, offers the meaning, "defend oneself against an imputation," but this inscription is, however, the only attestation cited.

¹⁰¹The translation has been modified from MacMullen and Lane, *Paganism and Christianity*, 104.

places a scepter and curse tablet in the temple to seek out those fomenting malicious rumors against her. We have already seen an example of such a curse tablet from Cnidus, in which a woman raises up a curse against those who have publicly accused her of poisoning her husband. In the present case Tatia's actions make it appear that she was not guilty and that she was relying upon the scepter and the curses to vindicate her. However, the unfortunate accident¹⁰² which subsequently befell Tatia's son Socrates and the unnamed punishments which caused her own death were understood as proof of her guilt. Therefore the community believed that the scepter which Tatia had set up rebounded against her because she was the guilty party. The λύτρον language is seen again here, where the scepter and curses are "redeemed" in order to terminate their effect.

In several of the cases we have seen, scepters are put up either as an appeal for justice after a crime or as a protection to prevent one. In the case of the inscription concerning Tatia and her reputed poison, curses accompany the scepters and the temple (ναός) is specified as the site. This action entrusts the case to the deity or deities for the inquest. This, as has been seen, leads directly to the punishment of the culprits. They often confess under the stress of the illness or calamity, understood as the divine action which confirms their guilt. These consequences could be specified in the victim's appeal in the

¹⁰²It is, of course possible that the hand from which the scythe dropped as Socrates passed by the sacred grove was not, in fact, his own hand, and that some form of vigilante group is operating here.

curse tablet, as was seen in the cases from Cnidus in which the victim asks that the offender "burn." The confession inscriptions themselves also appear to satisfy the desire of the victims seen above in the judicial prayers that the culprit be exposed publicly.

When the culprit dies before confession is made, family members raise the stele to confess the culprit's guilt and, apparently, to block the continued effects of punishment upon the culprit's relatives. We can presume that other family members do not offer praises to the deities for punishing their family member by death but in order to appease them and prevent further losses. This is consistent with curses which prescribe destruction and calamity not only upon violators of the tombs protected, but also upon their descendants. The inscription functions, apparently, to quell the righteous anger of the deities.

If the λύτρον inscriptions are representative, the confession also functions as a ransom from a condition analogous to slavery. The analogy operates not only in the sense of having one's body at the disposal of an owner, in this case a deity, to be exposed to whatever pain the master sees fit to inflict, but also in the sense that the status may be inherited from one generation to another. This may be why the stele was erected as a ransom, whether "from those who know and those who do not know," or "from things known and things unknown." They may want to ward off the effects that offenses of previous generations or family members could have upon them.

Confession steles generally witness to the effectiveness of the deities' actions and thus warn others that offenses will be punished by

the deities. The instrument of justice which the community seeks is not a court of law but the divine determination of guilt, established by misfortune. The means of discovery is the punishment itself. The order of events in the case of the divine administration of justice tends to be different from that of modern human court procedure. The guilty party, having been punished, confesses and makes his or her action public on a confession stele. The administration of justice, whether from the point of view of the "plaintiff" or the "defendant," is in the hands of divine beings. Gods and goddesses handle everything from inquest to sentencing.

3.2.4.4 Confessions of Offenses Against the Deities

Confession inscriptions were also raised for the rectification of direct offenses against the divinities and their cults as well as offenses against community order. These could include offenses against the rules of cultic practice, violations of sanctuary property, and various failures to render the deities their due.

An undated inscription from Kula illustrates the consequences a woman named Antonia experienced for an offense against the cult of Apollo.¹⁰³ Antonia had a role in the chorus of the cult of Apollo and had violated the dress code stipulated for her participation by wearing a filthy outer garment. She was punished by illness inflicted directly by the god and thus she was provoked to confess. While the inscription

¹⁰³TAM V.1, no. 238; and Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, no. 13 [= EA 22, no. 43].

does not tell us to whom she confessed, it served as a sufficient remedy for her offense, indicated in the statement that she has once again been restored to health. This mode of punishment contrasts with the human means stipulated, for example, in the cult rule of the Andanian mysteries, from the Greek Peloponnesus. In that rule, human supervisors were responsible to maintain compliance with the cultic dress code and were authorized to inflict physical punishment upon offenders.¹⁰⁴

Antonia, however, was not punished by a designated human authority like the "supervisor of the women" but by illness administered directly by the deity. Her offense required some form of expiation and this stele satisfied that requirement. Again, the stele warns others to refrain from offenses in the cult and encourages them to confess and make expiation when they do offend. The deity is perceived as powerful enough to enforce cultic order without human assistance.

That deities could be named as "enforcers" of cultic rules is demonstrated in a stele from Philadelphia which states the rules of entry for a private cult.¹⁰⁵ The inscription includes a statement which

¹⁰⁴SIG³, 2.401-11, no. 736. The inscription has been translated by Marvin W. Meyer, in *The Ancient Mysteries, A Sourcebook: Sacred Texts of the Mystery Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Marvin W. Meyer (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987) 52-59. Other examples of similar cultic regulations may be found collected in *NewDocs* 4 (1987) 105-12, no. 25, which reviews the work of Margherita Guarducci, "Epigraphi sacre pagane: Leggi sacre," chap. in *Epigraphia Greca*, vol. 4. *Epigrafi sacre pagane e cristiane* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico Dello Stato, 1978) 3-45.

¹⁰⁵See *LSAM*, 53-8, no. 20; and S. C. Barton and G. H. Horsley, "A Hellenistic Cult Group and the New Testament Churches," *JAC* 24 (1981) 7-41, which provides both a transcription and a translation.

calls upon Agdistis to enforce the rules of the cult.¹⁰⁶ Members of the cult were required on a regular basis to touch the stone on which the cult's rules of purity were inscribed. Presumably those who would dare to touch the stone falsely would expect the punishing action of Agdistis. Antonia's confession, then, probably demonstrates the effectiveness of the invocation of the deity for enforcement of such purity rules.

Offenses against sanctuary property also offended the deities. On occasion curse steles were raised for the defense of sanctuary property, as we saw above in the case of the protection of a sanctuary of Atargatis. Three relatively late confessions found in the village of Börtlüce, near Mount Toma in Maeonia, illustrate the effectiveness of the deities in defense of their sanctuary property, in this case not fish in the fish-pond but trees in the sacred woods.¹⁰⁷ All of the known inscriptions from this village come from the sacred territory of the Mountain Mother of Mount Toma.¹⁰⁸ These three indicate a priority on the protection of the trees of an otherwise unknown sanctuary within this territory of "Zeus of Twin Oaks."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶Lines 50-1. Agdistis is an Anatolian name for the Mother of the Gods, as will be discussed at much greater length in subsequent chapters.

¹⁰⁷EA 22, nos. 9, 10, and 11.

¹⁰⁸G. Petzl, "Inschriften aus der Umgebung von Saittai," ZPE 30 (1978) 250-1.

¹⁰⁹These are discussed by Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure." 497-599.

Confessions were also made for failure to render payments or services to the deities. The gods and goddesses apparently required payment in the form of services to be rendered and as the direct transfer of resources. Punishment would follow failure to give to the deities their due.

Confessions indicate that a broken promise or vow could also provoke the deity's punishing anger. An inscription found in Sardis and dated 160-1 C.E. illustrates this in the form of an offense against the god Mên.¹¹⁰ Epaphrodeitos had made a vow in order to solicit assistance from the god Mên in obtaining a particular woman to be his wife and was successful in achieving his goal. "Having received" (λαβών), however, he did not "return the vow" (μὴ ἀποδὼν τὴν εὐχὴν), i.e. he did not "pay up."¹¹¹ For this offense, he experienced some unspecified form of punishment, expressed again with a form of κολάζω, which provokes him to confess his action on this stele and thus, presumably, to make his

¹¹⁰See *CMRDM* I, no. 80 [= *EA* 22, no. 101].

¹¹¹Several citations in *LSJ*, s.v. "εὐχή," have some bearing on this inscription. Another one from Phrygia, dated to the first or second century C.E., *SIG* 1142 appears to refer to the stele itself as the "εὐχὴν," or vow, or to some unspecified action or gift which the stele commemorates. In this case a certain Meltines raises a vow (εὐχὴν ἀνέστησεν) to Artemis Anaitis and Men Tiamou for the restoration of his feet to health. (Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀναεῖτι καὶ Ἰ Μηνὶ Τιάμου Μελτίνῃ ἰ [ύ]πὲρ τῆς ὁλοκληρίας ἰ [τῶν] ποδῶν εὐχὴν ἰ [ἀνέσ]τησεν. A reference in *Xen. Mem.* 2.2.10, uses the same verb, for the description of a mother who prays to the gods on behalf of her ungrateful son and also "εὐχας ἀποδιδόναι." This indicates that an offering of something more than prayer is involved. With a form of ποιέω, the word is clearly used in *Ar. Eq.* 661, in the phrase "εὐχὴν ποιήσασθαι" to refer to making a vow to offer slay a thousand female goats as an offering to a goddess, indicating the commitment of a significant quantity of resources.

payment. In this case, the offense appears to be against the god in the sense that Epaphrodeitos does not keep a promise made to the god. Yet the offense also indicates a withholding of payment which most probably would be made to the god's representatives, i.e. to the sanctuary. This is the type of offense which is also at issue in the further examples which illustrate a failure to provide the deities their due.

In several inscriptions published by Herrmann and Varinlioglu, which happen to be found together in a recent volume of *SEG*, the offense is a failure to provide labor or resources due to the gods.¹¹² All are dated to the end of the second century C.E. and were found near Saittai in Lydia, just west of Galatia.

The first of this series is an inscription below a relief which depicts a pair of eyes. The gods of Pereudon had required some form of labor of a certain Agathopoda. Presumably he had withheld his services and was punished in the eyes. Stephen Mitchell interprets this as a failure to provide labor to the god, probably agricultural or groundskeeping labor provided to the god's sanctuary.¹¹³ In *SEG* it is summarized as a "neglect of religious duties." Jeanne and Louis Robert suggest that this requirement may be similar to the days of presence

¹¹²*SEG* 34 (1984) nos. 1210, 1211, and 1213. These are in a collection (nos. 1210-1220) of texts concerning the Theoi Pereudenoï, the gods of Pereudos or Pereudon, an unknown location in the same vicinity. Further citations are given. See also *EA* 22, nos. 16 and 18.

¹¹³Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 193; *SEG* 34 (1984) no. 1210.

required of those dedicated to the Mother of the Gods in the sanctuaries in Macedonia, the ἔθιμοι ἡμέραι or "customary days."¹¹⁴

Another inscription, from the area of Kula at the beginning of the second century, also indicates a demand for service to the deity. This inscription has been discussed at length by several scholars.¹¹⁵

Ἔτους σγ', μη(νός) Ἀρτεμεισίου ς', ἐ-ἰπὶ Τροφίμῃ Ἀρτεμιδώρου
 Κι-ἰκιννάδος κληθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰ θεοῦ εἰς ὑπηρεσίας χάριν μὴ ἰ
 βουληθοῦσα ταχέως προσελ-ἰθεῖν ἐκολάσето αὐτὴν καὶ μα-ἰνῆναι
 ἐποίησεν. Ἡρώτησε οὖν Μη-ἰτέρα Ταρσηνὴν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Τάρσι-ἰον καὶ
 Μῆνα Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀξι-ἰοττηνὸν Κόρεσα κατέχοντα ἰ καὶ ἐκέλευσεν
 στηλλογραφ-ἰηθῆναι νέμεσιν καὶ καταγρά-ἰψαι ἑμαυτὸν εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἰ
 τοῖς θεοῖς.

In the year 203 (of the Sullan era = 118/9 C.E.), on the 6th of the month of Artemisios. Since Trophimê the daughter of Artemidoros, son of Kikinnas was called by the god for a gift of service, and since she did not want to come forward quickly, he punished her and made her insane. Therefore when she asked the Tarsene Mother and the Tarsene Apollo and Mên Artemidoros Axiottenos, who rules Koresa, he commanded that a retribution (punishment)¹¹⁶ be inscribed on a stele and to enroll myself in the service of the gods.

Eugene Lane's comments on this inscription indicate some of the questions and speculations that this inscription has raised.¹¹⁷ Most notable is the question of the kind of service to which Trophimê has

¹¹⁴Jeanne and Louis Robert, *BE* 1984, no. 388.

¹¹⁵Herrmann, *Ergebnisse*, no. 18; *CMRDM* I, no. 47; and *TAM* V.1, no. 460. Cf. Robert, *BE* in *REG* 76 (1963) 166-7, no. 224; Eugene N. Lane, "A Re-Study of the God Mên. Part I: The Epigraphic and Sculptural Evidence," *Berytus* 15 (1964) 50, no. A1; *CMRDM* III 20ff. Cf. *CMRDM* I, Pl. XXI. Above the inscription, the relief depicts a female figure in an inset relief, holding a cloth. There is a crescent drawn on the upper left, and a double axe to the upper right.

¹¹⁶Following Lane's explanation, νέμεσιν in place of κόλασις. (*CMRDM* III, 21)

¹¹⁷*CMRDM* III, 21.

been called. Possibly she had been summoned to service as a sacred slave (ἱερόδουλος), since there are other attestations for the existence of such sacred slaves in connection with the worship of Mên in this area at this time.¹¹⁸ Yet even this would not tell us much since the meaning of ἱερόδουλος is difficult to establish within a range of possibilities from literal slavery to a symbolic allegiance to the god.

Withholding direct payment to the sanctuary could also provoke punishment. Several inscriptions in the series in *SEG* indicate that the gods of Pereudenon could require money or land from the worshippers there, frequently in apparent association with the transfer of inheritance.¹¹⁹ One of these steles commemorates the transfer to these gods of specified items which they sought out (ἐπεζήτησαν) in the inheritance of a certain Gaius, son of Juneitus: a parcel of wooded land and a portion of a house apparently worth seventy-five denarii.¹²⁰ The inscription does not specify any punishment for withholding these items. The transfer of the property apparently suffices.

What can be seen in these last inscriptions, from Epaphradeitos' failure to pay the god for receiving the wife he desired to the failure of these last confessors to pay the proper portion of the inheritance,

¹¹⁸See, for example, in which a ἱερόδουλος with a masculine version of the same name raises a stele to a Mother Hipta and Zeus Sabazios. Lane also cites *Die Beicht*, no. 15; *CMRDM* I, no. 28; and Strabo 12.3.31 and 12.8.14.

¹¹⁹*SEG* 34 (1984) nos. 1212 and 1213.

¹²⁰*SEG* 34 (1984) no. 1211, l. 2.

is that the debts and services owed to the gods are not distinguished from what is owed to the temple or sanctuary. The human representatives of the deities are the ones who appear to collect, and it is difficult to say whether any conceptual distinction between the two is being made.

The evidence cited so far could give the impression that human administration of justice was virtually absent in Asia Minor apart from the temple functionaries. This would be a distortion. While the gods and goddesses clearly had a large role in the administration of justice in central Anatolia, evidence of more conventional methods is also present in the inscriptional evidence. For example, while some graves were protected by the curse formulae which have already been mentioned and which will be seen in greater detail below, other graves were protected by the threat of fines to be levied by some agency of local government.

3.2.5. *Recurring Elements Which Emerge Within the Inscriptions*

Several elements recur within these inscriptions which indicate the subservient relation of the Anatolians to the deities they worshipped and their conception of the divine judicial order.

3.2.5.1 Scepters and "Holy Legal Proceedings"

The importance of scepters in the divine judicial proceedings has already been indicated in the preceding discussion. The scepters play a significant symbolic role at the intersection of human affairs and divine action. From the human side they are raised to bring a case before the deity for action. Several of the confession inscriptions we have seen have illustrated the practice of setting up a scepter or scepters to invoke the deity's judicial action. Scepters were also invoked for protection of tombs and a community bathhouse. In these cases the scepter has an instrumental function. As long as the scepter is set up, the structure is under divine protection or the case is under divine investigation. Thus the scepter is a sign of divine enforcing action.

Reliefs which accompany some of the confession inscriptions illustrate the function of the scepter in "holy legal proceedings."¹²¹

¹²¹Peter Herrmann assumes a ceremony that he calls *heiligen Rechtsverfahrens*, which he says provides for symbolic remission in an unsolved case (*Ergebnisse*, 30-1, no. 21). The relief which accompanies the action on behalf of the orphans has been interpreted as a man is placing a scepter on an altar with a boy standing behind him. Louis Robert discusses this issue in his analysis of the use of scepters in these inscriptions ("Documents d'Asie Mineure," 522) and concludes that this interpretation is incorrect. The drawing of the relief which remains was done by J. Keil, whose drawings may be considered reliable according to Robert. Included in *TAM* V.1, no. 231, it shows a man placing round

The relief on one of the inscriptions of the repentant wood-cutters, discussed above, portrays two bearded male figures.¹²² The figure on the right, the guilty party, raises his right hand in a gesture of petition. On the left is the figure of the priest, indicated by the wreath in his right hand. In his left he holds a straight staff which extends to shoulder-height and rests on a small elevated platform by the priest's left foot. Louis Robert identifies this staff as the scepter of the god¹²³ and compares this example to other iconography in which the god Mên holds the scepter in a similar stance. This shows that the priest is understood to be holding the scepter of the god. The scene indicates again what Herrmann had described as a "holy legal proceedings" portrayed in the case of the theft at the bathhouse described previously.

Scepters are thus used as instruments by which humans invoke divine action. Once set up, the scepter becomes an symbol of inquest which indicates that the deity is seeking out a culprit or potential culprit

objects on an altar, not a staff. Eugene Lane's interpretation (*CMRDM* III, 28) of the action as laying the scepter on the altar is thus probably inaccurate.

¹²²The relief is on the latest in the series, but the broken relief on an earlier inscription (*EA* 22, no. 10) appears to be a fragment of the same scene. For further discussion see Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure." 497-599.

¹²³Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure," 517, fig. 2.516-8. The description follows Robert's.

for punishment. The culprit will presumably feel the direct effect of the deity's scepter in the form of illness or calamity.

Scepters once set up could also be cancelled in order to avoid the painful experiences that they would be likely to continue to impart, as was indicated in the inscription concerning Tatia and her unfortunate family. The verb λύω expressed this cancelling action. The λύτρον or "ransom" inscriptions thus cancelled some action which was producing divine punishment, here the setting up of a scepter or invocation of scepters in a curse. The person would remain under the power of the scepters until she or he was "ransomed" from them, i.e. until they were undone.

The scepters themselves could take on traits as active agents. Several funerary curses indicated that the scepters functioned as intermediary "beings," a religious conception prevalent in central Anatolian religiosity, in this case the direct agents of autocratic divinities.¹²⁴

The scepter is well known as a symbol of monarchical judicial power in the hand of a ruler. In central Anatolia the deities are cast in the

¹²⁴See also a curse in which the use of λύω may also explain the protection of a grave by the threat that the violator "will have enraged the uncancellable scepters which are in Tabala." (ἔξει κεχολωμένα τὰ ἅλυστα σκήπτρα τὰ ἐν Ταβάλοις.) This line is cited by G. Petzl, "Inscripfen," 260; and Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure," 520. Another reference also hints that the scepters may have been understood as more active than mere instruments, since the potential tomb-violator has heard them. See Petzl, "Inscripfen" no. 4. The grave inscription ends in the curse: "Εἰ δέ τις προσαμάρτη ταῖς στήλαις, ἔσται τῶν δώδεκα σκήπτρων ἡκουκώς." ("If anyone should offend against the grave-markers, he will be one who has heard the twelve scepters.")

role of the autocratic rulers who wield the scepters of justice. This is seen also in the epithets which describe them.

3.2.5.2 Epithets of the Deities as Autocratic Rulers

In central Anatolia, divine forces assume the role of ruler. The deities themselves frequently carry the epithets such as "βασιλεύς," "τύραννος," "κύριος," and "κατέχων" in both masculine and feminine forms. H. W. Pleket provides a useful summary of the use of these and related epithets for gods and goddesses in his terminological study of the relation of worshipper to deity in the Greek world as that of subject to ruler.¹²⁵ While these terms play various roles in the religious expression of the Greek world before the Hellenistic Age, it is in the interaction with the "Eastern" pantheon that the structure of the relationship between worshippers and deities begins to take on fuller implications of divine "lordship."¹²⁶ The use of the strong epithets "τύραννος" and "κατέχων," and the simple use of *Basileus* and *Basilissa* are applied especially to the deities whose "homelands" are in Anatolia. Such terms are also applied for rule of particular locations, with the general format "[named deity] who rules over [name of place]."

¹²⁵H. W. Pleket, "Religious History," 171-8.

¹²⁶Pleket, "Religious History," 176-7.

3.2.5.3 Deeds of Power: τὰς δυνάμ(ε)ις

Many of the inscriptions we have seen commemorate the δύνάμις, usually in the plural, of the deity or deities.¹²⁷ In several, the reference is to "inscribing the δύνάμις of the deity on a stele," most often with the verb στήλλογράφειν, "to inscribe on a stele."¹²⁸ Two open with a version of the address, "Great are the [named] deities and great are their δυνάμ(ε)ις."¹²⁹ One states that the goddess showed her δυνάμ(ε)ις.¹³⁰ Another warns the reader that no one ought at any time "to disparage the δύνάμις of the god" by cutting sacred wood.¹³¹

Although the exact nature of these δυνάμ(ε)ις is not clear, the use of this term is taken as an indication of the increasing emphasis on the powers of the deities in the Roman period.¹³² According to A. D. Nock, deities began to accumulate attributes due to the "habit in art of investing one deity with the attributes of others."¹³³ While this

¹²⁷See also EA 22, index 154, s.v. δύνάμις.

¹²⁸EA 22, no. 3, l. 11; no. 35, ll. 17-18; no. 69, ll. 34-5; and 55, ll. 11-13. One inscription uses ἀνέγραφο: no. 11, ll. 7-8.

¹²⁹EA 22, no. 54 and no. 9. These inscriptions generally use an orthographic variant for the plural form which omits the epsilon.

¹³⁰EA 22, no. 68, ll. 18-19. (The goddess therefore ἔδειξεν τὰς ἰδίας δυνάμις.)

¹³¹EA 22, no. 10, ll. 10-13. παρανγέλλω δέ, αὐτοῦ τὰς δυνάμις μή τίς ποτε κατευτελήσι καὶ κοψεῖ δρυῖν. (I exhort that no one at any time ought to slight the god's powers and cut wood.)

¹³²Nock, "Studies in the Graeco-Roman," reprinted in *Essays*, 34-43; cited also in Pleket, "Religious History," 178-9.

¹³³Nock, "Studies in the Graeco-Roman," reprinted in *Essays*, 39.

understanding may be applicable, Steinleitner's interpretation of the δύναμις of the deities is probably more apt for these inscriptions. For Steinleitner, the δυνάμ(ε)ις are most closely associated with divine actions upon the lives of human beings.¹³⁴ "Deeds of power" provides the most coherent translation. After recounting the events confessed, inscribers of confession steles thus state that they have "inscribed the deity's deeds of power on the stele."¹³⁵ Others invoke the deity, "Great is the god and great are his deeds of power;" state that the goddess "showed her deeds of power;" or warn that "no one should disparage or make light of the deity's deeds of power."

Steinleitner's analysis places these δυνάμ(ε)ις, in the context both of the autocratic imagery of the deities in central Anatolian religiosity and in the worshippers' direct experience of divine control in their lives. The power of deities to interfere in the daily lives of their worshippers is consistent with their monarchical or even tyrannical role. The relationship of worshipper to deity is thus that of subject to king, or slave to master. This religious system, as Steinleitner sees it, is upheld not so much by an articulated system of thought as by the media of "dance and music," and orgiastic performances

In his mention of the term, Nock equates ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις, whether singular or plural, with the attributes of deities.

¹³⁴Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, 79-82. *LSJ*, s. v. "δύναμις," also cites Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 113, for this meaning. Petzl also translates "die Manifestationen seiner Macht." See *EA* 22, no. 9.

¹³⁵These steles do not, after all, list the deity's "attributes," but rather their punishing actions.

in which the deity's "deeds of power" are manifested in devotees' insensitivity to pain and the experience of relationship with the deity in a state of "holy madness."¹³⁶ The δυνάμ(ε)ις would thus include not only the divine punishments commemorated on the confession steles but also these other "epiphanies" of the deities which indicate direct control of human lives.¹³⁷ We will return to this aspect of Anatolian popular religiosity in Chapters 6 and 7.

3.2.5.4 Experiences of Direct Communication(?): "According to a Dream," "According to a Command," or "Through an ἄγγελος"

Within this framework of popular religiosity, scholars have interpreted terms which indicate the means by which a person knows that a calamity is a punishment for a particular offense and what can be done to rectify the situation as a direct communication from the deity to the individual.¹³⁸ Human mediation should also be considered, however. The temples and the deities' human representatives may well have played a role in the process.¹³⁹

¹³⁶Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, 80-1.

¹³⁷Steinleitner's analysis also readily connects the monarchical power of the deities to a similar monarchical role of their priesthoods in relation to the laity.

¹³⁸Eugene N. Lane is the most prominent representative of this perspective.

¹³⁹The phrase "human representatives" is chosen deliberately to preserve ambiguity as to the identity of these representatives, whether temple priests or itinerant prophets.

Two inscriptions illustrate that such divine communication could come by means of a dream ("ὑπὸ ὀνείρου") or during sleep ("καθ' ὕπνον").¹⁴⁰ The first of these is in the third century confession of Athenaios the hapless woodcutter who "by a dream" erects the stele, which also bears the relief which portrays a priest with a scepter. The second is the rule of a new cult at Philadelphia, which was given to a certain Dionysus in his sleep. These are not isolated instances of this means of divine communication, common in the ancient world.¹⁴¹

Another expression, "κατ' ἐπιταγὴν," is illustrated in the collection here in the case of the family who erected a stele as a ransom from things known and unknown "according to a command" from specified gods. A. D. Nock provides an extensive listing by deity of this and similar phrases to illustrate the emerging emphasis on divine power in the Roman era. His brief analysis indicates that this phrase could refer both to oracles and to dreams.¹⁴² A command given in an oracle indicates the involvement of temple personnel or some individual acknowledged as having "oracular authority," such as a prophet.

In the case of the clothing thief at the bathhouse, the information came through an *angelos* ("δι' ἀγγέλου"). The question is whether

¹⁴⁰EA 22, no. 11 and LSAM, no. 20.

¹⁴¹Cf. also MAMA I, no. 9a, cited by L. Robert ("Reliefs votifs et cultes d'Anatolie," in OMS I, 414.): Θείῳ [καὶ] : [δικαίῳ] : [θε]ῷ Ἐπάγαθος καὶ Μείρος κατὰ ὀνείρου κέλευσιν.

¹⁴²Nock, "Studies in the Graeco-Roman," reprinted in *Essays*, 46. An assembly of such inscriptions can also be found in William Henry Denham Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (New York: Arno Press, 1975; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902) 330-1.

angelos here means "angel," as a divine intermediary being or a "messenger" as a human agent. Peter Herrmann, Eugene Lane, Jeanne and Louis Robert, and, in another context, Georg Petzl, concur that this *angelos* is an angel.¹⁴³ This conclusion is based primarily on the existence of divine beings called "angels" in the epigraphical record from Anatolia. Angels as divine intermediary beings are certainly not unknown in the cults of Anatolia, as will be seen in the following section, but neither are temples and priesthoods and oracles and prophets who could also be referred to as ἄγγελοι.

As evidence for this position, Herrmann cites an unpublished inscription to the effect that "just as it was revealed to us by the *angelos* of the god Mên Petraeitōs Axetēnos."¹⁴⁴ This, of course, does not really provide evidence since this *angelos* could as easily be a human messenger of the god as a divine intermediary being. Another inscription used to support this position is also of ambiguous use.¹⁴⁵ It is a partially destroyed stele to a deity, whose name is obliterated, and to "the Just Holy Angel." The stele is raised, however, "through the prophet Alexandros of Saittai," not through the *angelos*. While according to Robert, the use of the term "prophet" is relatively rare in

¹⁴³TAM V.1, no. 159; CMRDM III, 25-6; BE in REG 76 (1963) no. 235; and Petzl, "Inscripfen," 257, n. 41.

¹⁴⁴καθὼς ἡμῖν ἐδηλώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ θεοῦ Μηνὸς Πετραεῖτου Ἀξετηνοῦ." TAM V.1, no. 159. The same portion of the inscription is also cited by Petzl, "Inscripfen," 257 n. 41.

¹⁴⁵L. Robert, "Reliefs votifs et cultes d'Anatolie," *Anatolia* 3 (1958) 120 [=OMS I, 419].

Lydia and Phrygia, this does point to a human representative of the deity involved in the decision to raise a stele to divine entities. There is little reason to believe on the basis of the evidence in either of these cases that the phrase "through an *angelos*" is more likely to refer to the intervention of a divine entity than a human one.

Not all scholars concur with the opinion that *angelos* in this case means "angel." Herrmann cites a letter of K. Latte which supports the opposing viewpoint, that *angelos* refers to a human messenger. Latte, according to Herrmann, bases his opinion on reading the phrase "δι' ἀγγελου" with the verb "πραθῆναι," ("to have been sold through a messenger") rather than with ἐκέλευσε ("The god commanded through an angel."¹⁴⁶

Accepting the latter reading does not necessarily mean that the *angelos* is a divine being who has appeared to the culprit, however. Herrmann's other commentary on this same inscription cites Steinleitner in support of the opinion that the *angelos* would most likely be a priest of the god.¹⁴⁷ While this inscription was not available to Steinleitner in 1913, his portrayal of the role of the priest in the sacral-judicial process which produced the confession steles and the possibility of the priest thus being referred to as an *angelos*, or "messenger," ought not to be too readily discounted.¹⁴⁸ He describes the role of the priest as

¹⁴⁶TAM V.1, no. 159.

¹⁴⁷Herrmann, *Ergebnisse*, no. 21.

¹⁴⁸Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, 110-112.

a "physician of the heart and soul,"¹⁴⁹ to whom "the sinner brought his or her request for forgiveness and healing to the priest in whose hand he knew confession and at the same time remedy."¹⁵⁰ The erection of the confession stone is then the climax and completion of the process.¹⁵¹

Given another detail in the bathhouse inscription, this portrayal has significant merit. The inscription states that the culprit brought the stolen garment "to the god" and confessed.¹⁵² The accompanying relief portrays the god Mên standing with a scepter in his right hand and the cloak to his right. Beneath the cloak is a small boy with his hands raised, as if he has raised the cloak up and raised his hands in petition. Surely this represents the placement of the garment in the temple before either the cult image of Mên or Mên's representative. Temple personnel were surely involved somewhere in this process.

Human representatives of the deity presumably maintained the temple where Tatia placed the scepters and curse-tablets she hoped would vindicate her. The relief of the priest holding the deity's scepter which accompanied the case of the hapless woodcutter indicates the involvement of such human representatives. Steinleitner's portrayal is consistent with such evidence. The process should probably not be

¹⁴⁹"Leibes-und Seelenartzes."

¹⁵⁰"Der Sühnder brachte seine Bitte um Vergebung und Heilung bei dem an, in dessen Hand er die Sühne-und zugleich Heilmittel wußte, beim Priester." *Die Beicht*, 110.

¹⁵¹Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, 111.

¹⁵²τὸ εἰμάτιον ἐνεγκὶν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐξωμολόγησατο.

envisioned as a "disembodied" judicial system taking place entirely between individuals and the deities but rather as a process in which the temples and human representatives of the deities are involved.

We cannot determine whether in any particular instance the communication of the deity's directive has come to an individual directly or through the mediation of some human representative of the deity. In this land of ecstatic prophecy, of ruler-deities and their powerful temples, distinctions were not necessarily as clearly drawn in the minds of worshippers between the deity and the deity's representative as they would be to a modern mind. This lack of distinction has already been seen above in connection with debts and services owed to the gods, which were not distinguished from what is owed to the temple or sanctuary. It would be inconsistent with the evidence, therefore, to portray the process as involving no human representative of the deities.

3.2.5.5 ἐπιζητεῖν

A verb which recurs in the inscriptions collected here has received little attention in recent work on the confession inscriptions and, due to different contexts, has not been translated consistently by scholars. The definitions in *LSJ* given for this verb, ἐπιζητεῖν, include, "seek after, wish for, miss, request, inquire further, demand, require," and in the passive, "to be a matter of question." *LSJ* makes no reference, however, to the confession inscriptions, in which the verb seems to have some technical meaning.

The corpus of confession inscriptions assembled by Georg Petzl provides a means for closer examination of the use of this verb. The subject of the verb is almost always a deity or deities.¹⁵³ Based on the use of the verb in his collection of inscriptions Steinleitner considers this the common expression for the *Aufforderung* or "summons" to the public atonement which is accomplished in the confession inscription.¹⁵⁴ In a number of the inscriptions the notion of the deity's punishing action as such a "summons" to confession might apply, but "to summon" does not readily suit the context in all cases.

In several cases the context suggests a divine command, usually to the effect that a stele be raised.¹⁵⁵ One probably indicates that a family member was sent by the deities from one place to another.¹⁵⁶ Others, however, suggests that ἐπιζητεῖν refers to the action in which the deities investigate and discover the culprit of an offense,¹⁵⁷ and the punishing action.¹⁵⁸ The verb also indicates the action of the

¹⁵³EA 22, nos. 4, 8, 15, 16, 18, 19, 36, 38, 40, 44, 46, 54, 55, 69, 75, 77, 78, 80, and 89. The subject is questionable in nos. 73 and 74, and no. 32 is a fragment.

¹⁵⁴Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, 111.

¹⁵⁵EA 22, 36, 38, 46, 69, 78, and perhaps 75 and 89.

¹⁵⁶EA 22, no. 44.

¹⁵⁷EA 22, nos. 4, 19, 40, and 55 and probably 54.

¹⁵⁸EA 22, no. 15 and probably nos. 36, 75, 77, and 89.

deities in selecting a plot of land or an individual's labor that they desire.¹⁵⁹

The image indicated by this verb must accomodate a simultaneous action of command, point, and strike, i.e. what comic-book English would call a "zap." Two other verbs from the same root also appear in this connection. In two instances, the verb used is ἀναζητεῖν. Both of these convey the meaning of "search and discovery" carried out by the deity. In one judicial prayer, the stolen gold is lifted up so that the Mother of the Gods may "discover" it. The curser here expresses the desire that the goddess seek out the gold and reveal the person who has it by punishing action, i.e. "zap" the person. In a confession of an errant woodcutter Stratonikos, the god sought him out and discovered his guilt, and he was "zapped" into a deathlike state.¹⁶⁰ In another case the verb ἐξεζητεῖν conveys the same meaning.¹⁶¹ It is also used to describe the god's action to "call the conspirators to account." Once "zapped" they come forward.

What needs to be considered in the unity of the deities' discovering and punishing action is the element of the power of their vision. This understanding would be consistent with the ancient understanding of vision according to the "extramission theory of

¹⁵⁹EA 22, nos. 16 and 18.

¹⁶⁰EA 22, no. 10.

¹⁶¹EA 22, no. 35.

perception."¹⁶² According to this theory, vision involves three kinds of light and takes place by a "meeting of the rays." One of these kinds of light is the light that flows out from the eyes.¹⁶³ It is this aspect which is associated with the power of the "evil eye," since the light which goes forth from the eye has the power to affect what it sees. The power of sight of divine figures was understood also to wield such power.¹⁶⁴ This fits the "search and discovery" connotations of the verbs found in the confession inscriptions, ἐπιζητεῖν, ἀναζητεῖν, and ἐξεζητεῖν. In the confession inscriptions and judicial prayers we have seen, the implication that punishment or "burning" indicates the success of the search would also be entirely consistent with the divine eye seeing the offense of the culprit and punishing him or her in the same action. For the guilty culprit, to be seen is to be punished, just as to be punished means to know one has been "discovered" by the deity.

This image is also reinforced in partially published Phrygian inscriptions mentioned by Stephen Mitchell. On one, a dedication to the savior deities, the relief portrays "a bust of Zeus, Dionysus, a mounted

¹⁶²For references see Hans Dieter Betz, "Matt. 6:22-23 and Ancient Greek Theories of Vision," in *Essays on the Sermon on the Mount*, trans. L. L. Welborn (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 71-87; and Dale C. Allison, "The Eye is the Lamp of the Body (Matthew 6.22-23=Luke 11.34-36)," *NTS* 33 (1987) 61-83. I am indebted to Paul Brooks Duff for assistance with these and other references and for graciously providing me with the manuscript of his paper on this topic: "High Gods in Low Places: 'Evil-Eyed' Deities from Zeus to Jesus," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the SBL, November 20, 1995.

¹⁶³Betz, "Matthew 6:22-23," 83. He cites Pl. *Ti.* 518-19.

¹⁶⁴This is persuasively demonstrated by Paul Duff, "High Gods."

god with a double axe, and a god carrying a whip in a quadriga." The last two gods are identified as Apollo and Mên Dikaïos, "described as the 'Eye of Justice and Moderation', Ὀφθαλμὸς Δικαιοσύνης καὶ Σωφροσύνης."¹⁶⁵ Another is a dedication "to the Mother of the Gods, to Pheobus the Holy and Mên the Just and to the Eye of Dike."¹⁶⁶

This pointing and striking, especially in the sense of "command" where vision does not seem to be important, also evokes the image of the wielding of a scepter by an absolute monarch who does not need to follow laws but rather is the law. The priest, as has been seen, is portrayed in at least one series of reliefs, as holding that scepter. The actions themselves are what is meant by the δύναμ(ε)ις, the deities' "deeds of power." When the deity acts in the manner indicated by ἐπιζητεῖν, the divine δυνάμεις are shown. These are phenomena interpreted as actions of the deity. It remains likely that the deity's human representatives had some role in that process of interpretation.

At least to the extent that the pointing and striking action expresses a deity's desire for property or services from his or her worshipping subjects, the deity's human representatives surely must have played a role in communicating the deity's desire. Fear of personal calamity apparently assured compliance, and confession steles warned worshippers of potential consequences for noncompliance. This would, of

¹⁶⁵ Mitchell, *Anatolia I*, 191, and n. 223.

¹⁶⁶ Μητρὶ θεῶν Φοίβῳ τ' ὀσίῳ καὶ Μηνὶ δικαίῳ, ὀφθαλμῷ τε Δίκης δικαιοφροσύνης χάριν ἄνδρες Σακλεανοὶ σωτῆρσι θεοῖς ὀσίοις ἀνέθηκαν. Mitchell, *Anatolia I*, 191. The rest of the dedication reads, "the men of Saklea to the holy savior deities raised (the stele) in thanks."

course, give representatives of the deity a direct interest in encouraging offenders to have such steles inscribed as a recompense for their offense. This would lend credence to the notion that the steles erected "according to a command" were put up to comply with a divine command conveyed by a human representative. We may assume, however, that the initial link made between the personal calamity and the offending action was made by the individual "culprit," although oracles and prophets may have been involved here also.

3.2.5.6 The Inherent Power of Written Words and Symbolic Actions

A further observation may be made which addressees the power of the "media" of the curses and confessions more than the "message." The use of a protective curse or a judicial prayer displays confidence in the power not only of the curse or prayer but also the power of the written word which conveys it. The writer of the *defixion* from Phrygia, for example, conveys confidence that the simple written listing of those who have done the writer some harm will effect some form of retaliation.¹⁶⁷ The curse, in this case, is written for the deity's eyes.

Protective curses on grave markers are a warning, of course, but that warning is effective because of some shared assumption that the threatened calamities which are written will come to pass if the conditions of offense are met. There appears to be some inherent power to the inscription of the words themselves. Likewise, the symbolic action of raising the scepters seems to give some inherent power to the

¹⁶⁷ Audollent, *DT*, no. 14.

scepter standing there. As long as the scepter is not cancelled or dissolved, it can still wreak harm. The written words and the raised scepters seem to have some inherent capacity to influence events.

3.2.6 *Summary: The Divine Judicial System in Popular Religiosity in the Anatolian Zone*

In this section of this chapter, we have seen inscriptional evidence of an aspect of popular religiosity in central Anatolia in the form of a "divine judicial system" in which the deities and their manifestations may be characterized as "enforcers." We have seen that in this system, cursing and confessing play complementary roles. Deities are cast as absolute monarchs who administer this legal system, but they are not so distant that their judicial vision will not reach to the details of everyday life. Their punitive administration extends even to the protection of clothing in the community bathhouse and pigs who trot away to the neighbors' sheepfold. From what we have seen, the Anatolians lived in constant awareness of the watchful eye of their deities, believing in their power to protect as well as punish by an active righteous rage. This is the ethos of the Anatolian "zone."

3.3 The Deities' Human Representatives: Cult Organization and the Social and Economic Role of the Temples, Prophets, and Cults in Central Anatolia

In Chapter 1, the language of "zones" was introduced as a means to describe the complex phenomenon of popular religiosity as part of the process by which people maintain and develop meaning in the midst of cultural change. Central and subsidiary "zones," as systems of symbols, values, and beliefs which govern society, both coexist and interrelate.

With the emergence of a new central zone, such as the "Greco-Roman zone," previous central zones might become subordinated as part of the new central zone or they might resist or they might subordinate themselves in some ways and resist in others. It was suggested that within the central "Greco-Roman zone," attention is warranted to an "Anatolian zone" as the neglected background for interpretation of Paul's letter to the Galatians.

The "divine judicial system" can be seen, then, as an aspect of popular religiosity in the "Anatolian zone." What this suggests about social and cultic organization in central Anatolia is another matter. As was suggested in Chapter 1, aspects of a previous central zone might be found in different organizational expressions in the new central zone. The phenomenon of the "divine judicial system" described in the previous section of this chapter points us toward such complex interaction. We might assume that it suggests the presence of temple states where cultic functionaries as *angeloi* administered all aspects of community affairs, but it could also easily point to rural areas where people sought divine justice because of a lack of human administration in any form.

We must remember that religious and social life in first century Anatolia took variegated forms due to the patchwork of ethnicities, tribal groupings, and institutions which continued from the rule of one dominant power to the next. This is reflected, as has been seen, in the variety of distinctly Anatolian deities which are found alongside members of the Hellenic pantheon. So far we have seen evidence of some

of these variegated forms which indicate an "ethos," but not a single form of social or religious organization. Anatolia defies blanket generalizations. Nevertheless, some forms of religious institutions are present there which are not characteristic of Greece and Rome. These shaped popular religiosity and distinguish the "Anatolian zone."

Pierre DeBord has studied the social and economic role of the cults and temples in Anatolia over a rather broad timespan. He distinguishes two modes of cult organization which he labels "Greek" and "indigenous" forms of priesthoods.¹⁶⁸ The Greco-Roman form is part of the Hellenistic form of civic organization in which priesthoods are generally elected offices for specified terms. The the so-called "indigenous" mode, by contrast, is characterized by the absolute power of a lifetime priesthood over a domain, either under a priest-king or under a priest who was second only to the king. He indicates that where the power of these ancient priesthoods was the greatest, resistance to the forces of Hellenization was also strongest.¹⁶⁹ The distinction is useful even though the word "indigenous" may not describe these forms of cult organization any more accurately than it does the so-called "indigenous" deities. The "Anatolian zone" being described here can be understood as roughly equivalent to what DeBord calls "indigenous."

¹⁶⁸ Pierre DeBord, *Aspects Sociaux et Économiques de la Vie Religieuse dans l'Anatolie Gréco-Romaine*, EPRO, 48 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982) 52.

¹⁶⁹ DeBord, *Aspects*, 52.

Walter Burkert provides a similar distinction between Greek religion as "a religion without priests," or more precisely without a priestly caste, and the temples of the Near East which "were economic concerns supporting a large body of priests."¹⁷⁰ He assumes this distinction in his work on the mysteries in a description of three forms of cult organization: (1) the itinerant practitioner or charismatic; (2) the club (*thiasos*) or voluntary organization; and (3) the clergy attached to a sanctuary. It is within the third type that the distinction between "Greek" and "Near Eastern" is made.¹⁷¹ It will be useful here to consider this a four-fold rather than a three-fold distinction, for which I would propose the following labels on the basis of the locus of religious activity: (1) itinerant practitioners; (2) voluntary associations; (3) polis-based or family-based "avocational" priesthoods; and (4) temple-based "vocationally-organized" hierarchical priesthoods.¹⁷²

For Anatolia a more ambiguous fifth form of organization must also be reserved, at least hypothetically, which can account for the rurally-based cults. From the epigraphical evidence we have seen of the

¹⁷⁰Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, trans. John Raffan (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985) 95-8.

¹⁷¹Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 30-2.

¹⁷²The labels "vocational" and "avocational" are used here to distinguish priesthoods and cultic roles that are an individual's primary occupation and priesthoods and roles which are in addition a primary occupation. "Avocational" is meant simply as "non-vocational," and not to diminish its significance with the implication of "hobby" or "diversion."

"divine judicial system" few clues emerge about cult organization. The deities themselves appear to be understood as directly administering both cult and judicial system. A reasonable case can be made for the involvement of some human representatives of the deities in the divine judicial process, but a conclusive determination of their role cannot be made with the available evidence. There were temples and shrines in rural areas which did not necessarily have estates or large numbers of personnel attached to them. How they were maintained, how the cult activities associated with them were organized, and what form of service their priesthoods followed is not clear.¹⁷³ To designate these as "rurally-based" is to distinguish them from the cults connected to Hellenistic civic institutions and the major temple states and estates.¹⁷⁴ "Rurally-based" organizations could have included variety of forms. Remnants might continue cult organizations which were previously well-developed at the cult centers of previous kingdoms.¹⁷⁵ Forms suited to areas that had always been settled as villages (*komai*) might continue time-honored traditions at their cult sites. Independent itinerant practitioners as well as visiting functionaries from the major cult centers might be part of the picture. Small local vocational temple

¹⁷³These cults of rural Lydia and Phrygia are described as "not highly organized" by Price, *Rituals and Power*, 97.

¹⁷⁴DeBord discusses these as the small sanctuaries (*les petits sanctuaires*) and lists the major positions taken by different scholars on the nature and role of priesthoods in their functioning. See *Aspects*, 165-8.

¹⁷⁵On the ancient cities of the Phrygian kings see Strabo 12.5.3.

staffs and local rural cult organizations with recognized avocational priesthoods might also be found.

In Anatolia and Asia Minor we find all five types of organization. In addition to the ambiguous rurally-based cult organization, the establishment of Hellenistic cities by both Greek and Roman colonization brought the "polis-based" cult organization. These were characterized by civic leaders serving also as cult officials, elected for specific terms, as well as hereditary priesthoods. Voluntary associations composed of individuals who made their living in "secular" occupations also served various cultic functions. Itinerant practitioners were present as well, particularly in late antiquity. However, it is the presence of the fourth form of organization, the large "temple-based priesthoods" which were also major economic institutions, which distinguishes Anatolia as a religious and social context from Greece or Rome. This form of organization, sustained socially by the awesome monarchical power of the deities, appears to have influenced the religiosity of the rurally-based cult organization whether or not a particular locality fell under direct jurisdiction of a major temple organization. This remained true even as the deities served by temple-based priesthoods also acquired polis-based priesthoods in the process of Hellenization.¹⁷⁶

Cultic institutions with large permanent staffs of priests and other functionaries constituted a significant power base within

¹⁷⁶See DeBord, *Aspects*, 52-3; and Price, *Rituals and Power*, 97-8.

Anatolia, even in the face of the introduction of other forms of institutions and populations.¹⁷⁷ Pierre DeBord shows that the strongest points of resistance to Hellenization were precisely these institutions, in which political, social and economic power were integrated with the religious role of the priesthoods.¹⁷⁸ Some of the temple states continued to be significant commercial centers, a role which developed when the sanctuaries were the "depots" on the trade routes which cross Anatolia.¹⁷⁹ Major cult centers also drew visitors from wide areas for various motives, especially healing, as well as for major festivals.¹⁸⁰ Revenue was also raised by itinerant functionaries, most notably the *galli* who will be discussed in Chapter 7, who went out from the temple to perform cult functions for which they took up collections. Thus in addition to the wealth produced on the temple estates themselves in agricultural and craft production, they were able to draw wealth from a wider area not only as cult centers but also as centers of trade and as financial institutions.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ A description of the various permanent temple functionaries of Atargatis in Syria can also be found in Lucian, *DDS*, 42-4. On functionaries at Ephesus see also L. Robert, "Sur des inscriptions d'Éphèse, fêtes, athlètes, empereurs, épigrammes," *RevPhil*, 3rd series 41 (1967) 32-6.

¹⁷⁸ DeBord, *Aspects*, 52.

¹⁷⁹ DeBord, *Aspects*, 11-17.

¹⁸⁰ DeBord, *Aspects*, 27-40.

¹⁸¹ DeBord, *Aspects*, 11-17 and 183-243.

Several temple states are mentioned by Strabo. The major cult center of the Mother of the Gods at Pessinus, to be discussed further in Chapter 4, was a temple state and trading center (ἐμπόριον) ruled by priests who had been powerful rulers (δυνάσται).¹⁸² Two temple states of the goddess Mâ, Comana in Pontus and Comana in Cappadocia, in territories adjacent to Galatia to the north and east, were also substantial economic units. Strabo says of both that the priest had "ranked second in honor after the king." The inhabitants of these cities, numbering in the thousands, were "temple-slaves" (ἱεροδούλοι) under the authority of the priest who was the master (κύριος) of the temple.¹⁸³ Similar descriptions are given for other temple territories. The temple of Anaeitis at Zela on the border of Cappadocia and Armenia is described as a small city of ἱεροδούλοι.¹⁸⁴ The priest of the Venasian Zeus who ruled the three thousand ἱεροδούλοι of god's territory at Venasa, southeast of Galatia, was said to be quite wealthy.¹⁸⁵ The priest of the temple "village-city" (κωμόπολιν) of Mén of Pharnaces in Cappadocia Pontica was also said to reap abundant fruits from the god's territory there.¹⁸⁶ This pattern is repeated in locations in central and western Anatolia as well, as can be seen on a map provided by Pierre

¹⁸²Strabo 12.5.3.

¹⁸³Strabo 12.2.3 and 32.

¹⁸⁴Strabo 11.8.4.

¹⁸⁵Strabo 12.2.6.

¹⁸⁶Strabo 12.3.31.

DeBord of "populations sacrées," which indicates the presence of ἱεροδούλοι also at places such as: the temple territory of Anaitis Barzochara at Ortaköy in Galatia; of the Perasian Artemis, formerly Cybele or Kubaba, at Hierapolis Castabala in Cilicia; of Mén Askaenos at the Pisidian Antioch in the Roman province of Galatia; and ten other locations in Phrygia, Pisidia, Lydia and Pamphylia.¹⁸⁷ The temple of Artemis at Ephesus also supported a large and stratified staff, including eunuch priests (ἱερεῖς εὐνοῦχοι) called Megabyzi and young women (παρθενοί) obligated to serve jointly with them as priests (συνιεραῖσθαι).¹⁸⁸

Priests at several of these locations were called the master or lord (κύριος), over "sacred slaves" (ἱεροδούλοι). The term ἱεροδούλος in the case of these temple territories seems to designate the whole work force. Those dwelling in the sacred territories might also be called, less specifically, κατοῖκοι (inhabitants), ἱεροὶ (consecrated), or ἱεροὶ παῖδες (sacred slaves-servants-children).¹⁸⁹ The meaning of these terms and the actual status indicated is the subject of no small amount of scholarly discussion and is dependent on the specific context, varying geographically as well as chronologically. For the populations of these temple states the terms indicate a status of literal servitude,

¹⁸⁷DeBord, *Aspects*, 79. On Hierapolis Castabala as the domain of Kubaba, see also 142. On the temple states see also Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 81-2, and 176-7.

¹⁸⁸Strabo 14.1.23.

¹⁸⁹DeBord, *Aspects*, 76 and 90-2.

most similar to serfdom since they could not be sold away from the territory.¹⁹⁰ The language of dedication and enslavement to the deity could have a range of implications, however, from symbolic and honorific to the literal serf status, depending on the circumstances.¹⁹¹

The temple slaves performed various functions such as agricultural labor and maintenance of the sanctuaries and their grounds. A variety of functions related to the cults themselves are also indicated, such as weighing offerings and preparing libations.¹⁹² Young children might also be recruited to serve in the choirs.¹⁹³

What has traditionally been labeled "sacred prostitution" also may have been one of the cult functions at some of the sanctuaries. At a temple of Anaeitis at Aciliseneê in western Armenia, for example, Strabo says that they dedicate male and female slaves to her service (ἀνατιθέασι δ' ἐνταῦθα δούλους καὶ δούλας) and the most illustrious members of the tribe dedicate (ἀνιεποῦσι) their virgin daughters

¹⁹⁰Strabo 12.3.34. See also DeBord, *Aspects*, 83.

¹⁹¹See DeBord, *Aspects*, 83-5, and 355, especially n. 75. He disputes the position, particularly of A. Cameron, whose study of some of the epigraphical evidence of sacral manumissions argues for a primarily symbolic interpretation, A. Cameron, "Inscriptions Relating to Sacral Manumission and Confession," *HTR* 32 (1939) 143-79. In some cases transfer of a slave to the deity is actually a manumission. Cameron's article focuses on the complexity of interpretation of certain inscriptions, which are mostly later than the second century C.E., not on the literary evidence for ἱεροδούλοι enslaved to a temple state.

¹⁹²DeBord, *Aspects*, 95. He lists a variety of functions indicated by evidence from Ephesus.

¹⁹³DeBord, *Aspects*, 96. The evidence for this is from Commagene east of Anatolia and Lagina in Caria.

(θυγατέρας . . . παρθένους) for whom it is the custom (νόμος) to be prostituted (καταπορνευθείσαις) for a considerable length of time in the presence of the goddess (παρὰ τῇ θεῷ), after which they are given in marriage." No one, he says, rejects marrying these women.¹⁹⁴ Strabo associates this with the Lydian practice mentioned by Herodotus,¹⁹⁵ and continues to indicate that the young women have some choice of whom they will accept as a sexual partner (ἐραστής) and that gift exchanges are mutual between the partners.¹⁹⁶ At Comana in Pontus, Strabo indicates the prosperity derived in part from the presence of "a great number of women who earn a living by means of their bodies, of whom the majority are sacred or dedicated (ἱεραί). For in a way the city is a sort of 'Little Corinth.'" ¹⁹⁷ At Byblos in Syria, a form of "prostitution" was also practiced on a single day during the festivals of the Aphrodite

¹⁹⁴Strabo 11.14.16.

¹⁹⁵Hdt. 1.93. There is no indication in the Lydian context described by Herodotus in the fifth century B.C.E. that this form of prostitution is in any way associated with the temples. He first mentions that the tomb of Alyattes, the father of the Lydian king Croesus was built by the market people (οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄθροποι), artisans (οἱ χειρῶνακτες), and working courtesans (αἱ ἐνεργαζόμενοι παιδίσκαι). The παιδίσκαι did the most work. Herodotus then explains, "τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσαι· ἐκδιδούσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς." (For all the daughters of the district or common people of the Lydians work as prostitutes while they collect their dowries, until the one whom they would marry [comes]. They give themselves away in marriage [i.e. they choose their own mates].)

¹⁹⁶Strabo 11.14.16.

¹⁹⁷Strabo 12.3.36. He explains that the *hetairai* sacred to Aphrodite also drew a large tourist trade to Corinth. For further references see also DeBord, *Aspects*, 362, n. 169.

and Adonis. This apparently functioned to raise external funds for the temple, since only foreign clients could be accepted.¹⁹⁸ Evidence also suggests male sexual activity by cultic functionaries with other males, although probably not cultic.¹⁹⁹ This will be discussed at 7.1.1.3.

What can be seen is that a distinctive form of cultic organization was present in Anatolia which was not as prevalent in other parts of the Empire. Whether or not every Anatolian was subject to an organized and hierarchical temple state, those organizations reflect something of their understanding of their relationship to their deities. Itinerant practitioners might maintain that relationship even beyond the reach of the structures of large temple organizations or temple states. The "Anatolian zone" can be characterized by this relationship to the deities, reflected in the distinctive temple states found there as well as in the experience of the deities' involvement in the administration

¹⁹⁸ Lucian, *DDS*, 6. Women had the option of shaving their heads. Women who practiced sexual union in the context of cultic practice were also located in the temples of Ishtar earlier and farther east, as part of the temple-based form of cultic organization characteristic of many of Ancient Near Eastern civilizations. See Judith Ochshorn, "Ishtar and Her Cult," in *The Book of the Goddess Past and Present: An Introduction to Her Religion*, ed. Carl Olson (New York: Crossroad, 1983) 24-6. She designates this group as "holy women" rather than "prostitutes" or "harlots," since their role was viewed as positive and essential within the cult and judged pejoratively only by outside observers, most notably recorded in biblical texts. Bonnie MacLachlan makes a case for the existence of "sacred prostitution" based on these same texts: "Sacred Prostitution and Aphrodite," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 21 (1992) 145-62.

¹⁹⁹ The literary evidence is has been assembled by A. J. Festugière, "Comptes rendus bibliographiques: Julius Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanorum religionum*, trans. Gilbert Heuten," *REG* 52 (1939) 645.

of justice at all levels of community life. It must be stressed that no contention is made here that every resident of Anatolia in the first century C.E. participated in the "Anatolian zone" any more than every resident of Utah is a Mormon. Yet just as in Utah one enters a "Mormon zone" which pervades community life, so also in Anatolia one enters an "Anatolian zone" with similar influence.

3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has been a survey of some of the elements of the "Anatolian zone." This zone has been characterized by a "divine judicial system" in which people relied upon and cowered under the absolute power of the deities in every aspect of their lives. The relationship of worshippers to their deities was that of subject to monarch. While these characterizations have been made, we have also seen that in first century Anatolia a wide variety of cultural influences was present.

CHAPTER 4

OUR MOTHER, OUR PLACE

In the last chapter we saw some of the elements of the general religious ethos of central Anatolia. The religious ethos of Anatolia in the first century was distinct not only from modern Europe or North America but also from other parts of the Greco-Roman world. In this chapter we turn to a prominent distinguishing feature of Anatolia, the overseeing presence of the Mountain Mother of the Gods who received devotion from her Anatolian worshippers by many different names depending on the locale of her worship. While devotion to her extended to the boundaries of the Roman Empire and beyond, what concerns us here is the Mother of the Gods in her Anatolian homeland and her cult's development there during the Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial period.

Much of the scholarship on the cult of Cybele and Attis treats issues which are important for understanding the development of the cult over time but will not be of substantive concern here, particularly the detailed issues of origins and antecedents of the two divine figures and their iconography, and issues concerning the cult at Rome. Summary treatments of the cult tend to start with the introduction of the cult at Rome and move eastward to the cult's homeland in Anatolia. After a review of the major scholarship (4.1), in this chapter we will tour the

data in another direction, starting first with an overview of the iconography of Cybele and Attis in this period and basic features of their cult (4.2). Then, beginning as Paul did, from Syria in the East, we will tour the territories of the "guardian goddesses," beginning first with goddesses similar to Cybele (4.3), and then proceeding to the manifestations of the Mother of the Gods in Anatolia (4.4). The components of Cybele's identity as both "fertility goddess" and "guardian goddess" will then be addressed (4.5) and correspondence of this pattern to that of Ancient Near Eastern Guardian Goddesses will be discussed (4.6) in order to understand the pattern of her worship as the Great Mother and also as the local guardian goddess of many particular places.

4.1 Review of Major Scholarship on Cybele and Attis

Three major scholarly works from the turn of the century set the framework for our understanding of this cult. The 1912 work of Henri Graillot is still aptly described as "magisterial," and must be consulted as the foundational work in this area.¹ His collection of the classical sources and other data available in his time, along with his historical analysis of the cult and its relationship to various constituencies and geographic areas during the Greco-Roman era has not been equalled. Nonetheless some of his assumptions have been subject to debate. In a shorter work published in 1901, Grant Showerman relied

¹Henri Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle, Mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'Empire Romain*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, no. 107 (Paris: Fontemoing, 1912).

primarily on the literary evidence and concentrated on the chronological development of the cult and on some of the variant forms of Cybele. He recognized the relatively late evidence for the entry of Attis as a cult figure, a position which Pierre Lambrechts would advocate later in the century.² Hugo Hepding's 1903 work on the cult of Attis provides a chronological collection of the Greek and Latin texts which refer to the cult of the Mother of the Gods, and he provides a foundational analysis of the myths and rituals.³

These major works were produced in a period dominated by conceptual frameworks for the historical and comparative study of the religions of antiquity which have come under increasing criticism in recent decades, as was discussed in Chapter 1. Many scholars assume a problematic view of the so-called "mystery religions" inherited from this period in their work on this cult. It will thus be important here to proceed with caution and, as much as possible from primary data, to develop a picture of the cult in Anatolia and not as it looks "force-fit" into the pattern of a "mystery religion" or "fertility cult" centered on a "dying-rising god."

Two major scholars who made enormous contributions to the study of the cult of Cybele and Attis after the middle of the century are Maarten

²Grant Showerman, *The Great Mother of the Gods* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1901; reprint, 1959). Lambrechts will be discussed below.

³Hugo Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuch und Vorarbeiten, eds. Albrecht Dieterich and Richard Wünsch, no. 1 (Geiszen: J. Richer'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung [Alfred Töpelmann], 1903).

J. Vermaseren and Pierre Lambrechts. They represent two distinctly different perspectives on the cult. Vermaseren tended to date evidence as early as possible and to use late evidence to form a conceptual gestalt of the cult, with less attention to its historical development. He also interpreted it, in the tradition of Cumont, as an eastern cult moving west. Lambrechts, on the other hand, approaches the data more historically and tends to date evidence later unless very strong justification can be made for earlier dating. He also proposes that some elements of the cult are western developments and cannot be attributed to eastern or Anatolian origins.⁴

Vermaseren has produced the most recent accessible overview of the cult, but his lack of historical precision limits the usefulness of this work for this investigation.⁵ Rather it is his geographically organized collection of epigraphic, iconographic and literary evidence, assembled and indexed in the seven available volumes of his *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, which is useful here.⁶

⁴Pieter Lambrechts, "Attis van Herdersknaap tot God," *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen Letteren Shonen Kunsten van België* 24 (1962); "Les fêtes 'phrygiennes' de Cybèle et d'Attis," *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome* 27 (1952) 141-70; "Cybèle, divinité étrangère ou national?" *Bulletin de la société royal Belge d'anthropologie et de prehistoire* 62 (1951) 44-60; "Documents inédits de Cybèle au Musée d'Eskeşehir," in *Hommages à Marie Delcourt*, Collections Latomus, 114 (Brusselles: Latomus, Revue d'Études Latines, 1970) 211-18 and Pl. I-III.

⁵Maarten J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult*, trans. A. M. H. Lemmers (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).

⁶CCCA. A promised eighth volume containing the numismatic evidence is not yet available. Vermaseren must also be credited with leadership which has encouraged other scholars in the production of the

Another fine collection and analysis of the Greek and Phrygian iconographic evidence on Cybele was also published in the 1980's by Frederike Naumann. Her study is organized to show both geographical and chronological development of Cybele's image.⁷ The more recent work of Lynn E. Roller, who builds on Naumann's work, should also be mentioned. Roller's articles have proved particularly useful due to the attention she gives to the distinction of Phrygian and Hellenistic iconography and to the complexity of the interrelation of the two influences both in Anatolia and in Greece.⁸

A monograph by Giulia Sfameni Gasparro published in 1985 treats the question of "soteriology" in the cult of Cybele and Attis and organizes the evidence by historical phases. She looks at the cult as a mystery cult but attempts to examine it on its own terms as it developed without denying "a certain typological affinity" among the deities of the mysteries. Using Ugo Bianchi's notion of the "vicissitudinous" character of these deities, related to the cycle of the seasons, she

many other useful volumes in the EPRO series.

⁷Friederike Naumann, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der Phrygischen und der Griechischen Kunst*, *MDAI(I)*, no. 28 (Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1983).

⁸Lynn E. Roller, "Attis on Greek Votive Monuments: Greek God or Phrygian?" *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 245-262; "The Great Mother at Gordion: The Hellenization of an Anatolian Cult." *JHS* 91 (1991) 128-43; "Hellenistic Epigraphic Texts from Gordion." *AS* 37 (1987) 103-33; "Phrygian Myth and Cult." *Source* 7 (1988) 43-50. I must also acknowledge Roller's helpful advice via e-mail conversations on problematic dating of several items in *CCCA*.

probes the relation of the fertility aspects of the cult and a broad notion of individual salvation.⁹

A relatively recent dissertation by Mary Sue Woodley frames the issue of some previous interpretations of Cybele in terms of the difficulty of beginning with her identity as an "earth goddess," seen primarily through her identification with nature as "Mother Earth" and a "goddess of fertility."¹⁰ She makes a persuasive case that evidence indicates rather that Cybele's primary identification was as a "city protectress," more analogous to Tyche or Roma than to Demeter.¹¹ While such a dichotomy provides a balance to some of the problems with interpretations proposed previously, it does not account for the fact that the ancient sources provide evidence for both identities with no visible sense of a contradiction. Part of the task of a review of the data in the following chapters will be to understand how the variant roles and aspects of the Mother of the Gods, which may appear to modern observers to conflict, were unified in a single divine personality for her ancient worshippers.¹²

⁹Giulia Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology and Mystic Aspects in the Cult of Cybele and Attis* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985) especially xvi.

¹⁰Mary Sue Woodley, "Sacred Precincts of Cybele" (Ph. D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1989).

¹¹Here the terms "guardian goddess" and "city guardian" will be substituted for the term "city protectress."

¹²The complexities of her origins and assimilations to goddesses already present in these other pantheons will not be discussed here.

We will see that to understand the identity of the goddess as both guardian and "fertility" goddess requires more attention to her role in her homeland than to her role as the deity of one of the "mysteries" in her worshippers' diaspora conditions. This will occupy our attention in this chapter. Likewise Attis must be seen as a figure whose identity develops in changing conditions over the course of the Greco-Roman era. Chapter 5 will address the identity of Attis, and Chapter 6 will look at the role of myth and ritual in this shift. The emerging importance of the most famous functionaries of the cult, the *galli*, especially as itinerant practitioners for a cult in diaspora conditions will be the focus in Chapter 7.

In what follows, my own approach is to begin as much as possible from primary sources at the risk of some neglect of the secondary materials. This has in some part been necessitated by the need to focus geographically and chronologically on Anatolia in the first century C.E. in a manner that has not been the primary focus of any of the previous scholarship. Many classicists begin from the cult at Rome or are concerned with an earlier or later period in the cult's development. Use of secondary sources here assists my own interpretation of the data but in no way represents a comprehensive treatment of the massive bibliography in this field.

4.2 The Basic Picture: The Iconography and The Geographic Range of Attestation of the Cult of Cybele and Attis

During the early Roman imperial period, representation of the goddess Cybele was widespread. Most of the images are variations on the

image of the goddess enthroned, with a lion or lions usually at either side or on her lap. Frequently she holds a *tympanum*, the tambourine or the deep-voiced hand-held drum which was one of the musical instruments which provided the undergirding rhythm for the rituals of her cult, and a *patera*, the libation bowl which was also part of the cult's rituals. Her head was usually adorned with a mural crown, a high crown portrayed as city walls which symbolized her rulership of a place.¹³ In addition to statues and inscriptions, remains of temples of Cybele known as *metroons* have been found across the Empire.

Throughout the imperial period Cybele was known by several names: Rhea, Magna Mater, the Idaean Mother, the Mountain Mother, Angdistis under variant spellings, and as the Mother or Mountain Mother identified with various locations in the pattern "Meter [place name]." By the first century C.E., all were understood to refer to the same deity. She was also closely associated with several other goddesses, as will be seen below, such as Atargatis, Anaeitis, Mâ-Bellona, and the Ephesian Artemis. No matter what her name, however, her homeland was understood to be in Anatolia, frequently referred to as Phrygia.

Associated with Cybele was the male figure Attis who was taking his place as a cult figure by this time. Representative samplings of portrayals of Attis assembled by Maarten Vermaseren can be found in *LIMC* and in his thin volume on Attis in Greek and Roman art.¹⁴ There is

¹³Cf. numerous plates in all seven volumes of *CCCA*.

¹⁴*LIMC*, s.v. "Attis," by Maarten J. Vermaseren and Margreet B. de Boer.; and Maarten J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and*

considerable variation in these portrayals. He is always beardless and almost always wears the hat known as the "Phrygian cap." He is sometimes portrayed standing, sometimes sitting, sometimes reclining, sometimes riding a lion, sometimes dancing, and sometimes kneeling on one knee with an arm uplifted presumably holding up his recently-severed genitals. Frequently he stands or sits next to a tree often identifiable as a pine tree.

Clothed, he wears a knee-length tunic and frequently a characteristic form of legwear known as *anaxyrides*, generally called "Persian trousers." Sometimes he is portrayed nude, but more frequently with clothing partially thrown back to expose at least his feminine or prepubescent round belly and usually his genitals as well, in a posture affectionately dubbed that of the "Phrygian flasher."¹⁵ He might carry or lean upon a shepherd's staff or hold a sheep. Sometimes he holds or plays upon a *syrinx* which is the bundled reed of a shepherd's pipe, or holds a *tympanum* or other object associated with the cult. On occasion he holds a mask of Cybele over his head. Sometimes he holds one hand pensively to his chin. Sometimes he is winged. Sometimes only the head or bust of Attis is portrayed.

When Attis and Cybele are shown together, Cybele is generally shown as a larger figure or Attis is indicated by some other gesture to be subservient to her. While Cybele is always represented as a commanding

Roman Art (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966). Cf. *CCCA*.

¹⁵A term coined by Thomas H. Tobin.

adult figure, Attis is portrayed in various stages of life from a chubby boyhood to his young adulthood after his castration. He is never portrayed as a fully adult male, which would be signified by a beard, or as an old man.

The sculptures and reliefs which preserve the images of these two deities, inscriptions which mention one or the other of them, coins, and literary references, show that the cult had spanned the Roman Empire, as even the titles of the volumes of *CCCA* indicate. From Britain to the eastern territories, and from Africa to the northern frontiers, evidence of the cult has been left behind. A large *metroon* built at Vienne in France in the early first century C.E. attests the importance of the cult in that city, and a group of small statues of Cybele found at Massilia, now Marseilles, are dated as early as the sixth century B.C.E.¹⁶ A series of rock-cut niches with figures of the Mother of the Gods, dated to the fourth and third centuries B.C.E., is also found in Sicily.¹⁷

Cybele was installed in a temple on the Palatine at Rome in the early second century B.C.E. Two centuries later, if Caesar Augustus looked out the front door of his palace, it was her temple he saw and her temple that visitors passed as they came and went. No matter how far her cult extended nor to what lofty imperial heights, Anatolia was always understood as Cybele's home territory, and she was accompanied by

¹⁶*CCCA* V, no. 370 (Vienne), and nos. 276-313 (Massilia).

¹⁷*CCCA* IV, nos. 152-64.

Attis as the Phrygian shepherd.¹⁸ The goddess with the lions, by whatever name, and Attis were much better known in the ancient world than the popularized guides to Greek and Roman mythology familiar in the modern world might suggest.

The feature of the cult of Cybele and goddesses similar to her which spread the cult's fame or notoriety, depending upon one's point of view, was a group of eunuch attendants known as *galli*. These *galli* were young men who had castrated themselves in one of the rituals of the goddess and afterwards wore a specific type of female attire associated with their new status. Afterwards many of them wandered as groups of "beggars of the goddess" and gave orgiastic blood-letting performances for which they collected donations from their audiences. After attention has been devoted in this and the next two chapters to the identification of Cybele, Attis, and the myths and rituals associated with them, Chapter 7 will provide a fuller description and analysis of these *galli* and their cult role. To understand the *galli*, however, it will first be important to understand the deities they served.

4.3 Goddesses Similar to Cybele in Anatolia and to the East

The eastern limit of Cybele's major influence is reached in Anatolia, east of Lycaonia, as Graillot points out in his chapter on the goddess in Asia Minor. There identifications of the Great Mother in her

¹⁸During the Greco-Roman era, "Phrygian" tended to mean "Anatolian" in general.

Phrygian form fade where distinct but related goddesses take her place, particularly Mâ in Cappadocia and Atargatis in Syria.¹⁹

Attention to Atargatis is particularly important since she was worshipped precisely in the areas where Paul is known by his own account to have traveled and because significant elements of our evidence about the *galli* treat her attendants in particular. A look at her cult will also afford an initial opportunity to explore the relation of the goddess's identities as City Guardian and Earth Mother as well as issues of identity and distinction between similar goddesses.

4.3.1 *Atargatis, the Syrian Goddess*

The Syrian Goddess, Atargatis, was represented with lions from very ancient times, and in the Hellenistic era she began to be portrayed like Cybele,²⁰ also wearing the mural crown. Yet in spite of similar portrayal, as well as probable common origins and the presence of castrated *galli* in both their cults, Atargatis was a goddess distinct from Cybele in the Hellenistic and Roman era.²¹

Three important complementary studies of the cult of Atargatis have been published in recent years. The literary sources have been

¹⁹Graillot, 384-9.

²⁰Graillot, 388-9.

²¹Both goddesses were at this time also undergoing the "processes of convergence active in Hellenistic thought." See William Scott Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones," *HTR* 37 (1944) 119-20 and n. 59. A detailed discussion of inscriptions from the Piraeus which have been interpreted to show a possible connection between the two cults there is included in Appendix 4 of his article, 137-40.

assembled with French translations for the EPRO series by Paul-Louis van Berg, (CCDS), with some analysis provided in a companion volume.

Lucian's *De Syria Dea*, omitted from that collection since it is a larger work readily available, has received attention from Robert A. Oden, Jr.

in two works. He has published a text and translation edition in

cooperation with Harold W. Attridge. In a separate study of the work,

he describes the cult of the Syrian Goddess at Hierapolis, known also as Bambyce.²² No comprehensive assembly of coins and inscriptions relevant

to this cult has yet been completed, but H. J. W. Drijvers provides a useful summary of much of this evidence in connection with the literary sources in a chapter in his study of religious life at Edessa.²³

Drijvers' survey includes evidence from other cities where the worship

of Atargatis is attested. The work of earlier major studies of the

Syrian Goddess is treated by these scholars.²⁴

²²Lucian, *DDS*, trans. Harold W. Attridge and Robert A. Oden, *The Syrian Goddess (De Dea Syria)*, attributed to Lucian. Texts and Translations Series, 9. Graeco-Roman Religion Series, 1. (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976); and R. A. Oden, Jr., *Studies in Lucian's "De Syria Dea,"* Harvard Semitic Museum. Harvard Semitic Monographs, ed. Frank Moore Cross, no. 15 (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977). Whether the author is Lucian himself or an adept imitator is of no consequence for the usefulness of the work as a source of information about the cult of Atargatis in the second century C.E., as Oden points out (*Studies*, 42-6). The author of the work was certainly someone quite familiar with Hierapolis and the cult there. For convenience he will be referred to here as Lucian.

²³H. J. W. Drijvers, "The Cult of Atargatis," chap. in *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa*, EPRO 82 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980) 76-121. Edessa was a Syrian city located north of Hierapolis at a junction of the ancient silk road to India and the road north into Armenia. It was ruled by an Arabic dynasty from 132 B.C.E. on (9-10).

²⁴The major studies to which they refer are: A. Dupont-Sommer and

Atargatis has been identified as a conflation of the three major Canaanite goddesses, 'Astart, 'Anat, and 'Ašerah.²⁵ 'Astart or Astarte was identified as Aphrodite by the Greeks. 'Anat, as a goddess of war, corresponded in Greek interpretation to Athena. In the Ugaritic myths, 'Ašerah was associated with the sea as the "mother of the gods" and retained this identification a thousand years after Ugarit was destroyed.²⁶ All three of these Canaanite goddesses have associations with lions,²⁷ thus the iconographic similarity to Cybele in addition to the identification with the Mother of the Gods.

Attestations for the Syrian Goddess are most prevalent in the areas where these three goddesses were previously known, in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, just east of Cappadocia and Cilicia in Asia Minor.²⁸ The

L. Robert, *La déesse de Hiéropolis Castabala (Cilicie)* (Paris, 1964); H. A. Strong and J. Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess* (London, 1913); and G. Goossens, *Hiéropolis de Syrie. Essai de monographie historique.* (Louvain, 1943).

²⁵Oden, *Studies*, 72.

²⁶Oden, *Studies*, 94.

²⁷Oden, *Studies*, 105. See also a portrayal of Allat from first century C.E. Palmyra: Malcolm A. R. Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra*, *Studies in Ancient Art and Archaeology*, ed. D. E. Strong (London and Boulder, Colorado: Thames and Hudson Ltd. and Westview Press, 1976) 177, Pl. 49.

²⁸Attestations from the literary sources are shown on the map in CCDS I, pt. 1. They include: Ascalon in Judaea, Schech Sa'd west of Galilee, Damascus, Apamea on the Orontes River south of Antioch, and in northern Syria or Mesopotamia west of Cilica and Cappadocia, Hierapolis, Harran, Edessa, Resh Aina, and Nisibis. Drijvers' survey of epigraphical and numismatic evidence adds locations in the Beqa, Salamiyeh between Palmyra and Apamea, Kafr Nebo in northern Syria, Hatra in northern Mesopotamia, Palmyra and Dura-Europos, and the Hauran. (Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 85-119.)

cult of the Syrian Goddess was also spread elsewhere in the Roman Empire by Syrian slaves, merchants, and soldiers, and was not confined to the territories of Syria and Mesopotamia.²⁹ Evidence of her following is found, for example, in Sicily and Rome and in the Peloponnesus.³⁰

Where both Syrian and Phrygian immigrant groups co-existed, each group appears to have continued to worship the goddess by the name by which they knew her and according to national custom modified for a new environment. The two goddesses were thus generally perceived as distinct and continue to show particular characteristics even as they are also logically associated.

The iconography of the cult of the Syrian Goddess is recognizable by features which distinguish it from that of cults of similar goddesses. Distinguishing features of Atargatis include fish, both in her iconography and the usual presence of a sacred fish pond in her sanctuaries, and a divine symbol known as the *semeion*, a pole or standard with various symbols attached. Atargatis is also associated with her bearded consort Hadad, a male figure quite different from the beardless and emasculated Attis who accompanies Cybele.³¹ Her *galli* appear to serve her without a divine role model.

²⁹On this see Han J. W. Drijvers, "Die Dea Syria und Andere Syrische Gottheiten im Imperium Romanum," in *Die Orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, ed. Maarten J. Vermaseren. EPRO, 83. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981) 240-63; and CCDS.

³⁰See the map in CCDS.

³¹See LIMC, s.v. "Hadad," by Michel Gawlikowski, s.v. "Dea Syria," by Han J. W. Drijvers, and s.v. "Atargatis," by Robert Fleischer.

In spite of these distinctions Cybele and Atargatis were also identified with one other. For example, a Latin inscription from Rome for which, unfortunately, no more specific date or location can be determined, identifies the Syrian goddess as the Mother of the Gods, "*Mater deor(um) et Mater Syriae : d(e) s(uo)*."³²

The identification was also made by Greek visitors to Atargatis' home territory on the basis of the practice of castration by the *galli* in both cults, as is illustrated by a passage in Lucian. Such visitors conventionally identified eastern deities with some Greek or Roman counterpart, although they did not always agree. Lucian sees Atargatis as Hera, and her consort as Zeus,³³ but before he settles on the identification, he acknowledges the Syrian Goddess's similarity with other goddesses. Lucian cites another account which identifies the goddess as Rhea, the Latin name for Cybele, and incorporates Attis as a human founding figure.

There is another sacred account, which I heard from a wise man, that the goddess is Rhea, and the sanctuary is a creation of Attis. Attis was a Lydian by birth, (Ἄττης δὲ γένος μὲν Λυδὸς ἦν) and he first taught rites (τὰ ὄργια) pertaining to Rhea. All the rites which Phrygians, Lydians and inhabitants of Samothrace perform (ἐπιτελέουσιν), they learned from Attis. When Rhea castrated him, he ceased his male life-style. (ὥς γάρ μιν ἡ Ῥήν ἔτεμε, βίου μὲν ἀνδρῆιου ἀπεπαύσατο,) He took on instead a feminine form and donned female clothing. (μορφὴν δὲ θηλέην ἡμίψατο καὶ ἐσθῆτα γυναικίην ἐνεδύσατο) He went out into every land, performed the rites, related his sufferings and sang the praises of Rhea. (καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν γῆν φοιτῶν ὄργιά τε ἐπετέλεε καὶ τὰ ἔπαθεν ἀπεηγέετο καὶ Ῥήν ἦειδεν.) On these journeys he came to Syria. Since the men beyond the Euphrates accepted neither him nor the rites, he established the

³²Oden, *Studies*, 101. Cf. CCCA III, no. 297.

³³Oden, *Studies*, 48.

sanctuary in this place. Here is the proof: The goddess is similar in many ways to Rhea, for lions carry her, she holds a tympanum and wears a tower on her head, just as the Lydians depict Rhea. The wise man also said about the Galli who are in the temple, that Galli never castrate themselves for Hera, but they do for Rhea and they also imitate Attis. (ὅτι Γάλλοι Ἡρώη μὲν οὐδαμά, ῥέη δὲ τέμνονται καὶ Ἄττεα μιμέονται.) This explanation seems plausible to me but untrue, since I heard another reason for the castration which is much more believable.³⁴

This passage provides evidence not only that the association between Cybele and Atargatis was logical given the iconographic similarity but also that the identification was made by some now-lost ancient authority that Lucian cited.³⁵

The combination of identification and distinction is best explained by Drijvers in the conclusions from his survey of the epigraphical, numismatic, and sculptural evidence, which also includes a study of the relation of Artemis and Atargatis in Nabataea. Since no cult was exclusive, divine attributes tended to be interchanged among the various deities. Thus representations and references to the Syrian Goddess might vary by location and still show "a general pattern of an all-embracing mother goddess, who gives water and fertility, protection and safety, who functions as a good Tyche providing the cities with

³⁴Lucian, *DDS*, 15.

³⁵The description is helpful also because it provides useful information about the *galli* to which reference will be made below. The practice of castration in service to Atargatis is also attested by the prohibition of it instituted by King Abgar at Edessa when he converted to Christianity. Compliance was not complete, since in the fifth century C.E., church leaders were still attempting to halt the practice of self-emasculatation by Christian clergy. See Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 76-7.

abundance of goods."³⁶ This mothering function also included rulership as is shown by a Greek inscription from the second century C.E. which addresses her as κυρία Ἀταργάτις.³⁷ Every town, as Drijvers suggests, originally had a male weather god and a female deity who protected the inhabitants as her children.³⁸ To try to systematize the various forms of these deities is, as he says, a futile exercise without a much larger accumulation of data. The pattern also shows that the "mother goddess" is not categorically separate from the "city guardian" but commonly fused in a single divine personality, as will also be seen more clearly in the Anatolian Mountain Mother.

Order is best sought in a sociological interpretation, "different deities belong to different groups of the population. Each brings in its own heritage, its own [ancestral deities], which in turn are assimilated to other deities already present or arriving later."³⁹ A deity of a particular location may become more prominent, as the goddess at Hierapolis did. Her popularity as a pilgrimage site would thus make the portrayal of her there influential. Portrayals of other local goddesses would imitate her, until

³⁶Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 120.

³⁷Oden, *Studies*, 101, cites Paul Perdrizet, "A propos d'Atargatis," *Syria* 12 (1931) 268 and 271. Perdrizet infers from the object on which the words are inscribed, a bronze representation of a female breast, that the reference is to the "fecundity" of the goddess. The object, as Oden points out, more likely represents the diseased organ for which the *ex-voto* offering seeks healing.

³⁸Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 120.

³⁹Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 121.

it is often difficult to decide if the cult of Atargatis at a certain place is actually a branch of the sanctuary of Hierapolis or a local cult adapted to the practice and customs [there.] Religious forms are not fixed in this area, but always change and develop, borrowing motifs from each other. The wide range of variants in the cult of the Dea Syria most appropriately demonstrates such a process of religious assimilation and articulation.⁴⁰

Here again is the combination of city guardian and earth-mother that is also found in Cybele.

She was the goddess of the life-giving springs near the citadel, where she had her temple. She was the Tyche of the city, where she had her priests and begging *galli* and was worshipped with ecstatic music and tremendous noise. Although her cult at Edessa may have been influenced by her centre at Hierapolis, it certainly belonged to the most authentic traditions of the city . . .⁴¹

Drijvers' description of Atargatis's role at Edessa could be applied, with the addition of the mountain imagery, to the Anatolian goddess as well, and the association of the goddess and the mountain is also known in this area. Such an association with mountain imagery is illustrated in the discovery of the mountain-top temple of Atargatis and Hadad at Khirbet Tannûr in Nabataea, in present-day Jordan.⁴²

⁴⁰Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 121.

⁴¹Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs*, 121.

⁴²See Nelson Glueck, "Archaeological Notes: A Newly Discovered Nabataean Temple of Atargatis and Hadad at Khirbet et-Tannûr, Transjordan," *AJA* 41 (1937) 351-76. Drijvers indicates that the identity of deities is disputed, but the goddess nevertheless fits the same pattern, displayed with lions and fish. (*Cults and Beliefs*, 114-6.) The Arab goddess Allât known from excavations at Palmyra dated to this period also fits this iconographical pattern of the goddess and her lions, frequently enthroned. Some portrayals add attributes of Athena, and she is also identified with Artemis, although she is not assimilated to either. H. J. W. Drijvers, "De matre inter leones sedente: Iconography and character of the Arab goddess Allât," in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, vol. 1. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978) 331-351 and Plates LXIII-LXXV.

4.3.2 *Mâ and Bellona*

In Cappadocia to the east of Galatia proper, devotion to the goddess *Mâ* took the place of the worship of *Cybele*. Two cities named *Comana*, which were the centers of her worship there, were mentioned in Chapter 3 as examples of temple states with large numbers of *hierodouloi* or "temple slaves."⁴³

The few images from this region which survive are Hellenized versions found only on coins. None of the extant images show any particular iconographical similarity to portrayals of *Cybele*. The warlike goddess *Mâ*, probably of Hittite origin and affected over the course of centuries by Persian and Hellenistic influences, had a hybrid character not easily assimilated to Greek or Roman goddesses. Thus both ancient and modern authors reflect confusion about her identification with other deities. Greeks identified her as *Athena*, *Enyo*, *Selene*, and *Rhea*, while the Romans in the Republican era saw her as their goddess of war, *Bellona*. Epigraphical evidence indicates expansion of her cult throughout Asia Minor and into Macedonia, probably following Alexander's expeditions. She was probably welcomed because of similarity to the Mother of the Gods and *Artemis*. The epigraphical and iconographical evidence does not, however, support the identification made by Cumont and others of this goddess with *Cybele*, *Atargatis*, or *Anaeitis*, who will be discussed further below.⁴⁴

⁴³Strabo 12.2.3 and 12.3.32.

⁴⁴*LIMC*, s.v. "Ma," by Nade Proeva. Cf. Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales*, 50-1. Representations specifically of *Bellona* are also assembled in *LIMC*, s.v. "Bellona," by José M. Blázquez. According to

The goddess Mâ is known primarily from the evidence at Rome where she was identified with the warlike Roman goddess Bellona. The Cappadocian goddess Mâ was probably introduced at Rome following Sulla's war with Mithridates,⁴⁵ and was honored there by orgiastic rites which shocked the Romans. Most of her initial devotees at Rome were slaves and women.⁴⁶ Her temple at Rome was officially destroyed in 48 B.C.E. in one of several persecutions of alien deities.⁴⁷ Evidence shows that her worship was able to continue under the wing of the Magna Mater, who was favored by the Roman state after her pompous introduction in 204 B.C.E..⁴⁸ While Mâ and Cybele may have common origins, in the Hellenistic and Roman period they were clearly distinguished but related.

Strong associations between Bellona-Mâ and the Magna Mater are seen in the Latin evidence which paints a picture of Bellona-Mâ as a "handmaiden goddess" (*dea pedisequa*) to the Magna Mater.⁴⁹ Her guilds of

his description, possible but disputed iconographic association with Cybele and Attis could be indicated in *LIMC*, Bellona 9, but a photo is not included.

⁴⁵*LIMC*, s.v. "Ma," by Nade Proeva.

⁴⁶*LIMC*, "Ma," by Nade Proeva. She cites Tib. 1, 6.43-50.

⁴⁷Dio 42.26.2, cited by Duncan Fishwick, "Hastiferi," *JRS* 57 (1967) 152-3.

⁴⁸Fishwick, "Hastiferi," 153-4.

⁴⁹The evidence for this is in two inscriptions cited in *LIMC*, s.v. "Ma," by Nade Proeva and *ThLL*, s.v. "Bellona." For the argument that she is *pedisequa* to the Magna Mater, see Fishwick, "Hastiferi," 152-4. She is associated with the Magna Mater and Attis in *CCCA* IV, no. 174, from Corfinium in Italy, one side of a monument with additional

hastiferi or "spear-bearers" were housed in Cybele's *metroon* complexes; and they took their place, as did the statue of their goddess, in Cybele's cult processions.⁵⁰ Literary evidence also associates and even confuses the two goddesses, primarily because of the blood-letting activities of their respective attendants.⁵¹

4.3.3 *Anaeitis*

The goddess Anaeitis is familiar to us already from the confession inscriptions and mention of her temple states in Chapter 3.⁵² Anaeitis is the Anatolian version of the goddess known in the Armenian and Persian territories to the east as Anahit or Anahita.⁵³ Anahita can also be seen as a counterpart to the Canaanite 'Anat and the Babylonian and Sumerian Ishtar or Inanna.⁵⁴

inscriptions, "*Acca L. f. Prima ministra Matris Magnae Matrem refecit Magnam et inauravit Attini comam inauravit et Bellonam refecit.*"

⁵⁰This description follows Duncan Fishwick's examination of the evidence and probable conclusions, "*Hastiferi*," 142-60.

⁵¹Cf. Juv. 6.512; Valerius Flaccus 7.636; Apul. *Met.* 8.25; and Luc. 1.565, all cited by Fishwick, "*Hastiferi*," 145. See also, from *ThLL*, s.v. "Bellona." Tib. 1,6,45; Mart. 12.57.11; Juv. 4,124; 6,512; Min. Fel. 30, 5; Tert. pall. 4, (mentes fugantur).

⁵²In addition to the confession inscriptions, games of Anaeitis, the Ἀναείτρια, are attested at Philadelphia in Lydia. Louis Robert, *Études anatoliennes. Recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure*, Études orientales publiées par l'Institut Français d'Archéologie de Stamboul. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1937; reprint, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1970.) 162-3.

⁵³Anaetis may also have common roots with Atargatis in the Semitic goddess 'Anat. *ERE*, s.v. "Anahita," by Franz Cumont. Cf. also *PW*, s.v. "Anaitis," by Franz Cumont, for further citations.

⁵⁴See Raphael Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess*, 3rd ed., Jewish Folklore

Devotion to Anaeitis stems presumably from the Persian imperial period when the cult was diffused throughout the dominated territories, including Anatolia and especially Lydia where she is said to have been assimilated to Cybele.⁵⁵ Literary and epigraphical evidence shows various identifications of Anaeitis with other goddesses. In Greece she was identified sometimes with Athena, sometimes Aphrodite, but her usual identification in the west was as the "Persian Artemis."⁵⁶

As one of the chief deities of Persian Mazdaism, she is named in the Avesta as Ardvī Surā Anāhita, "the high, powerful, immaculate one," and the goddess of the fertilizing waters.⁵⁷ As the most popular deity of Armenia, the fifth century Armenian historian Agathangelos calls her, "the great lady [queen] Anahit, the glory and life-giver of our nation;" the "mother of sobriety, the benefactress of all [humankind] and a daughter of Aramazd" [Ahura Mazda]; and the one "through whom the country of the Armenians exists and has life."⁵⁸ She was worshipped in an annual festival with joyful processions, and Armenians are said to

and Anthropology Series (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990) 136-8; and *ERE*, s.v. "Anahita," by Franz Cumont.

⁵⁵She also became assimilated to the Phrygian *Magna Mater* also in the Latin countries, according to *ERE*, s.v. "Anahita."

⁵⁶The iconographical evidence would not suggest any particular similarity. Cf. *LIMC*, s.v. "Anaeitis," by Javier Teixidor, and Pl. 610-11, Anaeitis 1-10. *ERE*, s.v. "Anahita," by Franz Cumont, includes citations from ancient sources.

⁵⁷*ERE*, s.v. "Anahita," by Franz Cumont.

⁵⁸*ERE*, s.v. "Armenia (Zoroastrian)," by M. H. Ananikian. (Ananikian's translations of Agathangelos.)

have offered her green branches and white heifers. Herds of these heifers wandered unmolested because they bore the brand of the goddess.⁵⁹

These descriptions and the successful protection of her property with her mark are consistent with the ruler deities of Anatolia discussed in Chapter 3. The description is also consistent with the pattern of the goddess who nurtures and protects a particular locality seen in the discussion of Atargatis.

Also of interest for the pattern of the relation of the combined "City Guardian and Earth Mother" goddess to the king are investiture scenes from the early Sassanid period in Iran in the third century C.E. There Anahita is seen, either with Ahuramazda or alone, passing a ring to the new king as a symbol of supreme power. The image is not new to the Sassanid era but is also found on a relief of the Parthian period in which the prince Orode reclines holding the ring of power with Anaeitis to his right as one of the divine figures present.⁶⁰

A portrayal of Anaitis also occurs on a coin from Lydia in the Severan period (193-211 C.E.), and shows her cult image in her temple at Hypaepa on the southern slope of Mount Tmolus. She is polos-crowned and

⁵⁹ERE, s.v. "Armenia," cites Lucullus in Plut. *Lives*.

⁶⁰Roman Ghirshman, "Les scènes d'investiture royale dans l'art rupestre des sassanides et leur origine," *Syria* 52 (1975) 119-129. On the relief from the Parthian period (=LIMC, Anaeitis 5), he cites W. H. Henning, "The monuments and inscription of Tang-i Sarvak," *Asia Major*, n.s. 2 (1952) 151-178.

most resembles the Ephesian Artemis, according to the description of Cornelius Vermeule.⁶¹

4.3.4 *Artemis of Ephesus*

The Ephesian Artemis is perhaps the most widely known goddess of Asia Minor, at least in our era. So far we have seen the identity of three goddesses similar to Cybele on Anatolia's eastern interface. On the western seaboard, the goddess Artemis also filled the role Cybele occupied in the interior. There her spectacular temple stood at Ephesus as the first monumental structure to be built entirely of marble and one of the major tourist attractions of the eastern Mediterranean. As a version of the Greek Artemis she was a distinct goddess during Greco-Roman times, but as the Ephesian Artemis she cannot be completely differentiated from her roots as the Anatolian Mother. Her famous cult center was built on a site long sacred to the Mother Goddess who became transformed into Artemis during the Greek period.⁶²

The cult image of the Ephesian Artemis portrays the goddess standing with a narrow garment adorned with images of rows of wild

⁶¹Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Art of Antiquity, Vol. 5, Part 1, Numismatic Studies, Divinities and Mythological Scenes in Greek Imperial Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Friends of the Department of Classical Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1983) 13-4, and pl. 22.

⁶²Alpay Pasinli and Şehrazat Karagoz, "Catalogue of the Greek-Roman-Byzantine Periods," in *Woman in Anatolia: 9000 Years of the Anatolian Woman, Catalogue of an exhibition at the Istanbul Topkapi Sarayı Museum*, ed. Günsel Renda (Istanbul: Ministry of Culture General Directorate of Monuments and Museum, Republic of Turkey, 1993) 144-5. See also Albert Henrichs, "Despoina Kybele: Ein Beitrag zur Religiösen Namenkunde," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 80 (1976) 269-70.

animals and animals of the hunt, including lions. She wears a tall headress, also covered with figures of animals. Her upper torso is covered with variously identified ovoid objects.⁶³ Her forearms are extended forward and figures of lions are sometimes found at the inner fold of her elbows.

Richard Oster indicates that it is generally accepted that the Ephesian Artemis is a particular expression of the Anatolian Great Mother, transformed by the arrival of the Greeks to the coastal area where they "imposed the Homeric Artemis upon the indigenous Mother Goddess whom they found there, and thereby gave birth to the Ephesian Artemis."⁶⁴ The merger was so complete that "it is difficult to define precisely the character of the Ephesian Artemis vis-à-vis the categories >>Greek<< and >>Anatolian<<."⁶⁵ For example, an inscription refers to the goddess herself as, "τὴν κυρίαν . . . παρθένον [Ἄρτεμ]ιν Ἐφεσίων."⁶⁶ In keeping with the implied purity of the goddess, her

⁶³For photographs, see Ekrem Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatolien vom Homer bis Alexander* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1961) 157-8.

⁶⁴Richard Oster, "The Ephesian Artemis as an Opponent of Early Christianity." *JAC* 19 (1976) 27. The catalogue of a recent exhibit at the Istanbul Topkapi Sarayi Museum also summarizes how, in addition to the continuing devotion to Cybele in her own right, Anatolians also worshipped her in tranformed form as other major goddesses of Asia Minor in the Greco-Roman era. See Pasinli and Karagoz, "Catalogue," 144-5.

⁶⁵Oster, "The Ephesian Artemis," 27-8. Some scholars suggest that the "Anatolian" characteristics were more dominant than the Greek ones, but by "Anatolian" is meant the orgiastic aspects which evidence suggests were actually quite restricted by the first century C.E. The more "orgiastic" character applies to the cult at an earlier era.

⁶⁶*IG* 14.964, cited by Oster, "The Ephesian Artemis," 28, n. 35.

priests were expected to be sexually pure, and prostitutes were excluded from her temple.⁶⁷ These same factors, however, indicate the "Anatolian" character of cult organization as a hierarchy of cult personnel devoted to her lifetime service.

4.3.5 *Other Goddesses*

During the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman era, as deities in general became loosened from their moorings in a specific place, these and other goddesses began to take on characteristics of one another and to be identified with each other. A concept begins to emerge of "the goddess" who has many names, as can be seen in the self-identification of Isis in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. (11.5?) as the Mother of the Gods from Pessinus, Minerva from Athens, Venus of Paphos, and many more.⁶⁸ As a result, the catalogue of "similar goddesses" could be very large indeed. Two others are worthy of brief mention.

H. H. J. Brouwer provides evidence also for the identification of the Magna Mater with the Roman *Bona Dea*.⁶⁹ Although the evidence is literary and epigraphical without iconographic identification, ancient

⁶⁷Strabo 8.13.1 and 8.5.11; and Artemid. *Oniroticon* 4.4, cited by Oster, "The Ephesian Artemis," 28, n. 36 and 37.

⁶⁸Apul. *Met.* 11.5.

⁶⁹H. H. J. Brouwer, "The Great Mother and the Good Goddess: The History of an Identification," in *Hommages a Maarten J. Vermaseren*, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978) 142-59.

authors equated them. Most telling is Plutarch's description, which associates her with the Phrygian Goddess as the mother of King Midas.⁷⁰

The iconography of Tyche, the personification of Fortune, also shows her identification with Cybele. She is generally portrayed, as is Cybele, with the mural crown which displays her role as the guardian of cities. A major representation of the Tyche of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, copies of which are found throughout the ancient world, depicts her "seated on a mountain peak, showing her association with . . . the Mother Goddess."⁷¹

4.3.6 *Summary*

We have seen that a number of distinct Mother Goddesses were associated with the Anatolian Mother of the Gods. These goddesses functioned as guardians and sustainers of the territories in which they were worshipped, and they continued to receive devotion from their worshippers wherever they might find themselves in the shifts of population under the Roman Empire. In the next section, we will focus more specifically on the Anatolian Mother.

⁷⁰On this see Brouwer, "The Great Mother," (154-5), who provides and translates the Plutarch citation. Plutarch's description shows the broad assimilation of the goddesses in the early Empire and offers information on exclusively female rituals.

⁷¹Pasinli and Karagoz, "Catalogue," 145. An bronze example probably inspired by the monument at Antioch is included in the catalogue, no. B-69. For an extensive survey on the mural crown as a symbol of goddesses who personify cities and countries, see W. Deonna, "Histoire d'un emblème: la couronne murale des ville et pays personifiês," *Genava* 18 (1940) 119-236.

4.4 The Mother of the Gods in Anatolia

To venture into central Anatolia as Paul probably would have meant to pass through the Taurus, the mountains of Cilicia and bordering Isauria on the way into Lycaonia where the southern cities of the Roman province of Galatia are located. When the Galatian king Amyntas, a contemporary of Augustus, advanced into the Isaurian mountain range, the image of the goddess was already there. Likewise in 75 B.C.E. when the forces of Servilius laid siege to Isaura Nea to claim control of the Cilician Gates which form the mountain pass north of Tarsus on the way to Iconium, the mountain there was crowned with an already ancient and venerated temple of the Mother of the Gods.⁷² She remained the goddess of the mountain people there even as Roman efforts to control their brigandage were relatively successful.⁷³

From the Taurus mountains north to the Black Sea and to the Pontic coast where every city had its *metroon*,⁷⁴ to the western slopes into the Aegean, attestation of popular devotion to the Mother of the Gods is ubiquitous. Votive images of her enthroned with her lions, inscriptions which refer to her, her image on coins minted by the central Anatolian cities, and literary references to her sacred sites appear in abundance over the course of the Greco-Roman era as well as earlier.⁷⁵ In the

⁷²See Graillot, 383-4.

⁷³Graillot, 384.

⁷⁴Graillot, 379.

⁷⁵See CCCA I.

cities, in the villages, and in open country, in the mountains, in the valleys, and on the plains, devotion to the Mother of the Gods is a prominent feature of central Anatolian life.

The attributes and names for the Mother of the Gods in this area appear in stunning variety. The effort to make sense of this variety has, as Stephen Mitchell points out, wavered between two poles. On the one hand there has been a conflation of the various Anatolian cults, of the mother goddesses as well as others, into "Protean unities." This approach imposes an anachronistic and excessively reductionistic schema upon data which in fact indicates scrupulous distinctions made by Anatolians between their cults and deities. On the other hand, however, there has been an approach which emphasizes the distinctions to the exclusion of the patterns and identifications which do exist. As Mitchell indicates, ancient authors, such as Strabo, discerned common patterns.⁷⁶

But as for the Berecyntes, a tribe of Phrygians, and the Phrygians in general, and those of the Trojans who live round Ida, they too hold Rhea in honor and worship her with orgies, calling her Mother of the gods and Agdistis and the Phrygian Great Goddess, and also, from the places where she is worshipped, Idaea and Dindymenê and Sipylenê and Pessinuntis and Cybelê and Cybebê.⁷⁷

Strabo provides a reasonable order for a survey of Cybele's identities in Asia Minor: (1) the Mother of the gods, to which attestations of the

⁷⁶Mitchell, *Anatolia* II, 19.

⁷⁷Strabo 10.2.12. Translation modified from that of Horace Leonard Jones and John Robert Sitlington Sterrett, LCL.

name Cybele will be added; (2) Agdistis as the Phrygian Goddess; and (3) the goddess known in association with various places.

4.4.1 *The Mother of the Gods*

Out of all the Greek inscriptions which refer to any of the variant names for the Mother of the Gods in Asia Minor, the name "Cybele" appears only twice.⁷⁸ One is an undated votive offering to petition her care for the cattle, from Nacolea in Phrygia.⁷⁹ The provenance of the other is disputed between Nicaea in Bithynia and a location in Mysia which, depending on the location, is dated either to 119 B.C.E. or 85 C.E.⁸⁰ References in Strabo and Diodorus Siculus provide the other evidence for the use of this name in Anatolia in the Hellenistic and Roman period.⁸¹

⁷⁸The name also appears in an Old Phrygian inscription on one of the monuments in the Köhnus Valley in the Phrygia highlands. See *CCCA* I, no. 110 (=Haspels I, 293, no. 13). In Greece and the islands of the Aegean, the name appears in inscriptions only twice. See *CCCA* II, nos. 529 and 560. Consistent with the image of the association of the Mother of the Gods with particular places and mountains in Anatolia, Vibius Sequester, writing in the early fifth century C.E., lists Cybelus as a mountain in Phrygia (*Cybelus Phrygiae*). (Vibius Sequester, *De fluminibus, fordibus, lacubus, etc.*, ed. Petrus Georgius Parroni, *testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità* [Milan: A. Nicola, 1965] 6.28, p. 69.

⁷⁹*CCCA* I, no. 178. Σκαλατηνοὶ [M]ῖητρί Κυβέλη εὐχὴν περὶ βοῶν. (=MAMA V, 102, no. 213 and Pl. 49)

⁸⁰*CCCA* I, 252.

⁸¹Strabo 10.3.2 and 12.5.3; and Diod. Sic. 3.59.8. See *CCCA* I, nos. 55 and 303. These are not, of course, all the literary references to Cybele in Greco-Roman antiquity, but the only ones included in the *CCCA* volume on Asia Minor (I) because they refer to a specific location there. A much later reference, from Phot. *Bibl.* 233b is also included as *CCCA* I, no. 246. While Cybele's origins may be traced in part to the

Far more often the general name used for the goddess is some version of the Mother of the Gods, *Μήτηρ Θεῶν*.⁸² She is named in this manner in some forty-three of the inscriptions in the volume of *CCCA* on Asia Minor from all parts of the peninsula west of the lands of *Mâ* and *Atargatis* in Cappadocia and Syria. The inscriptions span the time from at least as early as the third century B.C.E. through the late Roman imperial period.⁸³ Many of these are simple votive inscriptions, a stele or a relief raised "to the Mother of the Gods." Following the coastline from locations in Paphlagonia and Bithynia on the north coast and westward around to Cyzicus and other locations in Mysia, to Pergamum and Smyrna on the Aegean, and onward to locations in the southern territories of Asia Minor, like Halicarnassus and Mylas in Caria, locations in Lycia, Pamphylia, and southern Pisidia, such devotions to the goddess as "Mother of the Gods" are displayed in stone. The names of inland locations in Lydia are already familiar as the sites which

goddess Kubaba, this name does not appear in inscriptions from the Greco-Roman era. Most of the attestations of the name Kubaba in variant forms are from locations in Syria, Commagene, and Cappadocia, and none is dated later than the eighth century B.C.E. See *CCCA* I, nos. 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31, and 881. A potsherd inscribed "Kuvava," in the Lydian language and dated before 570 B.C.E. was also found near the "Cybele-altar" at Sardis (*CCCA* I, no. 462). Two inscriptions from Cilicia in Aramaic and Aramaic-Phoenician characters, dated around the fifth and ninth centuries B.C.E., also mention Kubaba. (*CCCA* I, nos. 854 and 855).

⁸²A glance through the epigraphical index for volume II of *CCCA* on Greece and the Aegean islands shows the same pattern.

⁸³*CCCA* I, nos. 57, 59, 115, 141, 146, 186, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 210, 236, 240, 260, 273, 279, 388, 425, 458, 469, 475, 480, 484, 490, 567, 687, 713, 715, 732, 738, 739, 744, 745, 748, 757, 759, 768, 777, 789, and 868.

yielded the confession inscriptions discussed in Chapter 3, for example Maeonia, Kula, Saittae. Votive inscriptions are also found in Galatia, in many locations in Phrygia, including a mountaintop sanctuary on what is now called the Türkmen Baba, and eastward in northern Pisidia and Lycaonia.

The Mother of the Gods is named all over these territories in unprestigious and undated votive inscriptions as well as in the dedication of a temple to her at Pergamum inscribed at the behest of the founder of the Attalid Dynasty in 263 B.C.E., and another temple dedicated to her by a priestess at Mylas in Caria in the following century.⁸⁴ She is named Mother of the Gods also on reliefs and sculptures in which she is readily identifiable. The quality of both sculptures and inscriptions indicates a wide variety of levels of means.⁸⁵ By this name she occasionally figures in a funerary curse to protect the grave of one of the more prominent of the *galli* who served her, and as the enforcer in the bronze curse tablet discussed in Chapter 3.⁸⁶ Dice oracles and so-called Astragalomanteia from the southern territories of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia also invoke her as Mother of the Gods.⁸⁷ At Pessinus in Galatia, the temple-state which was the

⁸⁴CCCA I, nos. 388 and 713.

⁸⁵CCCA I, no. 388.

⁸⁶Two such inscriptions from Termessus, Pisidia, are found on tombs of an *archigallus* and a *hierogallus* respectively (CCCA I, nos. 745 and 748.) CCCA I, no. 868.

⁸⁷CCCA I, nos. 732, 739, 744, 757, and 768.

center of her cult, the same designation is used to refer to her in a distinct type of inscription which established a reorganization of her priesthoods there.⁸⁸ She is also named as Mother of the Gods in association with other deities.⁸⁹ Many other inscriptions also refer to the goddess more simply as "the Mother."

4.4.2 *Agdistis and the Phrygian Great Goddess*

The Phrygians called the Mother of the Gods by the name Agdistis, a name which figures prominently in the myths associated with the cult, to be discussed in Chapter 6.⁹⁰ According to Strabo, this was her name at her major cult-center at Pessinus in Galatia, but the majority of the inscriptions to the goddess by this name come from her sanctuary at Midas City in the Phrygian highlands bordering Galatia.⁹¹

Midas City had been the Phrygian cult center of the goddess at the height of the Phrygian kingdom associated with the kings Midas and Gordion. Located on a table mountain next to the modern town of Yazilikaya, Midas City is one of many such sites in Phrygia called "kales" in the archaeological descriptions. These "kales" were fortified settlements atop these mesas, characterized by gated walls and

⁸⁸CCCA I, no. 59. This inscription is dated either to 70 C.E. or to the last half of the second century C.E.

⁸⁹For example CCCA I, no. 715, which commemorates the foundation of a cult names Zeus Patroos, Apollo, the Moirai, and the founder's parents as well as the Mother of the Gods.

⁹⁰Variant forms include Angdistis and Angdissis.

⁹¹Strabo 12.5.3 (= CCCA I, no. 55); CCCA I, no. 148-167.

"subterranean staircases penetrating into the rock from the surface of the plateau."⁹² The sites are also known for the Phrygian façade monuments carved into the rocks at the top of the plateaus, visible there still.

The most impressive of these is the Midas monument, dated to the sixth century B.C.E. On a cliff face on the east side of the Midas Kale, the monument consists of geographic patterns carved into a flattened area some twenty meters high and fifteen meters wide, with a niche in the lower portion.⁹³ Excavations of this area indicate that it was part of a complete temple area, identifiable by a Phrygian inscription as "the sanctuary of the Great Mother of the Phrygians."⁹⁴ Monuments from other kales from this period include niches which contain now-weathered images of the goddess carved in the stone, usually standing, or indications that an image had once been attached.⁹⁵

When the monuments were carved, the site and the surrounding area of the Phrygian highlands were more settled and prosperous than in the succeeding centuries when this area always fell under the domain of some

⁹²The Midas Kale could also be approached by a road on the east side. Haspels I, 29.

⁹³The size estimate is based on Vermaseren, 21, Fig. 8. The description relies upon Haspels I, 29-30 and II, 1-52. See also *CCCA* I, 168.

⁹⁴Haspels I, 76.

⁹⁵On the Phrygian forms of the goddess before the Hellenistic era see Roller, "Phrygian Myth and Cult," 43-50. Other major monuments, including either one variously identified as an altar or throne of the goddess, are also found at Midas City. See *CCCA* I, no. 170 for further references.

exterior power. Yet the Phrygians' worship of their goddess at this site continued. Beginning in the Hellenistic period, a small sanctuary of Agdistis on the western edge of the plateau came into use to serve a small settlement there, in the presence of the much larger monuments built by now-ancient kings.⁹⁶

After a phase of neglect, a sudden revival appears to have occurred at this sanctuary during the Roman Imperial period, and during this time worshippers inscribed votive steles and altars to the goddess as Agdistis.⁹⁷ The majority of these are simple inscriptions which may be accompanied by decorative reliefs, "to Angdissis," or "to the mother goddess Angdissis," or "to the Mother of the Gods Angdissis."⁹⁸

A few unique inscriptions are noteworthy. One identifies the inscriber as a priest of Angdissis and Asklepios, indicating the non-exclusivity of her cult.⁹⁹ Another includes a relief of a shepherd which Haspels identifies as the dedicator, portrayed with his animals, probably his dogs. If she is correct, this would give us an image of a Phrygian shepherd devoted to his goddess Andisis, a man who could readily identify, perhaps, with Attis as the Phrygian shepherd.¹⁰⁰ A

⁹⁶Haspels I, 154.

⁹⁷Haspels I, 188-9.

⁹⁸CCCA I, no.s 149-153, 155-162, 164-5. Variant spellings indicate "Angidissis" as the pronunciation of the name in this area.

⁹⁹CCCA I, no. 154.

¹⁰⁰CCCA I, no. 166; Haspels I, 189.

longer inscription includes a reference to "lovely shining Andixeos (γλυκερῶς Ἀνδιξεος ἀγλαόν).¹⁰¹

Inscriptions from other locations in Anatolia also mention Agdistis. One is the rule of a cult association from Philadelphia in Lydia, dated to the first century B.C.E.¹⁰² Agdistis is named in this inscription, not in the listing of the deities to whom altars have been made, but as the goddess with whom the rules (τὰ παραγγέλματα) are placed, the guardian (φύλακα) and the cult household's "house-master," in the feminine form (οἰκοδέσποιναν).¹⁰³ Another inscription is from Sardis in Lydia, from the early fourth century B.C.E. in the Persian period. The Persian governor had an order inscribed in Greek to the effect that anyone who serves the cult of Zeus Baradates, the Greek translation of the Persian Ahuramazda, be prohibited from taking part in the mysteries of Sabazios, Angdistis, and Mā. Presumably the ruling was intended to maintain the purity of the Persian cult from mixture with the cults of the conquered peoples.¹⁰⁴ Agdistis is also one of the four deities honored on each of the four sides of an altar from Zizima near

¹⁰¹CCCA I, no. 163.

¹⁰²Barton and Horsley, "A Hellenistic Cult Group," 7-10. See 11. 50-2. See also 3.2.4.4.

¹⁰³The English, "mistress," does not convey the status and power of δεσποινα.

¹⁰⁴F. Sokolowski, "TA ENIYPA: On the Mysteries in the Lydian and Phrygian Cults," ZPE 34 (1979) 65-7. See also Louis Robert, "Une nouvelle inscription grecque de Sardes: Règlement de l'autorité perse relative à un culte de Zeus," CRAI 1975, 306-30 (=OMS V, 485-509), and CCCA I, no. 456.

Iconium in Lycaonia, along with Apollo Sozontis, Helios, and Meter Zizimmene, who will be discussed below.¹⁰⁵ Agdistis is known also in many other locations in Asia Minor and in Greece, and even at one site in Egypt.¹⁰⁶ A few inscriptions from coastal cities of Asia Minor also refer to the goddess as "the Phrygian Mother."¹⁰⁷

We have seen already Agdistis' association with the *kales*, the rimrocked hills of the Phrygian highlands, and with the rocks themselves there into which her image was carved. She was also associated with mountains. Pausanias, for example, says that Pessinus lies under Mount Agdistis, said to be Attis's burial-place.¹⁰⁸ Two coins from Dokimaeon in Phrygia also show Agdistis as a mountain. This city is the site of a quarry of highly valued white marble stone distinguished by red markings associated in ancient times with Attis's bleeding.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵CCCA I, no. 786. In another inscription from Iconium she is included in a list of deities which also names the Boethene Mother, the Mother of the Gods, Apollos, and Artemis, CCCA I, no. 777. She also appears with a list of other deities in an inscription dated to the third century C.E., CCCA I, no. 84.

¹⁰⁶See CCCA I, nos. 233, 237, and 255 (Bithynia); 456 and 489 (Lydia); 767 (Pisidia); 777 and 786 (Lycaonia); CCCA II, nos. 245, 308, 556, and 647 (Greece and Aegean Islands); and CCCA V, no. 22 (Fayum, in Ptolemaic Egyptaia, where a *metroon* was apparently located next to a temple of Atargatis.)

¹⁰⁷See CCCA I, nos. 591, 624, 665, and 714.

¹⁰⁸Paus. 1.4.5. (ὕπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἀγδιστίν.)

¹⁰⁹Louis Robert identifies this quarry as Mount Agdistis and as a site sacred to the goddess where mourning for Attis was commemorated: *A travers l'Asie Mineure: Poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 239 (Athens and Paris: Boccard and École française d'Athènes, 1980) 228-239.

4.4.3 Mothers, Mountains, Cities, Villages

The goddess in Anatolia is seen most often as the Mountain Mother. Sometimes she was called by the generalized title, the Μήτηρ Ὀρείᾱ.¹¹⁰ More often the Mother of the Gods was known by the name of a particular mountain, the towering Mother who was ruler and care-giver to a particular locality, in much the same pattern we have already seen for the goddesses east of Anatolia, particularly Atargatis. In Anatolia, however, she is named as the Mother with her place identification, for example, Meter Dindymene, Meter Zizimmene, or Meter Zingotene.¹¹¹ In Anatolia she remains, in the words of Graillot, "par excellence une divinité topique."¹¹²

4.4.3.1 Meter Zizimmene and the Mothers of Lycaonia

A traveler entering into central Anatolia from Tarsus through the Cilician Gates would come into Lycaonia, the southern part of the Roman province of Galatia. There in the portion of the territory which

¹¹⁰For epigraphical evidence from Asia Minor: CCCA I, nos. 616, 617, 625, 627, 723, 729, 731, 751, 754, and 764. Four are from the Panajir Dagħ near Ephesus and five are from interior locations in the southern territories of Caria, Lycia, Pisidia, and Isauria. Literary evidence includes *Gr. Anth.* 6.173 (θεῇ ὀρείᾳ) and *Diod. Sic.* 3.58.3 (ὀρείαν μητέρα).

¹¹¹This is an Anatolian pattern, relatively infrequent in Greece and the Aegean islands, for example. See CCCA II, nos. 383, 384, and 385 from the Acropolis at Agra in Attica (Μητρί ἐν Ἀγρᾶς) and 473 from the Asclepion at Epidaurus in Argolis, which includes a reference to Μᾶτερ Ὀλύμπω among others in a hymn.

¹¹²Graillot, 393. For an extensive list of literary references to the Mountain Mother identified by place, see also Showerman, *The Great Mother*, 11-13.

included Iconium, which had once been part of Phrygia, the traveler would meet the Mother of the Gods ruling over this area as the Meter Zizimmene, the Zizimmene Mother.¹¹³ She was a local type of the Dindymene Mother, known farther north. The center of her cult was at Zizima between Iconium and Laodicea, in a mining region which formerly constituted its sacred territory and which its Archigallus exploited.¹¹⁴

Both Laodicaea Combusta and Iconium showed great devotion to the Zizimene Mother in the Roman Imperial period. At Laodicaea, the official cult leaves traces until the anarchical period of the third century C.E., and the goddess was even more popular at Iconium where the High Priest resided.¹¹⁵ She is also named there as Agdistis and the Boethene Mother.¹¹⁶ The cult of the Zizimene mother is found from Iconium north to the border with Cappadocia, and on the route from Iconium to Ancyra, she had a temple and an archigallus at Savatra.¹¹⁷ A number of sculptures from this area can be identified as the Mother of

¹¹³In one votive inscription from a high priest, made according to the order of the goddess, she is addressed as "ruler." Μελέαγρος Διομήδους ἀρχιερεὺς κατὰ κέλευσιν τῆς ἱερᾶς κυρίας Μητρὶ Ζιζιμηνῇ εὐχὴν. CCCA I, no. 774. Other references to the Zizimmene Mother are found in CCCA I, nos. 775, 776, 786, 787, 794, and 801.

¹¹⁴Graillot, 383. Here Graillot relies on Ramsay whose theory of temple estates being appropriated as imperial estates in the Roman period is generally considered to be overdrawn.

¹¹⁵Graillot, 383, n. 4. Graillot's citations correspond to CCCA I, nos. 774, 775, and 776.

¹¹⁶Graillot, 383. Cf. CCCA I, no. 777.

¹¹⁷Graillot, 383. Cf. CCCA I, no. 801. It is dated from the second half of the second century to the third C.E.

the Gods by her characteristic attributes. One sculpture from either Zizima or Iconium, probably from the third century C.E., is inscribed to the Μητρὶ Ζιζιμηνῆ, the Zizimene Mother.¹¹⁸ Nearby, at Laodicea Combusta, votive inscriptions have also been found to two otherwise unknown mothers, Meter Imruragene and Meter Silandene.¹¹⁹

4.4.3.2 The Mothers of Galatia Proper and the Cult Center at Pessinus

Farther north, evidence of a Meter Tetraprosopon, the "Four-Faced Mother" is found in a dedication on behalf of both human and four-footed beings.¹²⁰ East of there, a kinship group left a votive inscription to the Meter Zimmenê, also otherwise unknown.¹²¹ Other such local Mothers are also attested.¹²² A sanctuary of the "King and Queen" at Ancyra has been identified as a possible reference to Mên and Cybele.¹²³

¹¹⁸CCCA I, no. 787.

¹¹⁹CCCA I, nos. 792 and 793.

¹²⁰CCCA I, no. 48, from Seifi Öreni, Galatia, dated to the Hellenistic period. J. G. C. Anderson suggests that the "four-faced" may refer to "Kybele as goddess of the four seasons." (J. G. C. Anderson, "Exploration in Asia Minor during 1898: First Report," *ABSA* 4 [1897-98] 61.) This could reflect the general view in his time of Cybele as a fertility goddess. My own initial assumption was that the reference was to the shape of a mountain or to a particular image of the goddess, now lost.

¹²¹CCCA I, no. 47.

¹²²Mitchell, *Anatolia* II, 20. He also mentions a Quadratene and a Plitandene Mother. For the latter see *RECAM*, no. 54A.

¹²³Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 191 and n. 226, cites *AS* 27 (1977) 89-90, nos. 31-2 (=SEG 27 (1977) 851-2; Bosch, *Ankara*, no. 189. (= CCCA I, no. 36, paragraph on temple, no inscription.)

The major cult center of the Mother of the Gods in the Greco-Roman era was also in Galatia proper, at the temple-state of Pessinus ruled by a priest-king called the Attis.¹²⁴ The luxurious temple there had been built in the time of the Phrygian king Midas,¹²⁵ and its opulence, fading a little in Roman times, still reflected the status of Pessinus as the greatest trading center in that part of the world (ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτη μέγιστον.)¹²⁶

Overlooking the city, according to Strabo, was Mount Dindymus, the Meter Dindymenê, but he says that the goddess there is also called by her characteristically Phrygian name, Agdistis, but none of the inscriptions which survive from Pessinus confirm this.¹²⁷ Those that do survive name her simply Mother of the Gods or "the goddess," or, in one case, the Listening-Sympathetic Satureinaian Mother of the Gods.¹²⁸

The expected protective role of the goddess at Pessinus is seen in a letter published on stone there around the beginning of our era but written by the Attalid king Eumenes to the Attis in the middle of the second century B.C.E. It concerns appeals by the Attis for help in

¹²⁴See also David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ*, 2 vols. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950) vol. 1, 25-7; vol. 2, 769-70, n. 71.

¹²⁵Diod. Sic. 3.59.8.

¹²⁶Strabo 12.5.3.

¹²⁷Strabo 12.5.3 (= CCCA I, no. 55) and CCCA I, nos. 56-61.

¹²⁸CCCA I, no. 61. Μητρί θεῶν Σατυρειναία ἐπηκόφ Μάνης Παπ...
! Μενεκλέους δὲ ἀπελεύθερος τοὺς φλειοὺς.

opposing apparent seizures of valuable votive offerings by his brother Aioiorix, a Galatian king. Eumenes writes,

καὶ ὄφελομ μὲν ἡ θεὸς ἐπιστρα-
φεῖσα τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἱερέων ὑβρισμένων
καὶ υβ[ριζομ]ένων στερῆσαι τὸν ταῦτα
πο[ήσαντα ὧν] μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖ· εἰ δὲ
μ[ί]ῃ, ὑγιῆς γενόμ[ενός] γε τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ
θ[εοσεβῆς] τὰ ἀνα[θήματα] πεμπέτω κα-

Would that the goddess had cared for her priests who have been and are being insulted and had deprived the one who did these things of what he most desires; otherwise may he become sane of mind and reverent, and send back the offerings . . .¹²⁹

The goddess is expected to be the guardian over the priesthood in the temple state at Pessinus, where a pattern may be noted which will provide essential background for the letter to the Galatians. The Dindymene Mother as the local manifestation of the Mountain Mother of the Gods, Agdistis, overlooks the temple city ruled by the priest-king Attis and a retinue of *galli*.¹³⁰

4.4.3.3 Meter Dindymene in Other Locations

The Dindymene Mother that Strabo describes overseeing Pessinus is also worshipped as Mount Dindymus in at least two other locations. One such mountain overlooks the coastal city of Cyzicus, where it forms a

¹²⁹C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (London: 1934, reprint, Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1974), 242-3, no. 56. While it is not of significance for this investigation, there appears to be the possibility that lines 10-12 could be a curse not reflected in Welles's restoration or translation.

¹³⁰Several theories of the phases of development of the structure of the cultic rule at Pessinus have been proposed, but they will not be discussed here.

peninsula into the Propontus. Here the Meter Dindymene is known in epigraphical evidence.¹³¹ Literary references suggest that the Meter Dindymene referred to the image of the Mother of the Gods which had been placed on Mount Dindymus, by Jason's sailing companions, according to the legend of his travels, or by the people of Cyzicus after they had taken it from the people of Proconnessus, according to Pausanias.¹³²

Votive inscriptions to the Meter Dindymene are also found in the southern territory of Isauria and in Laodicea Combusta in Lycaonia.¹³³ These could also refer to the Meter Dindymene identified with the mountain by that name south of present-day Cavdarhisar. The Mount Dindymos overlooks the city of Aizanoi, the site of many confession inscriptions and of devotion to the Mother of the Gods.¹³⁴ Literary references to the Meter Dindymene refer to these as well as other locations in Asia Minor.¹³⁵

¹³¹CCCA I, no. 290. Cyzicus is also proposed as the provenance for another votive inscription to the Meter Dindymene which accompanies a rather elaborate relief portraying the goddess with her usual attributes and worshippers coming to her, found at Apamea Myrlea in Bithynia (CCCA I, no. 251.)

¹³²Zosimus 2.31; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1092ff.; and Paus. 8.46.4. He describes the image as made of gold with a face of hippopotamus' teeth rather than ivory.

¹³³CCCA I, nos. 765 and 791.

¹³⁴See Anderson, "Exploration in Asia Minor," 49, on the identification of the Murat Dag.

¹³⁵See Marcella Santoro, *Epitheta Deorum in Asia Graeca Cultorum ex Auctoribus Graecis et Latinis*, Testi e docomuenti per lo studio dell'antichita, ed. Ignazio Cazzaniga, no. 44 (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, La Goliardica, 1973) 73-4.

4.4.3.4 Meter Andeirene

Another name for the Mother of the Gods which is found both in Galatia and in the Troas is the Meter Andeirene, Μήτηρ Ἀνδειρηνή. A dedication to her was found at a location near modern-day Ilgin, at the ancient crossroads of the road from Philomelium to Iconium and the road from Ancyra to Antioch.¹³⁶ She appears to be named for the village which she rules, but the title occurs also in a location in the Troas.¹³⁷ Calder's explanation which identifies yet another location, Andeira in Phrygia, applies to both locations. The original home of her worship becomes transplanted to many other local shrines.¹³⁸

If the original Andeira were the one in Troas, west of Mt. Ida, as Strabo indicates, the sanctuary could very well have been associated with the cave there which proved to be an extensive underground passageway, as legend has it.

Below Andeira is a temple sacred to the Andeirene Mother of the gods, and also a cave that runs underground as far as Palaea. Palaea is a settlement so named, at a distance of one hundred and thirty stadia from Andeira. The underground passage became known through the fact that a goat fell into the mouth of it and was

¹³⁶W. M. Calder, "Inscriptions of Southern Galatia," *AJA* 36 (1932) 456, no. 12. A neo-Phrygian curse formula which refers to Attis was also found at this location. These will be treated below.

¹³⁷Calder, "Inscriptions of Southern Galatia," 456-7, nos. 12-13, 461, no. 20. Cf. *CCCA* I, nos. 727, 286, and 339. *CCCA* places the inscription at Tyriaeum in northern Lycia in a location impossible to reconcile with Calder's geographic description.

¹³⁸Calder, "Inscriptions of Southern Galatia," 461.

found on the following day near Andeira by a shepherd who happened to have come to make sacrifice.¹³⁹

This association of the goddess with caves and grottoes, as well as shepherds, is not unique.

4.4.3.5 The Idaean Mother and Mothers of the Coastal Territories

The Mount Ida which overlooks the apparent site of the sanctuary of Meter Andeirene is also one of the mountains by this name associated with the Idaean Mother. She was mentioned in the citation from Strabo above as the mountain which overlooks Troy.¹⁴⁰ This Mother was also known on Crete and in myths associated with her as Rhea from Crete.¹⁴¹

As Graillot describes this coastal region near Ida, when viewed from the sea several sacred mountain peaks are visible on the horizon, each of which is crowned with a *Metroon*: Dindymos of the Proconnesus, Dindymos, Lobrinos, and Adrasteios of Cyzicus.¹⁴² To the north in the area of Cyzicus, where she was known as the Meter Dindymene, we also find her by other names. She is known as the Meter Kotiane and the Meter Tolupiane on inscriptions accompanying elaborate reliefs.¹⁴³

¹³⁹Strabo 13.1.67. A bust of the goddess with the inscription to the "Holy Andirene Goddess" has also been discovered at the same location, CCCA I, 339. Ἀνδιρηνηῇ : Γλύκιννα Μηνοφῶτος θεῶ : ἀγνῇ εὐχῇ. A goddess Ἀνδειρίς is also mentioned at Cyzicus, CCCA I, 286.

¹⁴⁰Strabo 10.3.12, cited above.

¹⁴¹See Santoro, *Epitheta*, 127-9.

¹⁴²Graillot, 374-5.

¹⁴³CCCA I, nos. 287 and 294 (Meter Kotiane) and 289 (Meter Tolupiane). The first, dated to 46 B.C.E., will be discussed below because of the information it provides about the personal life of a

Another mountain associated with the Mother of the Gods in this vicinity is the Mountian of Tereia mentioned in the *Iliad*.¹⁴⁴

At Pergamum she is named as the "Pergamene Mother of the Gods," and the city's "own Guardian" on an inscription on the base of a statue from the second century B.C.E., which presumably portays her, standing in a pose similar to that of the Ephesian Artemis.¹⁴⁵ Several inscriptions from Pergamum in the Roman period identify her as Meter Basileia in various versions, the "Ruling Mother," or the "Queen Mother."¹⁴⁶

She was also worshipped at Pergamum as the Aspordene Mother of the Gods, both at the temple and in the form of the rocky and barren mountain there.¹⁴⁷ According to Erwin Ohlemutz, the mountain was identified a century ago as what is now known as the Mamurt Kale, thirty kilometers southeast of Pergamum, dedicated according to the inscription

gallus. The other two will provide information about worshippers of the Mother of the Gods and Attis.

¹⁴⁴See CCCA I, no. 298 (= Strabo 13.1.17, located near Lampsacus, Mysia. Cf. *Iliad* 2.29. See *BMC Mysia*, 89, no. 86. Reverse: Kybele seated on throne, patera in r. hand, lion, Obverse: Caracalla (Pl. XX, no. 14.)

¹⁴⁵CCCA I, no. 364. Cf. Naumann, 258-9, 366, no. 604.

¹⁴⁶CCCA I, nos. 351-355.

¹⁴⁷Strabo, 13.6.2. (τὸ δ' Ἀσπόρδηνον ὄρος τὸ περὶ Πέργαμον, τραχὺ καὶ λυπρὸν ὄν . . . τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐνταῦθα τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν Ἀσπρορηνῆς.) Cf. Erwin Ohlemutz, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon*, Ph.D. diss., Ludwigs-Universität, Gießen vom Verfasser, 1938 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968) 174.

on the architrave, to the Mother of the Gods by the Philetairos, the founder of the Attalid dynasty.¹⁴⁸

At Colophon, northwest of Ephesus there was a prominent sanctuary to the Mother Antaia. She is listed with other deities in an inscription recording the resolution of the people of Colophon regarding construction of a system of walls there.¹⁴⁹ The inscription ends with the information that the pledges toward this project are posted in the temple of the Mother.¹⁵⁰

4.4.3.6 Meter Sipylene, Meter Plastene, and Mothers of Coastal and Interior Lydia

Farther down the coast on Mount Sipylos, the Meter Sipylene is identified as an image of the Mother of the Gods, probably of Hittite origin, carved about three hundred feet on the north-eastern slope of the mountain in the face of a perpendicular cliff. In the statue, which is about thirty feet high, the figure of a seated woman can be discerned, although many details have been lost to the elements over the course of millennia. This is understood to be the statue that Pausanias mentions as the most ancient of all the images of the Mother of the

¹⁴⁸Ohlmutz, *Die Kulte*, 174. Cf. CCCA I, no. 387-423. The inscription is CCCA I, no. 388: Θι:λέταιρος Ἀττάλου Μητρί θεῶν.

¹⁴⁹(Μητρί τῇ Ἀνταίῃ) CCCA I, nos. 598 and 599. A translation of the inscription, which is dated to the late fourth century B.C.E, is included in Vermaseren, 27-8.

¹⁵⁰CCCA I, no. 599, ll. 34-5. [ὁ]ποδεξαμένους πάντας καὶ ὅσον ἕκαστος ὑποδέξεται εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ : [στ]ῆσαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μητρὸς ἐνθάδε.

Gods, and it surely attracted pilgrims then as it attracts tourists now.¹⁵¹

Among the prominent locations which Mount Sipylos overlooks are Smyrna on the coast and Magnesia ad Sipylum farther inland in Lydia, and each of these locations yields further evidence about popular devotion to the Mother of the Gods, as Meter Sipylene at Smyrna and Meter Plastene at Magnesia ad Sipylum.

The Meter Sipylene is portrayed as the Mother of the Gods on coins from Smyrna, and she is mentioned in an inscription about a treaty of *sympoliteia* between the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sipylum.¹⁵² The major role that the Meter Sipylene plays in the inscriptions from Smyrna, however, is as a protector of graves in funerary inscriptions. Fourteen such inscriptions found there ward off those who would harm the tomb with the threat of a fine to be paid to the Sipylene Mother of the Gods, according to the general formula, "If anyone (harms this tomb in any way), that person will give (pay, render) to the Meter Theon Sipylene (specified fine.) This has been recorded in the town hall."¹⁵³ In a similar funerary inscription from Smyrna she is also called the "Smyrnic Mother of the Gods."¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹Paus. 3.22.4; and Graillot, 369.

¹⁵²See CCCA I, no. 543. See *BMC Ionia* for the coins.

¹⁵³CCCA I, nos. 544, 545, 546, 549, 550, 551, 555, 564, 571, 575, 576, 580, 582, 583, and 584,

¹⁵⁴CCCA I, no. 547, Μητρὶ θεῶν Σμυρναϊκῇ.

On the inland side of Mount Sipylos, at Magnesia ad Sipylum, the goddess was also worshipped as the Meter Plastene in her sanctuary at the base of the mountain there.¹⁵⁵ This is probably a small sanctuary which has been excavated at the foot of the Taş Suret about an hour east of there which has yielded both reliefs and sculptures of the Mother of the Gods and inscriptions to her as the Meter Theon Plastene.¹⁵⁶ In two of the reliefs she is associated with male divine figures, one identified as Hermes, another as Mên as a rider god.¹⁵⁷

Other names for the Mother of the Gods appear further inland in Lydia. She may also be identified as the Thea Tmola for the mountain south of Sardis where the mountain goddess protects the villages around her and the ancient laurel forest in her possession.¹⁵⁸ On the northern shore of Lake Coloë, north of Sardis, she is named as the "Lydian Mother of the Gods."¹⁵⁹ At some locations she is named as the Aliene or Tarsene Mother.¹⁶⁰ North of Philadelphia is a sanctuary to her as Meter

¹⁵⁵Paus. 5.13.7. On the controversy over this location see George E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey: An Archaeological Guide* (London: Ernest Benn, 1966) 59-63.

¹⁵⁶CCCA I, nos. 450-3.

¹⁵⁷CCCA I, nos. 450 and 452. The accompanying youth in no. 450 has been identified as Hermes. See Pasinli and Karagoz, "Catalogue," 148, no. B-43.

¹⁵⁸Graillot, 369-70. Mount Tmolus is also mentioned in Eur. *Bacch.* 65.

¹⁵⁹CCCA I, no. 438. Μητρὶ θεῶν Λυδίων.

¹⁶⁰Mitchell cites these, but they are not found in CCCA. For the others (*Anatolia*, II, 20, n. 63) the citations are in *TAM* V.1, nos. 202

Phileis.¹⁶¹ At Philadelphia she is also known as the Meter Matuene, a title under which she is said to be confused with Meter Anaitis, discussed above.¹⁶² At Maeonia and Görnevit just south of it, inscriptions name her as Meter Anatidos. One of these accompanies a relief of the goddess enthroned with her lions.¹⁶³

According to Graillot, in this area she is also the City Goddess of Brioula and Mastaura and worshipped in temples such as that for the Meter Isodrome and where the temple of the Dindymene Mother had formerly stood, reportedly founded by Themistocles and served by an Athenian priestess.¹⁶⁴ In the borderlands with Phrygia, the center of the volcanic plateau known as the "Burned Over Land," the Catekekaumene familiar from Chapter 3 as the source of many confession inscriptions, municipal temples were dedicated to the Mother of the Gods at Saittai, Daldis, Tabala, and Maionia, while the principal sanctuary for this region is found at Satala.¹⁶⁵

4.4.3.7 The Many Mothers of Phrygia and Northern Pisidia

and 460 (Tarsene) and nos. 257-8 (Aliane).

¹⁶¹The Meter Phileis is mentioned by Mitchell, *Anatolia*, I, 191, n. 225, who cites Malay, "Funerary Inscriptions," 111-125.

¹⁶²CCCA I, no. 487 and 488.

¹⁶³CCCA I, nos. 482 and 486.

¹⁶⁴Graillot, 364-6.

¹⁶⁵Graillot, 370-2.

Farther inland, in the territories between Lydia and Galatia, where we have met the goddess already as Agdistis at the cult center at Midas City, other names for the Mother of the Gods by location proliferate. She is the Meter Akreane¹⁶⁶ at Dorylaeum where her cult as the Meter Kranomegalene or Kranosmegalene appears to have been centered.¹⁶⁷ South of there at Nacolea she is known as the Tieiobeudenene Mother and the Meter Kalliopou.¹⁶⁸ At Dogalar to the west a villager responded to the order of the goddess as the Meter Theon Zingotene to raise up an altar which he inscribed, for the sake of his own health and security and that of his village, Zingotos.¹⁶⁹

At two locations in central Phrygia the goddess is attested as Meter Theon Kasmene.¹⁷⁰ On the way toward Lycaonia, at Pisidian Antioch, she was worshipped as the Meter Tymene, as attested by the inscription on a small votive statue of her enthroned between her lions.¹⁷¹ Graillet's chapter on the goddess in Anatolia adds others:

¹⁶⁶CCCA I, no. 198.

¹⁶⁷CCCA I, nos. 40 (from Çerkes or Karalar in bordering Galatia), 199; and Drew-Bear, *NIP*, 52, no. 30 (Ayvali). Drew-Bear indicates that five of the six known dedications to the "Meter from Kranosmegalou" are from the area of Dorylaeum.

¹⁶⁸The first attestation of the Meter Tieiobeudenene is a relatively recent discovery. Included among twelve dedications from a local sanctuary, it is now in the museum at Seyitgazi (Nakoleia). *SEG* 28 (1978) 1188; (=T. Drew-Bear, *NIP* 43, no. 11. For the Meter Kallipou see Drew-Bear, *NIP*, 42-3, no. 10.

¹⁶⁹CCCA I, no. 121.

¹⁷⁰CCCA I, nos. 99 (near Afyon Karahisar) and 104 (Acmonia).

¹⁷¹Mitchell, *Anatolia* II, 20, fig. 8.

Meter Adrastos at Attouda;¹⁷² Meter Pontanene and Meter Salaloudene at the villages of Pontana and Salouda, Meter Kikleia, and Meter Mezeane.¹⁷³

The list of places in Phrygia which show evidence of devotion to the Mother of the Gods basically covers the map. In Phrygia the worship of the goddess at two sites also associates her with caves and grottoes and openings in the earth, as was mentioned in connection with the Meter Andeirene above.¹⁷⁴

Under Mount Dindymos at Aezani in northern Phrygia west of Midas City, a site sacred to the Meter Steunene was in use especially from the first century B.C.E. to the second century C.E., although it certainly existed for centuries before that.¹⁷⁵ Pausanias describes the site of Steunos, on the river Pencelas, as a cave "round, and handsome in its loftiness," and containing an image of the Mother of the Gods.¹⁷⁶ This describes the larger of the two caves at the site, high above the river, where niches for installation of votive reliefs and statues have also

¹⁷²CCCA I, no. 719, which places Attouda in Caria.

¹⁷³Graillot, 356-362. Meter Kikleia, *MAMA* X, no. 226; Meter Saloudene, *CCCA* I, no. 78.

¹⁷⁴Woodley also identifies other grotto shrines at Arriassus in Pisidia and Kapikaya, just outside Pergamum. Mary Sue Woodley, "The Sacred Precincts of Cybele" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1989), 53

¹⁷⁵Graillot identifies Aizani as one of the two Phrygian cities which was "par excellence les cités de la Mèter," and formerly the capital of a sacred territory like Pessinus. From the time of Augustus to Gallien, coins minted there carried the image of Cybele. Graillot, 356-7.

¹⁷⁶Paus. 10.32.3.

been found. In addition to two circular constructions of disputed identification, the site also includes a grotto and a large base for a throne above it cut from rock.¹⁷⁷ J. G. C. Anderson, who first verified the identification of the site as the cave of Meter Steunene in 1898, describes the throne as "commanding a view of the city and the plain below."¹⁷⁸ Excavation at the site has yielded various fragments of terracottas which can be identified as Cybele and attributes associated with her. Fragments of heads probably wearing Phrygian caps have also been found.¹⁷⁹

The town of Aezanoi nearby was also the site of one of the best preserved temples of Zeus, who was the ruling deity of this location. Coins, however, reflect the relationship in one portrayal of the Mother of the Gods with an infant on her lap and another of Corybantes who, according to myth, made a fracas to cover the cries of the infant Zeus outside the cave where his mother Rhea or Cybele was hiding him from the anger of his father Kronos. Louis Robert is probably correct in arguing that the site of the Meter Theon Steunene was understood to represent that cave and that devotion to the infant Zeus took a special role here.¹⁸⁰ The connection between Zeus and the Meter Theon Steunene is

¹⁷⁷CCCA I, nos. 124-7

¹⁷⁸Anderson, "Exploration in Asia Minor," 49.

¹⁷⁹See CCCA I, nos. 125-137.

¹⁸⁰Louis Robert, "Documents d'Asie Mineure. XVIII. Fleuves et cultes d'Aizanoi," *BCH* 105 (1981) 348-60.

also seen in a votive inscription to the two deities from nearby Kadoi to the two deities.¹⁸¹ According to Robert, this inscription indicates that an Artemidoros founded an extension (ἀφιδρυμα) of the cult at Kadoi and was its priest there.¹⁸²

On the other side of Mount Dindymus, at the foot of the mountain, the Meter Aliane protected the hot springs, worth mentioning en route to Hierapolis south of there. An annual pilgrimage to the Meter Aliane attracted pilgrims to her temple from Magnesia and Smyrna who made their dedications there to the Meter Sipylene.¹⁸³

Hierapolis was another site of thermal activity with impressive *caliche* terraces which still draw tourists. In the Greco-Roman era visitors came not only to see these sights but to seek the healing and prophecy offered by the *galli* of the goddess at the temple of Apollo there, and to see them enter without harm into the noxious vapors emitted from the opening in the earth called the Plutonium, vapors which instantly killed birds or cattle which wandered in.

The Mother of the Gods was also revered in Pisidia where all the villages had a public temple to her. An inscription from the village of Anaboura in the lake country of Pisidia, en route from the Lycaonian

¹⁸¹CCCA I, no. 122. Διὶ καὶ Μητρὶ θεῶν Στευνηνῇ Ἀρτεμίδωρος Δημητρίου Αἰζανείτης : ἱερεὺς κτίστης ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν. To Zeus and to the Meter Theon Steunene, Artemidoros son of Demetrios, priest of Aizaneitis [=place] founder ?? put up (this stele) from his own resources.

¹⁸²Robert, "Documents, XVII. Fleuves et cultes d'Aizanoi," 354.

¹⁸³Graillot, 360.

cities into the Phrygian countryside, illustrates devotion to her as the Mountain Mother, stated generally as was seen above and will provide some useful points of contact for discussion of Paul's letter to the Galatians.¹⁸⁴

This completes a circuit of descriptions of the Anatolian Mothers named by the places that they ruled and protected, actually no more than a sampling of the evidence for the goddess there.

4.4.4 *The Pattern of the Anatolian Mountain Mother*

The Mother of the Gods as we have met her at the various locations whose name she bears fits the pattern both of a monarchical Anatolian "enforcer" deity that we have seen in Chapter 3 and of the pattern of the combination "city ruler-protectress" and "earth mother" seen in the description of the goddesses to the east, especially Atargatis. Epithets applied to her emphasize her rulership.¹⁸⁵ The appearance of such epithets in literary references to Cybele, as well as to Atargatis is discussed at length in an article on her identification as *Despoina* by Albert Henrichs which indicates that the formula address for the cult of Cybele that Pindar and Aristophanes knew was probably δέσποινα Κυβέλη μητερ. He shows that the epithets of rulership, such as ἄνασσα,

¹⁸⁴CCCA I, no. 764, from Baglū, near Pisidian Antioch. Πρεῖμος Ἀντιόχου Βώξου ; δοῦλος κατὰ ἐπεφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ ; χρηματισθεὶς Μητρὶ Ὀρείᾳ ἐκ τῶν ἰ[δ]ίων ; ἀνέθηκεν. (Primus, slave of Antiochus Bocchus raised (this stele) to the Mountain Mother from his own resources, on account of an epiphany of the goddess who was consulted.)

¹⁸⁵These have been seen in passing, but further discussion of them will not be included here.

δέσποινα, πότνια, μεδέουσα, and κυρία, as well as the title "Mother" show the influence of the titles of Syrophoenician and Phrygian city guardian goddesses.¹⁸⁶

As the ruler of a place, then, we can see the Mountain Mother overseeing the affairs of her community from her lofty heights. In the role of an enforcer deity, she administers justice in matters her worshippers place before her. She stands for the place, and when her "children" are taken far from their homeland, they still remember their "mother" in worship and votive offerings. As Mother she also sustains the community in the role which has frequently identified her as a "fertility goddess." In the next section we will discuss the role of the Anatolian Mothers in their identification with law as well as orgiastic disorder.

¹⁸⁶Henrichs, "Despoina Kybele," 253-86.

4.5 The Mother of the Gods: Law and Order, Wilderness and Abandon

An Old Phrygian inscription addresses the goddess, "O Mother Cybele, who (is) nourishment, who has founded the community!"¹⁸⁷ The mothering and nourishing and ordering role appear together with no hint of contradiction. In Chapter 3, we saw her already in a general role as one of the ruler or monarchical deities, an identity seen also reflected in adjectival epithets.

Cybele, the Mother of the Gods, in her role as the Guardian Goddess was the guardian of community order expressed in other ways as law and as laws. This association will be of particular importance when we turn to an analysis of Paul's letter against this backdrop. The apparent contradiction already noted between her ordering role and her association with wilderness and wild behavior will also be further elaborated in this section.

4.5.1 *The Mother of the Gods as Guardian of the Written Records*

Some associations with legal functions and enforcement can be seen in the roles recognized for the Meter Sipylene. As Graillot points out, solemn oaths were taken on the victims burned at her altar, and it is she who represents the city on commemorative coins in the Roman period whenever Smyrna concluded alliances with other cities, as guardian over the treaty with Magnesia ad Sipylum on the other flank of the

¹⁸⁷ *Matar.Kubile.ja.dibe.ja.duman.ektetoj.* (A 28 [34]). I. M. Diakonoff, "On Cybele and Attis in Phrygia and Lydia," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25 (1977) 335-6. This inscription is one of the two Old Phrygian inscriptions which mention Cybele by name.

mountain.¹⁸⁸ Her enforcement and "legal" role can also be seen to influence individual lives as well, since it was to her that fines inflicted for tomb violations were to be paid.¹⁸⁹

As Agdistis, she was the goddess with whom the rules of the cult association at Philadelphia were placed, as has been discussed above, as well as the guardian and master of the cult household. While other deities are listed in the inscription as honored with images, Agdistis is the one named for this legal role.¹⁹⁰

The inscription cited above from Colophon northwest of Ephesus indicates a similar pattern. The Meter Antaia is listed with other deities, but the pledges for the wall-building project that the inscription describes are recorded in the *metroon*. It is the Mother of the Gods who is entrusted with oversight of the records of the commitments.¹⁹¹

Artemis of Ephesus played a similar role in the legal sphere. Like other Anatolian Mother Goddesses, she was listed as the receiver of fines for tomb violations.¹⁹² Many Ephesian inscriptions also include the instruction that they be inscribed in the temple of Artemis. The

¹⁸⁸Graillot, 368.

¹⁸⁹Graillot, 368.

¹⁹⁰See 4.4.2.

¹⁹¹See 4.4.3.5.

¹⁹²Oster, "The Ephesian Artemis," 34.

vast majority of these treat civic matters rather than overtly religious ones, matters such as actions of the city's council.¹⁹³

This pattern is found also at Athens where the *metroon* was also the legal archives. There, through successive rebuilding projects, from the early fifth century B.C.E. on, the Temple of the Mother of the Gods was next to the *bouleterion* where the city council met.¹⁹⁴ While the identification of the archaic *metroon* was with Demeter, by the Hellenistic era when the temple was rebuilt, the goddess worshiped there was the Mother of the Gods. This can be seen both in the inscription of the roof tiles for the temple and in the statue of the goddess located there.¹⁹⁵ A scholia on Aeschines also makes this quite explicit, that the *metroon* is a temple of Rhea.¹⁹⁶

Both epigraphical and literary evidence confirm that the *metroon* was the legal archives at Athens from the end of the fifth century

¹⁹³The Artemisium was also an asylum which offered protection for debtors, slaves with legal complaints against their masters, and others who were helpless. Oster, "The Ephesian Artemis," 34-5.

¹⁹⁴CCCA II, no. 1-14; Homer A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 1-226.

¹⁹⁵One of the tiles is inscribed ἑρὰν Μητρὶ θεῶν : Διονύσιος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος, presumably by the tile-makers. (Thompson, "Buildings," 191-2; CCCA II, no. 2.) The cult image, probably by the sculptor Agorakritos, is the one which appears to have been imitated for images of the Mother of the Gods during the Hellenistic and Roman era, supplanting the Anatolian iconography even in the goddess's homeland. On the temple at the *metroon* in Athens, see Thompson, "Buildings," 206. On the dominance of the Athenian cult image see Roller, "The Great Mother," 128-43.

¹⁹⁶*Scholia Graeca in Aeschin. In Ctes.* 187.

B.C.E. at least into the first century C.E. What was included in the public archive was extensive, as Homer Thompson summarizes,

as the regular place of deposit for all public documents: copies of decrees, of the charges laid in law suits (the charge against Socrates was on record here), building accounts, records of weights and measures, official correspondence, lists of ephebes, etc. Even the will of Epicurus, which one might have regarded as a private document, reached the Metroon. There all was tended and produced on demand by a public slave (δημόσιος).¹⁹⁷

The earliest event which refers to the use of the Athenian *metroon* as an archives is in Athenaeus, a contemporary of Paul's, who relates a scene which must have occurred in 405 B.C.E.¹⁹⁸

At the time when the Athenians, at the height of their sea power, were transferring the hearing of lawsuits affecting the islands to the city, someone indicted Hegemon also [an actor], and took his suit to Athens. He, on his arrival there, gathered together the artists of Dionysus and went in their company to demand aid of Alcibiades. He urged them to have no fear, and telling them all to follow him he went to the temple of the Mother of the Gods, where the [written] indictments of suits were kept (εἰς τὸ Μητροῶν, ὅπου τῶν δίκων ἦσαν αἱ γραφαί); there he wet his finger with his tongue and rubbed out the case against Hegemon. The clerk and the magistrate (ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ ὁ ἄρχων), though they were indignant, held their peace on account of Alcibiades' influence . . .¹⁹⁹

This account shows not only the early use of the *metroon* as an archives, but also the assumption by a writer in the first century C.E. that the *metroon* at Athens was still the legal archives. The scene is also consistent with the picture seen in Chapter 3. The indictment is written in the temple, as were the curses. Once erased, the indictment

¹⁹⁷Thompson, "Buildings," 215. Cf. *PW*, s.v. "Metroon," by Ruge.

¹⁹⁸Thompson, "Buildings," 208-9.

¹⁹⁹Ath. 9.407.C (LCL translation).

has no force, as if the fact of its being written had some inherent power, just as the curse.

This power is also indicated in the case of laws, when Lycurgus proposes as a rhetorical question in his case against Leocrates,

Just imagine, gentlemen. Suppose someone had entered the Metroon and erased one law and then excused himself on the grounds that the city was not endangered by the loss of just this one. Would you not have killed him?²⁰⁰

Presumably the people of Athens would take more offense at the erasure of a public law than of a private lawsuit, but the implication that removal of the written word from the *metroon* removes the law itself holds.

Dinarchus invokes this power in his case against Demosthenes,

He himself in the Assembly instructed this council to judge his case, after calling on you as his witnesses. He made an agreement (συνθήκας) with the people and proposed (γράψας) [wrote] the decree against himself, to be kept by the Mother of the Gods, who is the city's guardian (φύλαξ) of all written contracts (πάντων τῶν ἐν γράμμασι δικαίων).²⁰¹

Here again the written word is powerful and is guarded by the Mother of the Gods.

Laws concerning the cult at Eleusis, dated to 353-2 B.C.E. were recorded on a stele and placed under the goddess's protection at the *metroon* with the instruction that they be inscribed with the former law of Chairemonides already placed there, probably in 403-2 B.C.E.²⁰² While

²⁰⁰Lycurg. *Leoc.* 66.

²⁰¹Dinarchus, *Against Demosthenes*, 86. (LCL translation).

²⁰²CCCA II, no. 2; Thompson, "Buildings," 205-6.

the cult at Philadelphia cited above was a private cult whereas Eleusinian mysteries were public, the role of the goddess is the same. She is the φύλαξ, the guardian of the rules which have been written.²⁰³

Just as at Colophon near Ephesus, accounts were also deposited in the Metroon at Athens. The *metroon* was where commitments for financial support of civic projects were placed under the goddess's guardianship.²⁰⁴

While this evidence cannot support the assumption that every *metroon* was also the location of legal archives, it does suggest a pattern that may have been more broadly accepted than at the specific locations cited, a pattern in which the Mother of the Gods was the guardian and protector of the written records of legal matters.

4.5.2 *Tamer of Beasts and Children*

The Mother of the Gods also founds civilization and law in her parental role, in which the Great Mother appears as a human mother writ large. The connection of the Mother of the Gods with human mothers is seen in a fragment from the third century B.C.E. comic poet Alexis who connects the sense of obligation to mothers with the Mother Goddess,

²⁰³See 4.4.2. The cult rule of the *orgeones* of the Mother of the Gods at the Piraeus was also inscribed at the *metroon*, according to *PW* this is found in *IG II*, no. 621. See also Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones."

²⁰⁴This can be seen in inscription from 191-0 B.C.E., concerning the furnishing of the Skias. The official in charge of weights and measures was also required to deliver a record of his receipts and disbursements there. See *CCCA I*, nos. 8 and 14.

οὐκ ἤξιωσα καταλιπεῖν τὴν μητέρα
 πρώτην δὲ σφάζειν· τοῖς γὰρ ὀρθῶς εἰδόσι
 τὰ θεῖα μείζω μητρὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ποτέ
 ὅθεν ὁ <τὸ> πρῶτον οὐκ ἀπαιδεύτως ἔχων
 ἰδρύσαθ' ἱερὸν Μητρός, οὐ δείξας σαφῶς
 ποίας, ἐάσας δ' ὑπονοεῖν εἰς τοῦνομα.

To leave my mother wasn't right, I thought;
 I'd save her first. Divine things never ought
 To come before a mother, for the right-thinking.
 The first shrine-builder looked where he was going
 When he built to 'Mother' without saying whose,
 Thus leaving all posterity to choose.²⁰⁵

In including the fragment in his fifth century anthology, Stobaeus sets the poem in a more serious context of traditional filial piety with the introduction "that parents should receive due honour from their children and whether they should always be obeyed by them."²⁰⁶ The honor due to parents is expressed in the honor paid to the Great Mother, and this social obligation is one of the foundations of society.

The traditional role of human mothers as socializers or civilizers of young children, "tamers of the wild ones," is also written large in the Mother of the Gods. The identification of the taming of the beasts and the domestication of children is made by Lucretius, in a description of Cybele's procession at Rome in the first century B.C.E. He saw the yoked lions who pull her cart as a reflection of her taming and civilizing parental function, "They have yoked in wild beasts, because

²⁰⁵ John Maxwell Edmonds, ed., *The Fragments of Attic Comedy after Meineke, Bergk, and Kock*, vol. 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959) 507, no. 267.

²⁰⁶ ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς γονεῖς τῆς καθηκούσης τιμῆς καταξιοῦσθαι παρὰ τῶν τέκνων, καὶ εἰ ἐν ᾗπασιν αὐτοῖς πειστέον. (Fl. 79.13 = 4.25.24H), as translated in Edmonds, *The Fragments* 507, no. 267.

any offspring however wild ought to be softened and vanquished by the kindly acts of the parents."²⁰⁷

The image of the Goddess of the Wild Beasts is familiar in ancient iconography. Cybele is shown with lions in a position similar, for example, to Artemis and the animals of the hunt. This has been interpreted to indicate Cybele's identity as a goddess of nature, as ruler of the beasts and as protector of all life.²⁰⁸ Emilie Haspels points to a contrast in the imagery, however. The Greek πότνια θηρῶν who holds the wild animals in check, as the Ruler of the Beasts, a form of subjection expressed also in the presence of domesticated lions by her side or on her lap or yoked and pulling her cart, is also characteristic of images from Rome.²⁰⁹ This represents a characteristic Hellenistic anthropocentrism, the deity in a human image in triumph over the wild beasts.²¹⁰ Varro also, quoted by Augustine, associates this taming function with the extension of cultivation to untilled areas, the taming of the earth. For him the image is reversed in that the lion accompanying Cybele is unleashed and tame, "to show that there is no

²⁰⁷*adiunxere feras, quia quamvis effera proles officiis debet molliri victa parentum.* Lucr. *De Rerum Natura* 2.604-5.

²⁰⁸See, for example, C. H. Emilie Haspels, "Lions," *Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca classica Batava* n.v. (1951) 230-4. The image itself indicates a process of assimilation and appropriation of qualities of Greek goddesses, for example, being applied to local goddesses in Anatolia. See Naumann, *Der Ikonographie*, 105-10.

²⁰⁹Haspels, "Lions," 233-4; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.215-9.

²¹⁰Haspels, "Lions," 234.

kind of land so remote or so exceedingly wild that it is not suitable for subduing and cultivating."²¹¹

Haspels sees a contrasting perception in central Anatolia. In her observations of the huge lions flanking the goddess in the Arslan Kaya, the Phrygian rock monument from the sixth century B.C.E. She notes that these lions can in no way be seen as domesticated.

This goddess has not subdued nature, she is nature itself. The lions are not reduced and are not performing as if they were circus participants. They have retained their size, and their freedom of movement; they are even towering above the goddess. But all the same, it is she who dominates . . . Because the wild animals remain themselves, the power of the goddess, who holds her sway over them, rises sky-high, unlimited by space.²¹²

The goddess who guards the written laws and is one of the deities vigilant to punish transgressions, who tames beasts and children, is also seen in the sculpture and in the mountains themselves as wildness which she brings under control. From a modern perspective there seems to be a paradox, which Haspels attributes to the different outlooks of Greeks and Anatolians. If, however, Cybele represents wild nature unsubdued in Anatolia, it does not appear that the communities which this wild goddess oversaw were more anarchical than those of Greece. If anything their organization appears to have been more hierarchical. There is still a paradox in Anatolia itself.

²¹¹*Leonem, inquit, adiungunt solutum ac mansuetum ut ostendant nullum genus esse terrae tam remotum ac vehementer ferum quod non subigi colique conveniat.* August. *De civ. D.* 7.24.

²¹²Haspels, "Lions," 233.

4.5.3 *The Mountain Mother as Inspirer of Wildness*

Cybele's maternal role as tamer and civilizer appears to require direct engagement with the wild nature which is part of the power of her identity as the Mountain Mother, as a fragment from Maecenas in the first century B.C.E. calls her "*fera montium dea*."²¹³ Even the lion who sits so tamely on Cybele's lap in sculptures is not a domestic animal but a wild beast with potential ferocity. So also the Mountain Mother who, from her heights, oversees order in the cities and fields under her guardianship also provides a wilderness for the expression of what is untamed. She has a wild side, this goddess, who in the words of a Homeric hymn,

ἦ κροτάλων τυπάνων τ' ἰαχὴ σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν
εὐαδεν, ἥδ' ἐ λύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων,
οὔρεά τ' ἠχήμεντα καὶ ὑλήεντες ἔναυλοι.²¹⁴

loves the sound of castanets, the sound of kettle-drums and on top of this noise she loves the shouts of flutes, and the clamor of wolves and the cries of bright-eyed lions and hill echoes and wood hollows.²¹⁵

This identification of the Mother of the Gods with the frenzy of her worshippers on the mountains is a repeated theme in literary references

²¹³Maecenas, frg. 4, "*ades*" inquit, "*o Cybebe, fera montium dea, ades et sonante tympano quate flexibile caput*" ("Come," he asks, "O Cybebe, wild mountain goddess, come and sound the flexible-headed kettle-drum."); and frg. 5, *latus horreat flagello, comitum chorus ululet* (The side trembles as I beat, the accompanying chorus ululates.) Hepding, *Attis*, 18.

²¹⁴T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, 2nd ed. 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936) 80.

²¹⁵*The Homeric Hymns*, trans. Charles Boer, (Chicago: Swallow, 1970) 12.

and may seem to contradict her ordering role. The nature of this apparent paradox of the goddess who is both fertility goddess and city guardian, this goddess who tames and makes wild, will be better understood in the context of the rituals of Cybele and Attis, to be discussed below. For now, this must be acknowledged as a paradox of Cybele's identity.

4.6 The Anatolian Mountain Mother as an Ancient Near Eastern Guardian Goddess

We have already seen several similarities between the Anatolian Mother of the Gods and the other goddesses discussed in this chapter, in whom we also saw the combination of city guardian and fertility goddess which the Anatolian Mothers express. These goddesses have much in common with other Ancient Near Eastern guardian-fertility goddesses, represented most prominently by the Sumerian Inanna who continued as the Babylonian Ishtar. A brief summary of what is known about these goddesses can shed some light on the pattern of the guardian goddess and will provide helpful background for understanding Attis.

4.6.1 *Aspects of the Ancient Near Eastern Guardian Goddesses*

All of the goddesses discussion in this chapter, except Anaeitis, are portrayed with lions.²¹⁶ Attendant lions are also seen in portrayals of the ancient Sumerian goddess Inanna as late as the sixth century

²¹⁶The early appearance of this image among the finds at Çatal Hüyük was mentioned at 3.1.1.

B.C.E.²¹⁷ Portrayals from ancient Crete and Mycenae also associate her with lions.²¹⁸

Another similarity can be found in the identification of the goddess with high places and mountains. On Crete, Mount Ida was directly associated with Cybele as the Idaean Mother, the same name as the mountain which overlooks the site of Troy. Vincent Scully has

²¹⁷See illustrations and respective commentary by Elizabeth Williams-Forte, "Annotations of the Art," in *Inanna, Queen of Heaven and Earth: Her Stories and Hymns from Sumer*, ed. Diane Wolkstein and Samuel Noah Kramer (New York: Harper and Row, 1983) 36, 185 (holds emblem of mace flanked by heads of lions; 52, 189 (lions on throne); 92, 193 (one foot resting on back of roaring lion); 100, 195 (standing upon dais formed of two lions back to back); 102, 196 (lion beneath her feet).

²¹⁸See Nanno Marinatos, *Minoan Religion: Ritual, Image, and Symbol*, Studies in Comparative Religion, ed. Frederick M. Denny (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1993) 154, fig. 132 (goddess riding a lion); 155, fig. 133 ("Seal-impression from Knossos. A goddess on a mountain peak is flanked by lions with an adorant or male god to the right."); and 162, fig. 147 (goddess on tripartite platform, lions mounting the platform on either side). A gold ring from Mycenae also shows a column flanked by lions facing outward, 144, fig. 118. Gods are also shown with lions, and goddesses appear also with other animals, especially griffins. See also Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis*, 12, figs. 1, 2, and 3. The question of further relation of the Anatolian goddess to Mycenaean and Minoan deities and religion will not be discussed here. The image of the Lion Gate at Mycenae, dated to the late second millennium B.C.E. (See George Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* [Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966] 175-7) shows similarity to the large rock-cut images found at Arslan Tas and at Arslan Kaya is striking. (Haspels I, 118-9, 134-5; II, nos. 131-4.) In the monument at Arslan Kaya, dated to the early sixth century B.C.E., the goddess is shown between the standing lions in a *naiskos*. A huge standing lion is carved in relief on the face of rock to the right of the *naiskos*. (Haspels I, 87-9 and II, nos 186-91, and 523. See also CCCA I, no. 145.)

Such portrayals are also found in central Europe, dated as early as the seventh century B.C.E. See, for example, Robert Turcan, "L'aigles du Pileus," in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, vol. 3, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978) 1281-92.

studied the connection between landscape and sacred space on Crete from the early second millennium B.C.E. onward. He shows that the pattern of orientation of the palaces, which also served as sacred space, emphasized the mountain associated with the goddess.²¹⁹ We saw above that the goddess's identification with the mountain and the lions represents simultaneously her association with nature's wildness and with the ordering principles of law and season which govern agricultural communities, both of which give life. She guards her community's laws and welfare from the wild high places.

The ancient Sumerian goddess Inanna can be seen in similar terms.²²⁰ In this same role, crowned and enthroned, she is the guardian goddess of the city of Uruk who watches over the royal house which makes decisions about the land, and guards the royal storehouses.²²¹ She is both Queen of the Land and its fertility and the divine judge, addressed as "Honored Counselor, Ornament of Heaven," who renders "a cruel judgment against

²¹⁹According to Scully's study, "each palace makes use, so far as possible, of the same landscape elements. These are as follows: first, an enclosed valley of varying size in which the palace is set; I should like to call this the "Natural Megaron"; second, a gently mounded or conical hill on axis with the palace to north or south; and lastly a higher, double-peaked or cleft mountain some distance beyond the hill but on the same axis." The double-peaked mountain is associated with the Mother Goddess. Vincent Scully, *The Earth, The Temple, and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture*, 3rd ed., (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979) 11.

²²⁰Diane Wolkstein, "Interpretations of Inanna's Stories and Hymns," in *Inanna* 146.

²²¹Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*, 39.

the evildoer," and destroys the wicked, but looks "with kindly eyes on the straightforward," and blesses them.²²²

Her image as the enforcer is also seen in her raw power in natural calamities and battles, flying upon raging storms, roaring at the earth in thunder and devastating rebellious lands with floods and storms. She is powerful to wreak vengeance from the skies and on earth she leads her people in battle, an activity known as the "dance of Inanna."²²³ Yet, powerful as she was when enraged, like the Anatolian enforcer deities, she could be approached for assistance in everyday matters. She provides relief from the demons of disease and bestows the good things of life upon individuals as well as city-states. Her devotees also petition her with confessions of wrongdoing.²²⁴

Inanna continues as Ishtar, "so widely and continuously worshiped for thousands of years by so many different peoples throughout Mesopotamia that she is often referred to as the generic goddess."²²⁵ Each of the fifteen levels excavated at just one city contain one of her temples. In one of those temples she appears in a role similar to that

²²²Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*, 103.

²²³David Kinsley, "Inanna, Queen of Heaven and Earth," chap. in *The Goddesses' Mirror: Visions of the Divine from East and West* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1989) 129-33.

²²⁴Kinsley, "Inanna," 135-7. He includes quotations from Samuel Noah Kramer, *From the Poetry of Sumer: Creation, Glorification, Adoration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) 90-1 and 154.

²²⁵Judith Ochshorn, "Ishtar and Her Cult," in *The Book of the Goddess Past and Present*, ed. Carl Olson (New York: Crossroad, 1983) 16.

of the Mother of the Gods. She guards oaths taken to settle legal disputes as well as treaties.²²⁶ As Ishtar she is seen as the most exalted of the deities, ruler of the gods as well as the peoples, who issues decrees and commands.²²⁷ These monarchical and guardian roles are familiar to us in the Anatolian evidence.

4.6.2 *The Origin of Cybele as an Ancient Near Eastern Guardian Goddess*

Some evidence suggests a more direct connection between Cybele and these guardian goddesses, about whom more information has been preserved. A Ku[g]baba appears as a Sumerian queen in the middle of the third millennium B.C.E., in the third dynasty of Kish. She was said to be "a barmaid, the one who consolidated the foundation of Kish, became 'King' and reigned 100 years." Ku[g]baba was "given the kingship of all the lands because of a pious deed."²²⁸

Whether or not the name is coincidental, Kubaba as the antecedent of Cybele appears as a guardian goddess in the second millennia B.C.E. Emmanuel Laroche's 1960 study of the early evidence of the goddess

²²⁶Ochshorn, "Ishtar," 16.

²²⁷Kinsley, "Inanna," 129; he cites *ANET*, 383.

²²⁸Woodley, "Sacred Precincts," 89-90. Her citations are from Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Assyriological Studies, 11, The Oriental Institute of Chicago, 105 and Table II, and 179. It should also be noted that a Gubaba is mentioned as a deity on a cylinder seal from Arban in Mesopotamia with the name of the prince of the city, dated about 1000 B.C.E. Emmanuel Laroche identifies Gubaba with Kubaba, or Cybele (Emmanuel Laroche, "Koubaba, déesse anatolienne, et le problème des origines de Cybele," in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque* [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960] 121.) See *CCCA* I, no. 898.

Kubaba shows that she was the Queen or "Lady" of Carchemish and that her cult spread north of Syria quite early.²²⁹ Hittite documents in Akkadian from the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. mention her as the goddess-ruler of Carchemish, and the king there as her servant.²³⁰ Her name and worship spread into Anatolia at least as early as the Hittite period.²³¹ At Carchemish in the neo-Hittite period her worship is better documented, and she appears there in association with the kings.²³² The building identified as her temple has also been identified as Sargon's palace and contains an altar dedicated to "the divine lady of the earth," interpreted as an epithet for Kubaba.²³³ Although we do not have other direct evidence of the relationship between the goddess and the king who represents a god, Kubaba appears to fit the pattern of the guardian goddess and her association with kings is clear. No evidence exists, however, for Attis.²³⁴

²²⁹Laroche, "Koubaba," 113-128.

²³⁰CCCA I, nos. 3-5, from Ras Shamra-Ugarit. No. 5 mentions a woman by name as "servant of the goddess Kubaba." Further information is given also in Woodley, "Sacred Precincts," 91-2.

²³¹Laroche, "Koubaba," 115-6.

²³²See Woodley, "Sacred Precincts," 96-7, 99-100. Inscriptions from the first part of the first millennium B.C.E. indicate that the kings of Carchemish dedicated temples and processions to Kubaba. One is a standard Hittite prayer form ending in a curse upon enemies which evokes the anger of the gods in a manner similar to the funerary imprecations from Anatolia discussed in Chapter 3.

²³³Woodley, "Sacred Precincts," 97-8.

²³⁴The absence of Attis, and any permanent male companion, is pointed out by Woodley, "Sacred Precincts," 104.

4.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter we have seen various aspects of the Anatolian Mountain Mother of the Gods and identified her primary role as that of "guardian goddess." In this she is similar to and identified with other goddesses known in the Roman Empire and with goddesses known for millennia in territories to the east. Her role as a guardian goddess cannot, however, be narrowly defined. She plays a role in administration of justice and maintenance of community order but is also identified with the wilderness and orgiastic disorder. In Anatolia, she appears with many different names associated with various locations there, and yet she is the same Mother of the Gods for all.

CHAPTER 5

ATTIS IN ANATOLIA

In the last chapter we saw the importance of the Mother of the Gods in Anatolia and her identity there as the Mountain Mother and guardian goddess over various localities. This chapter will examine Attis, the male figure associated with her, and how he would be seen in Anatolia in the first century C.E. This is not an easy question. To address it, we will first consider images of Attis found in Asia Minor in relation to images which identify him elsewhere as androgynous and as the "Phrygian Shepherd" (5.1), then clues to Attis's identity in Anatolia in the references to him found there (5.2). The relationship of Attis to Cybele will then be discussed (5.3), and I will offer an interpretation of his role as a shepherd king in the pattern of the guardian goddesses (5.4). Attis will be characterized as a figure visible only by double-vision (5.5).

A developmental view of the cult requires geographical and chronological specificity in use of the data about Attis. Much of the secondary literature on the cult reflects assumptions which result from reading data from Rome and from the second and third centuries C.E. as if it can be applied to the cult in earlier periods and other locations. Pierre Lambrechts has challenged such assumptions, proposing instead that the emergence of Attis as a deity was a late development which

occurred in the cult in the western Roman Empire.¹ While the dating in his theory has been challenged by archaeological discoveries, the requirement of specificity remains as a major result of his work.²

Scholarship in this area has been advanced most recently by the work of Lynn E. Roller. She shows that the familiar portrayal of Attis is most likely of Greek origin, consistent with Greek portrayals of foreigners from the east, but that Attis had emerged as a divinity much earlier than Lambrechts would suggest.³ Much of this chapter makes use of her work on Attis.⁴

¹Lambrechts, *Attis: van Herdersknaap tot God*.

²Lambrechts' theory has been challenged by archaeological discoveries at the main temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine at Rome. Many figurines of Attis have been found there which date to the temple's earliest phases, thus to the second century B.C.E. Also among the finds are male sex glans, cocks, masks, and pine cones. These finds indicate at least private worship of Attis at Rome by the first century B.C.E. See CCCA III, nos. 13-199. The primary work on this is Pietro Romanelli, "Lo scavo al tempio della Magna Mater e nelle sue adiacenze," *Monumenti Antichi* 46 (1963) 202-330. I rely here on summaries by Woodley, "Sacred Precincts," 41-2; and Mary Beard, "The Roman and the Foreign: The Cult of the 'Great Mother' in Imperial Rome," in *Shamanism, History, and the State*, ed. Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1994) 169-70.

³Roller, "Attis," 245-62. On the issue of portrayals of Attis as a deity, see especially 256.

⁴Giulia Sfameni Gasparro (*Soteriology*) also reflects a developmental view of the cult. Her work, which focuses upon the question of "soteriology" in this cult, demonstrates that the association of the cult with fertility cannot be entirely dismissed, even though the Frazerian notion of the "dying-rising god" is inappropriate. Sfameni Gasparro's work will be most helpful when myth and ritual is considered in Chapter 6.

For our purposes in exploring the background of Paul's letter to the Galatians, serious attention is required to the evidence for the identity of Attis in the first century C.E. in areas Paul visited in Anatolia and Asia Minor. The evidence in question concerns both the narrative of versions of the myth of Cybele and Attis and the non-narrative attestations: images, inscriptions, and brief literary references. In this chapter, attention will be given to the non-narrative evidence. Chapter 6 will turn to the myths and rituals. Part of the question, especially as it was posed by Lambrechts, is when Attis emerged "as a deity." This is not our concern here. Our concern is, more simply, to form a description of the role of Attis in central Anatolia.

5.1 Images of Attis

5.1.1 *Images of Attis in Asia Minor*

Even a cursory glance through the plates in the volume of CCCA devoted to Asia Minor shows numerous varied representations of Attis there, many of which do not postdate the first century C.E. Most of these are from the coastal territories.⁵

Worthy of special note for this investigation is a series of some forty-nine representations from the scrap heap of a terracotta workshop which operated at Tarsus from the Hellenistic into the late Roman era. Most of these damaged terracottas are variations on the portrayal of

⁵CCCA I.

Attis as a child.⁶ This suggests that Attis was a figure well known to craftspeople in Tarsus over the course of centuries, especially in his boyish portrayal.⁷

Other than the terracottas from Tarsus, over fifty other certain or possible representations of Attis are included in the *CCCA* volume for Asia Minor. Twenty-two are undated and eleven dated to the second century C.E. or later.⁸ The sixteen which are dated to the first century C.E. and before come from cities of the Aegaeon coastal territories of northwest Asia Minor, not from the interior.⁹ The largest group of these are terracotta figurines from Myrina, north on the coast from Smyrna, where there were several terracotta workshops which produced images from the Hellenistic pantheon as well as images of everyday life.¹⁰ Most of the depictions of Attis show him as a dancing

⁶*CCCA* I, nos. 804-853.

⁷If Paul was from Tarsus, as is likely, the evidence of these terracottas suggests that he would have been unlikely to have been unaware of Attis. While the identification of Paul with Tarsus is based on Acts, it is probably dependable since it would have served Luke's purposes better if he were fabricating a place of origin to have named Jerusalem instead. There is no other reason to doubt the tradition on this point.

⁸Undated are *CCCA* I, nos. 93, 222-3, 228, 229, 261, 281, 407, 503, 508, 509, 510, 517, 539, 552, 562, 635, 856, 858, 863, 885, and 894. Dated from the second century C.E. and later are 103, 282, 284, 461, 472, 473, 636, 638, 667, 864, and 887.

⁹*CCCA* I, no. 166 from the Roman sanctuary of Agdistis at Midas City could be an exception. The figure in the relief is identifiable only as a shepherd.

¹⁰See Simone Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs et romains, Musée du Louvre et Collections des Universités de France, vol. 2, Myrina*. (Paris: Éditions des Musées

figure in a Phrygian costume, sometimes winged. The terracottas include two androgynous portrayals.¹¹

A depiction of Attis as a child sitting on a base with his legs bent and arms outstretched, his *tunica* fastened at his breast to reveal his abdomen, was found at Cyme, near Myrina, dated to the Hellenistic period.¹² Another possibly shows Attis as a child on the lap of Cybele.

Nationaux, 1963) xi-xxv. CCCA I, nos. 495, 498, 499, 504, 505, 506, and 507. A similar figurine, dated to the third century B.C.E. was also found at Pergamum, CCCA I, no. 374.

¹¹The androgynous portrayals are CCCA I, nos. 495 and 504. The similarity of these and several other of the androgynous portrayals of Attis to some representations of Hermaphrodite must be noted. See, for example, *LIMC*, s.v. "Hermaphroditos," by Aileen Ajootian. See especially nos. 5, 5b, 5c, 12c, 30, and 41. Nos. 57 and 58 portray Hermaphrodite reclining, similar to portrayals of Attis after his self-castration. Caution should be taken in the identification of androgynous portrayals, given some of Ajootian's comments. Hermaphrodite, who is identifiable by the delineation of female breasts and male genitals, is frequently portrayed with the body type of a young boy, although many portrayals add male genitals to a female body. She notes the similarity of these representations to those of Attis and also Eros. She suggests that the portrayals of a "physique generally proportioned and delineated like that of a woman," with fleshy and developed pectorals, reflects that "the iconographic repertoire for these figures developed certain traits and features based on their characteristic youth." (283) The bodies of the two figurines in question here both display distinctly female physiques. Graillet (380) also mentions figurines of a hermaphroditic Attis at Amisu on the Pontic coast, but does not give any dating. These do not appear to be included in CCCA. On Hermaphrodite, see also Marie Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity*, trans. Jennifer Nicholson (London: Studio Books, 1961).

¹²CCCA I, no. 523. Another portrayal of Attis as a child, from Ephesus, is probably dated to the second century B.C.E. It shows him wrapped completely in bandages except for the genitals. Vermaseren describes the terracotta relief as showing a Phrygian cap, which is not visible in the plate. I am not aware of any other similar portrayal of Attis. See CCCA I, no. 639.

From Erythrae on the coast, it is dated by Vermaseren to the sixth century B.C.E.¹³

Two white marble statues, from Cyzicus on the north coast in the Propontis and Pergamum, dated to the third and second centuries B.C.E., respectively, portray Attis standing. The sculpture from Cyzicus is quite damaged and the head is missing, but Attis is recognizable by the *tunica* fastened to reveal his genitalia and rounded feminine abdomen. He is standing against a pillar.¹⁴ In the statue from Pergamum, also damaged and headless, Attis is fully clothed.¹⁵ The original location of another portrayal of Attis standing, dated to first century C.E., is unclear. It shows Attis with a tall Phrygian cap with long flaps, his hair in curls underneath. His girt *tunica* extends down to his legs but leaves his feminine abdomen and his genitals visible, although the left leg and genitals of the figurine are broken off.¹⁶ A head of an Attis from Smyrna and a possible Attis figure from an unknown location are also dated prior to the second century C.E.¹⁷

The boyish and youthful or androgynous portrayals of Attis in Asia Minor thus appear there before or during the first century C.E.

¹³CCCA I, no. 593. Dating and identification may be problematic.

¹⁴CCCA I, no. 280.

¹⁵CCCA I, no. 359. See also Ohlemutz, *Die Kulte*, 179 and n. 23.

¹⁶CCCA I, no. 568. Vermaseren suggests that the piece, which was purchased at Smyrna and said to have originated at Cos, is originally from Myrina. In this representation the body appears more female than prepubescent, from my observation.

¹⁷CCCA I, nos. 78 and 869.

Significantly they are found in some of the same areas in Asia Minor where Paul is likely to have traveled, although not in the interior. One of the kinds of portrayals of Attis which is missing from this list is, however, that of Attis reclining under a tree after his self-castration.

Some of the literary and epigraphic sources suggest the need for a modification of the image suggested so far. Attis was described as *luculentus* by the Latin satirist Martial in the first century C.E., and ἀγλαός in a Greek inscription from Lydia in the third century C.E.¹⁸ In both languages, he is called "bright," or "brilliant," or "shining." Consistent with this, Lucian categorizes him with the opulent foreign gods made of gold.¹⁹ Because they are foreign, he describes them elsewhere also as "foreign and ambiguous gods."²⁰ The images mentioned so far have been of terracotta and stone, but the existence of gold images is also probable and should form part of our mental picture of Attis in this time period.

5.1.2 *Androgynous Attis and Attis as a Gallus*

The androgynous image of Attis in the iconography from Asia Minor and elsewhere is also found in literary references from the same time period. Attis is described in the *Anacreonta* as a "half-woman"

¹⁸Mart. 2.86.4; *CCCA* I, no. 473.

¹⁹Lucian, *Iupp. Trag.* 8. The other foreign gods of solid gold mentioned are Bendis, Anubis, Mithras, and Mên.

²⁰Lucian, *Icaromenippus* 27. τοὺς μετοίκους τούτους καὶ ἀμφιβόλους θεούς.

(ἡμίθυλον) who is said to have gone "mad shouting for lovely Cybebe in the mountains."²¹ Martial, who called Attis *luculentus*, also refers to him in less flattering terms to insult someone as *concupino mollior Celaenaeo*, "softer (more effeminate) than the Phrygian male concubine."²² Also ambiguous is a reference from Lucian in an epigram, in which Attis is named as one of three *hetairai* who make offerings to the goddess Cypris from the profits of their sexual services, the first as a boy and the second as a woman. Attis is a third type, presumably as a *gallus*.²³ Dioscorides in the *Greek Anthology* also describes the experience of a *gallus* as "Atys."²⁴

This merging of identities of Attis and the castrated *galli* is also seen in a much-studied poem by Catullus, a major Latin poet of the first century B.C.E.²⁵ The poem describes the experience of Attis as a *gallus* who has traveled to the forests of Phrygia and has been seized by the *mania* of Cybele to castrate himself and wander with the others upon

²¹οἱ μὲν καλὴν Κυβήβην : τὸν ἡμίθυλον Ἄττιν : ἐν οὔρεσιν βοῶντα : λέγουσιν ἑκμανῆναι. *Anacreonta* 12.1-4.

²²Mart. 5.41. *Spadone cum sis evirator fluxo, et concupino mollior Celaenaeo, quem sectus ululat matris entheae Gallus.*

²³*Gr. Anth.* 6.17. The nature of these sexual services will be discussed in Chapter 7.

²⁴*Gr. Anth.* 6.220. (ἁγνὸς Ἄτυς, Κυβέλης θαλαμηπόλος) "Holy or Pure Atys, Cybele's Bridegroom or Chamber-Servant."

²⁵Catull. 63. A recent monograph on the poem and its connections to the rituals and identity of the *galli* provides much of the extensive bibliography on the poem. See Britt-Mari Näsström, *The Abhorrence of Love: Studies in rituals and mystic aspects in Catullus' poem of Attis* Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Uppsala Women's Studies, A. Women in Religion, 3. (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1989) 8-12.

Cybele's mountain in the wild music and dance of her followers. After the castration, Attis and the other *galli* are referred to in the feminine, now as "*gallae*." Much of the poem treats Attis's experience of sorrow and regret when he awakens and remembers what he has done. He is homesick now in the wild forests of Mount Ida, and laments his transformation from a perfect specimen of young manhood, "the flower of the *gymnasium*," to a woman, a servant of the gods and a slave of Cybele,²⁶ a maenad, a part of himself (now herself), and a barren man. Attis is now trapped by Cybele, portrayed as a jealous slave owner.

Catullus 63 shows that a logical fusion had taken place by the first century B.C.E. between the identity of Attis and the *galli*. While Catullus may have been familiar with the cult from Rome, he had also spent at least a year in Asia Minor, probably in the entourage of the governor of Bithynia, near the territories he mentions in the poem.²⁷ The association of Attis in myth and the *galli* in the ritual of self-castration and the applicability of evidence about the cult from Rome will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

5.1.3 *Attis as the Phrygian Shepherd*

The Phrygian cap on Attis's head, which makes him sometimes indistinguishable from Mên, is usually seen as part of his identity as

²⁶Catull. 63.68. (*deum ministra et Cybeles famula*).

²⁷OCD, s.v. "Catullus," by E. Badian. See Näsström, *The Abhorrence*, 23-7 for a summary of theories of the motivations for the poem.

the "Phrygian Shepherd." He also carries other articles associated with shepherds: a staff, shepherd's pipes, and sometimes a sheep.²⁸

Lynn Roller's analysis of the image of Attis indicates that his portrayal as the Phrygian shepherd was probably a Greek representation, based on Greek views of the Phrygian "as the archetype of the effeminate Oriental barbarian," and that Attis's identity as a god is also of Greek invention.²⁹ While her case about the origins of Attis need concern us here only insofar as it bears upon Anatolia in the first century C.E., her research does point away from the Phrygian origin of Attis as a divine figure. It thus requires some serious attention for this investigation.

Roller bases her contention of a Greek origin for this portrayal of Attis first of all on the fact that the earliest securely identified portrayal is from a votive stele from the Piraeus, which she dates to the mid-fourth century B.C.E.³⁰ In the relief Attis is seated on a rock at the left, wearing a Phrygian cap and holding what appears to be a *syrinx* in his left hand. A shepherd's crook leans against the rock. On

²⁸See, for example, Henry Chadwick, "An Attis from a Domestic Shrine," *HTR* n.s. 3 (1952) 90-92.

²⁹Roller, "Attis," 246, 253-5. On Greek perceptions of Phrygians, she cites Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* (Oxford, 1989) 73-4, 103, 113-4.

³⁰Cf. *CCCA* II, no. 308. Vermaseren's date is the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century B.C.E. A figure from a find at Marseilles, France, is dated incorrectly in *CCCA* V, no. 292 to the sixth century B.C.E. As Lynn Roller has pointed out in e-mail conversation, architectural and other details in the portrayal can only come from the Roman period or later.

the right is a standing female figure, identified as Angdistis, who holds a *tympanum* in her left hand. The male figure's right hand is lifted to receive what appears to be a vase from the goddess, a gesture which indicates his divinity.³¹

Roller identifies the best antecedent for the pose and image of Attis as that of Paris, the Trojan shepherd, citing the "frequent confusion between Trojan and Phrygian in Greek literature and art," and indicates that Attis inherited the negative traits of Paris as part of Greek negative stereotyping of "Orientals."³² Roller's analysis of the Piraeus relief points out that the costume associated with Attis, and the cap in particular, "have come simply to be called Phrygian," primarily following the Latin sources.³³ Before the fourth century B.C.E., the costume, including the long-sleeved tunic worn over trousers and the characteristic cap, was used more generally to depict foreigners from locations east of Greece: Scythians, Persian, and Amazons, as well as Phrygians. In the fifth century B.C.E., the costume came to be used

³¹The description follows Vermaseren's in *CCCA* II, no. 308. On the significance of the gesture for Attis' divine status, see Roller, "Attis," 256.

³²Roller, "Attis," 252.

³³Roller, "Attis," 250 and note 27.

to identify the figure as non-Greek and "could denote any one of several Oriental groups, both real and mythical."³⁴

The god Attis, according to Roller, is of Greek invention. In Phrygia, Attis was not a god but either a personal name or the title of a religious official. She contends that "Attis entered Greek cult as the title of the principal attendant of the mother goddess"³⁵ and first became identified and represented as a god in Greece. There he was first understood simply as the companion of the mother goddess. The image of Attis as the castrated lover of Cybele and the connection between Attis and the cultic practice of self-castration, appear to emerge in the Hellenistic period. At that time, a narrative cycle also emerged which connected the cult practice of ritual castration, practiced by the goddess's attendants in Anatolia, with the myth of Attis' castration and death due to the mother goddess's love for him.³⁶ The ritual practice seemed bizarre and threatening to the Greeks, and a negative perception of Attis persisted as well, associated with Greek stereotyping of their neighbors to the east as weak and inferior.

When Greeks looked at an image of Attis they saw an Oriental figure, similar in appearance to the Trojans and the Persians, who had become the antithesis of the positive qualities of Hellenism. . . [He] was the representative of the unpleasant stereotypes of barbarism and effeminacy that often characterize Greek attitudes

³⁴Roller, "Attis," 251.

³⁵Roller, "Attis," 253-5.

³⁶The narrative cycle is placed in "the broader framework of a mythic type comprising the tale of a powerful goddess who destroys her mate." Roller, "Attis," 258.

toward their Eastern neighbors, attitudes which were to influence subsequent perceptions of him, both ancient and modern.³⁷

An unanswered question remains in Roller's analysis, however. Why would worshipers express devotion to Attis as a deity if the portrayal were indeed so negative? A return to the early relief from the Piraeus may provide some clues, albeit conjectural ones. The inscription below the relief names the goddess and the shepherd as Angdistis and Attis.³⁸ The goddess is honored by her Phrygian name in a district where Phrygian immigrants lived.³⁹ Timothea, who raised the stele on behalf of her children, according to a command, may well be a Phrygian woman who had the relief carved by a Greek-trained sculptor. This would make the image before us much more a bicultural production than an exclusively Greek-produced image. By the same token, the identity of Attis as a deity may not be a Greek production so much as a production of Phrygians living in Greece. Attis may well have become more deified in a Phrygian diaspora population than he was in his homeland.⁴⁰ This could explain the phenomenon of simultaneous deification and negative stereotyping beginning in Greece, for which Roller makes a persuasive case.⁴¹

³⁷Roller, "Attis," 259.

³⁸CCCA II, no. 308. Ἀνγδίστει : καὶ Ἀττιδι : Τιμοθέα : ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων :: κατὰ πρόσταγμα. To Angdistis and Attis, Timothea (raises this stele) on behalf of (her) children, according to a command.

³⁹As another example of Phrygian presence in the Piraeus see the curse inscription from there cited in at 3.2.2.1.

⁴⁰His identity as a king or priest-king in Anatolia will be discussed in the following section, 5.2.1.

⁴¹Greek failure to recognize attire which further east would be seen as royal or priestly garb, seeing it instead as "effeminate," has

No matter what their origin, however, depictions of Attis appear to have spread rapidly throughout the Greek world in the century after this early relief was erected, and representations of him are found in Phrygia during the Roman period.⁴² By the first century, the image of Attis as Cybele's consort, the narratives concerning them, and the connection of the image of Attis to the practice of self-castration by Cybele's human servants, are well attested. By the time Paul arrived in Anatolia, Attis was a divine figure and the model for the *galli*.

We have seen, through Roller's analysis, how Attis when viewed from the west by the Greeks, and following them the Romans, would have embodied the negative stereotypes of the "effeminate easterners." How, then, would such a representation, no matter what its origin, be viewed from the east? Attention to Attis's headgear may suggest an answer.

Attis's headgear is frequently described as a "Phrygian cap." Vermaseren suggests that "tiara" is probably more appropriate,⁴³ based on John Young's analysis of portrayals of headgear in sculptures sponsored by Antiochus I in Commagene, (ca. 69-34 B.C.E).⁴⁴ Attis's so-called "Phrygian cap" corresponds to what Young categorizes as a "Persian tiara." While this headdress is well-known in Greek artworks as a

also been noted in the case of Dionysus and the worshipers who assumed his costume. See Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 24-5.

⁴²Roller, "Attis," 247.

⁴³Vermaseren, *Legend*, 14.

⁴⁴John H. Young, "Commagenian Tiaras: Royal and Divine," *AJA* 68 (1964) 29-34.

general designation of foreigners from the east, at Commagene, the Persian tiara appears on the heads of Antiochus' most ancient ancestors and on the gods Zeus Oromasdes and Apollo Mithras Helios Hermes.⁴⁵ Given the legacy of Persian influence in central Anatolia, then, the portrayal of Attis with this distinctive headgear may not necessarily signify "shepherd" in the sense of the low-status occupation of animal tending but a deified shepherd-king.

This combination is suggested even in a Hellenized image of Attis from the second or third century C.E., from a domestic shrine of unknown provenance, which portrays Attis holding a sheep to his chest.⁴⁶ The portrayal is described by Henry Chadwick, who first published the sculpture, as marked by "feminine delicacy of the face and of the clasping hand."⁴⁷ On the back is a relief of a pine tree. The inscription reads "Βασιλεύς Ἀττις νεόγα[μος]," or "the newly-wed king Attis."⁴⁸

⁴⁵Young, "Commagenian Tiaras."

⁴⁶CCCA VII, no. 132.

⁴⁷Chadwick, "An Attis," 90-92.

⁴⁸This is Chadwick's restoration. From the photograph of the inscription (see also CCCA VII, no. 132), I cannot make out the A, and I do not see how there is space for four letters after the Γ. Assuming that Chadwick's restoration is correct, this is the only known instance of Attis as the νεόγαμος (newly-wed), or in this case, the newly-wedded king. Yet as Chadwick points out, in two versions of the myth, the death of Attis occurs when he is νεόγαμος, whether the death is caused by his self-emasculation or by the charge of a wild boar. Chadwick, "An Attis," 91-2.

5.2 References to Attis in Anatolia and Clues to his Identity There

The most common use of "Attis" in central Anatolia was as an ordinary masculine name, the most common one in Phrygia.⁴⁹ "Attis" or "Ates" appears also on the rock façade at Midas City, suggesting that it may have been a name which occurred in the Phrygian royal family as it did in the Lydian royal family.⁵⁰

5.2.1 *Attis as a King: A Lydian Ancestral Figure*

Such an association is all the more likely given literary references in which we first meet Attis in Anatolia as a figure who seems to have a place in human history, of ambiguous divinity. A passage from *DDS* cited above (4.3.1) suggests this. Attis was identified there as a Lydian by birth who taught the rites of Cybele, which the Samothracians and Phrygians performed as well as the Lydians. Yet the Attis described by the legend cited by Lucian was more a hero figure and founder than a mere mortal. He was the castrated Attis who provided the model for the *galli*, who took on feminine form and clothing and wandered into every land and established the sanctuary at

⁴⁹Roller, "Attis," 253 and n. 50. One group is found in graffiti on pottery from Gordion, variously as "Ata" or "Ates." See Claude Brixhe and Michel Lejeune, *Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes*, 2 vols. Institut français d'études anatoliennes, Memoire 45 (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1984); and Lynn E. Roller, "Hellenistic Epigraphic Texts from Gordion," *AS* 37 (1987) 103-33.

⁵⁰Roller, "Attis," 254.

Hierapolis. We also meet Atys as a Lydian king of divine descent, either the son or grandson of Manes, the first Lydian king, who was, in turn, the son of Zeus and Gê.⁵¹ As an ancestral figure Attis is something between divine and mortal, a historical king but descended from deities.

5.2.2 *Attis as Priest-King of the Temple State at Pessinus*

In the previous chapter (4.4.3.2), correspondence of the Attis the priest-king at Pessinus was mentioned to show the expected role of the goddess as guardian of the temple-state there. The correspondence also offers information about the Attis as the ruler and high priest.⁵² The letters show a familial sense of equality between the Attis and the secular king by the consistent presence of a health wish after the greeting, common in family correspondence but rare in royal letters.⁵³ Apparently the letters were inscribed to recall the previous stature of the Attis in relation to the kings.⁵⁴ The Attalid kings were the ones who had embellished the sacred precincts at Pessinus with white stones,

⁵¹Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.26.27.1-2; Hdt. 1.94.

⁵²Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 241-53, nos. 55-61. The correspondence took place in the mid-second century B.C.E., but was inscribed over a century later.

⁵³See Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 248, n. 56.2. See also White, *Light* 196-7 and 200-1.

⁵⁴Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 247.

according to Strabo, and in a later era, publication of this correspondence recalled Pessinus's more glorious past.⁵⁵

While the role of Attis as the ruler of a temple state appears to us as a quite human position, the distinction between the priest-king and a divine figure may have been a great deal more blurred. A comment by Ovid in his description of the myth indicates this.⁵⁶ Attis in the myth as Ovid tells it is a handsome Phrygian boy who has attached himself to the goddess by a chaste passion. The goddess, in turn, "wanted him to serve her (alone), to guard her temple."⁵⁷ While this is a telling of the myth about Attis as the divine figure, the one who guards the temple is the Attis-king at Pessinus.

Moreover, while the Attis was the current ruler, he was also said by Pausanias to have been buried at Pessinus below Mount Agdistis.⁵⁸ This could be understood as either an early Attis who was the priest-king or as a mythic hero figure or some combination of the two. From Attis's identity as a Lydian ancestral figure and as the priest-king at Pessinus, we can see that he does not precisely fit the category of "deity" or that of a simple human figure. He is something in-between.

⁵⁵Strab. 12.5.3.

⁵⁶Ov. *Fast.* 4.225: *hunc sibi servari voluit, sua templa tueri.*

⁵⁷As translated by James George Frazer in the LCL: "She wished that he should be kept for herself and should guard her temple."

⁵⁸Paus. 1.4.5. Pausanias also provides two narrative versions to be discussed below. Paus. 7.17.5. See 6.1.2.1.

5.2.3 *Attis as a Grave-Protector*

Attis' identity as an Anatolian deity is suggested by the fact that his name appears in sepulchral curses in the Phrygian language from a variety of locations in the Anatolian interior. Many of these curses in Phrygian follow a Greek epitaph.⁵⁹ W. M. Calder's view on the dating of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions is that they belong to the last half of the third century C.E.⁶⁰ Even if this late dating is accepted it

⁵⁹The original corpus was assembled by William Mitchell Ramsay, "Phrygian Inscriptions of the Roman Period," *ZFVS* 28 (1887) 381-400; and updated by him in an article in *JOAI* (1905) 79-120. The latter is cited by W. M. Calder in his own survey and commentary on a number of these same inscriptions: "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum," *JHS* 31 (1911) 161-215; updated in "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum II," *JHS* 33 (1913) 97-104, and "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum III," *JHS* 46 (1926) 22-28. The latter is followed by an article commenting on a number of issues in inscriptions found subsequently, by A. H. Sayce, "The New Neo-Phrygian Inscriptions," *JHS* 46 (1926) 29-35. The introduction to *MAMA* VII also contains a commentary on these inscriptions.

As W. M. Calder indicates, this shows that a population acquainted with both languages was dispersed in central Anatolia. The syntactical variation in the inscriptions also demonstrates that "Phrygian was not a moribund language surviving in a few fixed formulae, but was the everyday language of the uneducated classes at the period to which the texts belong." Calder, "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum," 163-4. He cites an article by a Professor Holl which shows that Phrygian was spoken until the fifth or sixth century C.E. (*Hermes* [1908] 248).

⁶⁰Calder, "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum III," 22. He says they represent "an artificial revival of the epigraphical use of the Phrygian language by the Tekmoreian Association." A thorough examination of the question of dating and issues concerning Calder's interpretation of the Tekmoreian Association is beyond the scope of this investigation. On the *Xenoi Tekmoreioi*, see Mitchell, *Anatolia* I, 178-9 and II, 16-18 with notes, and other listings in his index. This was one of several regional cults which also had a wider geographic appeal but strongly associated with village life. Inscriptions from this cult are from the third-century C.E. and show particular devotion to Artemis and also incorporated features of the cult of the Mother of the Gods; including mentions of *archigalli*.

indicates only a relatively late epigraphical fashion, not necessarily the wholesale fabrication in the third century of a language and a religious ethos in which the curse is prominent. The antiquity of the Phrygian language is not in doubt, and the importance of the curse to Phrygians has already been seen in Chapter 3.⁶¹

An examination of the inscriptions themselves as specific examples of Phrygian sepulchral curses from the Roman period sheds light on the role of Attis in the religious understanding of the common people in Anatolia in this period. Most of the curse inscriptions follow a general formula which probably means, in the Phrygian word order, "Who to this tomb harm does, let (him) be accursed."⁶² A frequent modification of this formula in Phrygian is the substitution of the

⁶¹Vermaseren (24), clearly without any extensive research or substantiation on this particular issue, indicates that the Phrygian inscriptions date from the first centuries C.E. Yet also according to him, the phrase "Ἀττι ἀδευτου," which appears in many of them, is otherwise untranslatable, like the sepulchral inscriptions in which they are found. Here Vermaseren's earlier work reveals a small lacuna in his otherwise encyclopedic knowledge of matters relating to Cybele and Attis, since credible analysis and interpretation has indeed been offered for most of these inscriptions by Ramsay, Calder, and the other scholars they cite, works cited by Vermaseren also in *CCCA*.

⁶²(*ιος τα μανκαι κακου αδακετ, τι επι[τ]ετικμενος ειτου.*) Calder, "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum," 165, no. IIa. Using the work of Ramsay and his predecessors, ("Phrygian Inscriptions," 383-5) a similar formula could also be rendered, "Whoever thus at any time to the tomb evil does, accursed (or childless) may he be." (*ιος νι σεμου κνουμανει κακου αδακετ, επιτετικμενος ειτου.*) Both translations preserve the word order. Translations are based on sepulchral curses in Greek from areas in Phrygia where Phrygian inscriptions are also common, several of which show evidence of being Greek translations from the Phrygian.

phrase Ἀττι ἀδειτου, for the final ειτου.⁶³ These are not confined to Phrygia but are found in other locations in central Anatolia.⁶⁴ One from Beşkavak, in Galatia, undated, provides a complete model for this form:

ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ τιττετικμενος Ἀττι ἀδειτου.⁶⁵

This form suggests that translation of "τιττετικμενος Ἀττι ἀδειτου" as

⁶³CCCA I, nos. 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 64, 788, and 802; Ramsay, "Phrygian Inscriptions," no. XI, XII, and XIII, as corrected; and *MAMA* VII, xxviii, (d). A variant example, not in *CCCA* is included in Calder, "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum," 170-1, no. XII (= *CIG* 3986), ειος νι σεμουν κνουμανι κακουν αδδακετ ζειρ ακεσι πειες κε τιττετικμενα Ἀττι[ε] ἀδειττου. Calder's analysis shows that the verb ἀδειττου is a plural form and probably refers to the children of the potential violator of the tomb.

⁶⁴Seventeen of the twenty inscriptions which refer to Attis in the volume of *CCCA* on Asia Minor are some version of the Phrygian curse formula which includes the phrase "Ἀττι ἀδειτου.". *CCCA* I, nos. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 64, 68, 90, 113, 114, 727, 766, 788, 799, 800, and 802. Others which do not appear in *CCCA* may also be added. Ramsay's 1887 collection of curse inscriptions in the Phrygian language from the Roman period contains three, all from Phrygian territory, for which the reading has been corrected by Calder. (Ramsay, "Phrygian Inscriptions," 391-3, nos. XI, XII, and XIII.) Others may be included in subsequent compilations of Phrygian inscriptions. Unavailable to me at this writing is William Mitchell Ramsay, in *JOAI* 7 (1905) 79-120, cited by W. M. Calder, "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum," *JHS* 31 (1911) 161. Calder provides correction for nos. XI and XII in a comparative list, 204-5, and refers to a previous study but does not provide a citation. Ramsay's no. XIII includes only ἀδειτου with the first part of the line broken off. For further references, see *MAMA* VII, xxvii. An additional such inscription is also listed there, *MAMA* VII, xxviii, (d). The geographical distribution of these twenty examples shows that the curse formula in Phrygian with the phrase mentioning Attis was not confined to Phrygian territory. While eight are from Phrygia, six are found in Galatia proper, five in Lycaonia, and one in the Isaurian-Pisidian region. One appears to have been mislocated in *CCCA* at Tyriaeum in Lycia. The location, according to Calder's original epigraphic record, is near modern Ilgin, northwest of Iconium on the road into Phrygia.

⁶⁵CCCA I, no. 44

"accursed by Attis may he be" would make sense.⁶⁶ Calder's analysis of these same inscriptions confirms this view. He takes *επιτετικμενος* as the equivalent of the Greek *κατηραμένος*, which places Attis in the same role as *Mên* in many of the curse inscriptions we have already seen in Chapter 3.⁶⁷

Analysis of the meaning of the frequent use of the words or phrase *δεως ζεμελως* in variant forms in a number of the Phrygian curse inscriptions, including those which name Attis, shows that the phrase refers to "heavenly and chthonian gods."⁶⁸ One example from Polybotos, from an imperial estate in Phrygia shows that Attis is understood in this context as a chthonian deity.⁶⁹

⁶⁶The precise meaning of the Phrygian prefix *αδ-* is not clear. Other inscriptions also suggest something close to the reading given. One follows the form given, apparently using another word for tomb, but the phrase omits the prefix, and is rendered "Αττιε ειτου." *CCCA* I, no. 45. In several others the prefix is also omitted and the word order is slightly different, with several variations on "Αττι επιτετικμενος ειτου." *CCCA* I, 90, 114, 727, 766, and 800.

⁶⁷Calder, "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum," 204-5. Other variants also confirm this translation and interpretation of the role of Attis in the Phrygian inscriptions.

⁶⁸Calder, "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum," 206-7.

⁶⁹*CCCA* I, no. 90, ll. 3-5, "Αττιη κε δεως κε επιτετικμενος ειτου." According to *CCCA*, "In *JHS* 31 (1911) 206ff [W. M. Calder, "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum."] it was shown that the Phrygian *δεως ζεμελως* κε corresponds to Greek *θεοῖς οὐρανίοις καὶ καταχθονίοις*. It follows that in the present inscription Attis is treated as a chthonian deity." In an inscription from Neocome, also in Phrygia, Attis is apparently assigned a title usually associated with *Mên*, "Tiamou," also a chthonian association. See *CCCA* I, no. 113. *ιος νι σεμουν κνουμανει ! κακουν αδακετ αινι τια-!μας Ατι αδειτου ουελας κε του κε ισνου αστοιπαρτης*. According to the notes in *CCCA*, "With *τιαμας* (probably genitive for dative) compare *τιαμου*, the title of *Mên*; as the word here must mean 'tomb', or part of the tomb, in its application to *Mên* it

Based on this association and language, Calder suggests that the "curse" in these inscriptions is actually that of being "devoted to" the chthonian deity. This would plausibly explain the prefix αδ- and make sense of the variant word order, "May he be offered up to Attis," or as he offers elsewhere, *Ἀττι ἀδείου*, when *τετικμενος* is omitted, means "Let him be devoted to Attis," or "Let him belong to Attis."⁷⁰

We can see, then, that Attis was understood as a Phrygian enforcer, a divine entity whose protection for tombs was requested in the Phrygian language, or who would strike appropriate fear into the hearts of those who understood Phrygian and warn them from harming the tomb.⁷¹ In addition, Attis substituted for Mên in this role and the two male deities were logically associated in common understanding and that, in this sense, both were "chthonian" deities.

5.2.4 *Attis and Mên*

There are several reasons to associate Attis and Mên, although they cannot be assumed to be identical. It has been mentioned above that the Phrygian cap which characterizes Attis is also the characteristic headgear of the moon-god Mên, familiar from the confession and curse

probably corresponds to his Greek title *καταχθόνιος*." This interpretation follows Calder, "Inscriptions from Southern Galatia," 456, who interprets *αἰνι* as the equivalent of latin *sive*, "or if." (See Calder, "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum," 166, 168, and 175, and A. H. Sayce, "The New Neo-Phrygian Inscriptions," 29.)

⁷⁰Calder, "Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum," 185.

⁷¹This is also the conclusion in *MAMA VII*, xxxiii, but the analysis appears to assume the "father-mother-son" triad of deities which has since been disputed.

inscriptions discussed in Chapter 3. This causes some iconographic confusion between Attis and Mên. One example is found in a museum catalogue of Greco-Roman stone sculpture in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Two stone heads carved in a local Anatolian style found together are identified as "a child's head," which "has stylized curly hair beneath a Phrygian cap" and "the head of a goddess" which appears from the photograph to show the remains of the usual hair style of Cybele.⁷² The child's head is identified most probably as Mên, but perhaps as Attis. The goddess is tentatively identified as Cybele, but the counterpart suggested is a bust of Artemis from Afyon Karahisar.⁷³

Mên and Attis are also associated in literary references.⁷⁴ Mên, for example, is identified in the passage from Lucian already mentioned above, which also lists Attis among the foreign gods made of solid gold.⁷⁵ Late syncretism is indicated in other references, notably a passage from the Orphic Hymns, which lists many deities, including

⁷²Mary B. Comstock and Cornelius C. Vermeule. *Sculpture in Stone: The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976) 143, nos. 229 and 230. The pieces are dated to 100-250 C.E.

⁷³The reference is to *MAMA* VI, 92, no. 248, pl. 44; and 135, no. 388, pl. 69. Another example of the two, separately and in combination, is cited from Kelhasan in eastern Phrygia, *MAMA* VII (1956) 108, no. 504.

⁷⁴These have been assembled by Eugene N. Lane, "A Re-Study of the God Men. Part III: Conclusions." *Berytus* 17 (1967/68) 82.

⁷⁵Lucian *Iupp. Trag.* 8.

Μητέρα τ'ἀθανάτων ("Mother of the immortals"), and Ἄττιν, καὶ Μῆνα
κικλήσκω, ("Attis, also called Mên.")⁷⁶

Attis and Mên, who both wear "Phrygian caps" are also both identified as Phrygian gods. Eugene Lane points out that literary references are unanimous in associating Mên with the Phrygians, wherever a geographic association is made. As he points out "Phrygian" was used by the Greeks and Romans from the time of Homer to mean "Asia Minor."⁷⁷

In addition to the iconographic similarity, the association between Mên and Attis dates to the pre-Augustan coins of Pessinus. The epithet Menotyrannus is all that is known of Mên-worship by the end of the fourth century C.E. Used of Attis, it is recorded in inscriptions from Rome, dated 319-390 C.E. It also appears as an epithet for Attis in a the Magical Papyri, in a corruption of the text.⁷⁸

This late confusion or identification is also logical in view of the identification of Anaitis and the Mother of the Gods. Anaitis and Mên appear together frequently in the confession inscriptions and funerary curses discussed in Chapter 3. In one, however, it is the Mother of the Gods who is identified as the "bearer of Mên."⁷⁹ We will

⁷⁶Lane, "A Re-Study . . . Part III." 82. See *Orphei Hymni*, ed. Guilelmus Quandt (Berlin: Weidmann, 1955) 2.

⁷⁷Lane, "A Re-Study . . . Part III." 82.

⁷⁸Eugene N. Lane, "Men: A Neglected Cult of Roman Asia Minor." *ANRW* II.18.3 (1990) 2162-3.

⁷⁹*CCCA* I, no. 479 (=CMRDM II, no. A8). On the many "sons" of Cybele and for comments on this inscription, see Elmar Schwertheim, "Ein neues Weiherelief für Men und seine Mutter aus Lydien im Museum von Izmit," *MDAI(I)* 25 (1975) 357-65.

see below that some evidence suggests that Attis was also seen as the son of Cybele, perhaps in correspondence to the same pattern of relationship.⁸⁰

⁸⁰In Anatolian iconography and epigraphy, the Mother of the Gods is found in association with several different male deities, but treatment of this issue would prove unmanageable here.

5.3 Attis and Cybele

The nature of the relationship of Cybele and Attis is also ambiguous. Is he Cybele's son or her consort, or some combination of the two? The ambiguity shows in Martial's reference to him as *Cybeles puer*.⁸¹ *Puer* spans an age range from childhood to late adolescence but can also indicate servile status at whatever age. This could thus indicate Cybele's son or her slave or servant or young man. In the context in Martial, the parallel relationship is that of Ganymede to Zeus, the cup-bearer of the "Thunderer," a beautiful young boy who is the object of Zeus's erotic attention.⁸² Cybele's relation to Attis is similar to that of Zeus and Ganymede, both in the element of erotic attraction and in the element of disproportionate power. Ganymede as Zeus's cup-bearer is also in the position of a favored slave, or *puer*. This may also provide some insight into Attis's position in relation to Cybele, especially as Attis becomes known by means of the *galli* who imitate him. This will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

⁸¹Mart. 9.11.6.

⁸²The iconographic similarity between Ganymede and Attis is striking. The relationship of the two figures could provide material for a separate study. Cf. *LIMC*, s.v. "Ganymedes," by Hellmut Sichtermann. In the collection in *LIMC* it can be seen that Ganymede is portrayed generally in a Phrygian cap and as a prepubescent adolescent quite similar to such portrayals of Attis. Ganymede is almost always completely nude and can be distinguished by an accompanying eagle, the instrument of his abduction. From Homer we learn that he was one of the sons of a king of Troy, who received a gift of fine horses from Zeus as compensation for his son, after the gods carried him off (Hom. *Il.* 5.265-7 and 20.230-5.)

Attis is usually seen as Cybele's consort or her son or some combination of the two. In the first century C.E., he was seen in a subordinate position to the goddess.

5.3.1 *Attis as Cybele's Consort?*

Various versions of the myth of Cybele and Attis and references to Cybele by ancient authors indicate that Attis was the object of erotic affection of the Mother of the Gods and that Attis felt bound to her.⁸³ These will be discussed in Chapter 6. Here it will serve to discuss a few reliefs said to illustrate this, apart from the myth.⁸⁴ Vermaseren's chapter on "Cybele's Passion for Attis" in his slim volume on the legend of Attis, assembles many of the visual references along with the myths.⁸⁵

Visual references include the relief from the Piraeus already discussed above, inscribed by Timothea to Agdistis and Attis, is considered one illustration.⁸⁶ Another relief is dated to the second century B.C.E. but is of unknown provenance, coming either from Greece

⁸³A phrase of Dioscorides appears to identify Attis as the "holy (or chaste) Attis the bridegroom of Cybele" (ἅγνος Ἄτις, Κυβέλης θαλαμηπόλος), but in the context the Attis appears to be a *gallus*. The ambiguity is itself significant. (See *Gr. Anth.* 6.220.3.)

⁸⁴In addition, there are literary references not included in the myths which assume that Attis is the consort or paramour of Cybele. Christian authors and some of the satirical writers, for example, mock Rhea or Cybele as an old woman in love with a young boy and possessive to the point of destructiveness. See, for example, Firm. Mat. Err. prof. rel. 3.1; Min. Fel. Oct. 23.4; Lucian *De sacrificiis* 7.

⁸⁵Vermaseren, *Legend*, 22-30.

⁸⁶See 5.1.3.

or Asia Minor.⁸⁷ This relief, Hellenistic in style, is significant because the clearly identifiable figures of Cybele and Attis are both quite large while two worshippers, an apparently awestruck mother and her daughter who are shown just having entered the temple doors at the right, are about half their size. Cybele and Attis are portrayed as two divine figures in a temple. Attis is at the center facing forward, fully clothed in Phrygian shepherd garb. The crowned goddess stands at the left with scepter or staff in her right hand and a large *tympanum* in her left. A lion stands by her left foot. Vermaseren's description emphasizes the power and majesty of the goddess, "adored by simple people who bring the first fruits of the harvest to her."⁸⁸ Yet this is one of the few visual portrayals dated before the late Roman Imperial period in which Attis is equal in size to the goddess and is the focal point of attention when Cybele is in the picture.⁸⁹ The eyes of the goddess and entering worshippers alike appear to be fixed upon Attis.⁹⁰

While portrayals of Cybele and Attis together are not abundant for the first century C.E. and before, most of those which do exist show

⁸⁷CCCA VII, no. 158; Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, Pl. XII, no. 1.

⁸⁸Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 23.

⁸⁹Lambrechts, *Attis*, does not appear to account for this relief, which obviously poses a problem for his theory.

⁹⁰Bibliographic references for the dating of this relief are listed in CCCA VII, no. 158, to either the middle of the third or the second century B.C.E. While the question of the date of this piece is beyond the scope of this investigation, on initial observation the iconography would appear to be more consistent with a later period.

Attis as a smaller figure.⁹¹ While Vermaseren interprets these as representations of Attis as Cybele's paramour, the childish appearance of Attis in some of them could suggest otherwise, the relation of mother and son is also attributed to Cybele and Attis.⁹² In his small representative collection, the portrayals which show Attis as a beardless youth old enough to be the goddess's paramour postdate the first century C.E., with the exception of the relief already discussed. Portrayals of Attis alone as an attractive adolescent or youth do, however, span the time period in question. Without the literary references, the visual evidence for Anatolia would hardly be conclusive on this point.

5.3.2 *Attis as Cybele's Son?*

Portrayals of Attis on his own as a child are quite common, but visual indications of his parentage are not, as Vermaseren indicates.⁹³ Vermaseren takes two literary references to assume that Attis is Cybele's son, neither of which is particularly clear on this point. Ovid refers to Attis as *Cybeleius Attis*, yet the phrase need not

⁹¹See, for example, CCCA I, no. 556, and Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 23-5 and Pls. XII, 2; and XII, 1-3. A votive statue in the undisplayed collection of the J. P. Getty museum also shows the throned goddess with a small figure who may be a worshipper or Attis. (Unknown, *Statuette of Seated Cybele*, Pentelic marble, ca. 300 B.C.E., J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, no. 71.AA.335.)

⁹²Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 9-12.

⁹³Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 2-8. In this connection he relates the Phrygian version of the myth, to be discussed in Chapter 6.

necessarily mean that Attis is Cybele's son.⁹⁴ A second reference occurs in a scholia on Lucian and refers to Attis as Cybele's "real son," yet the implication is that his status as her "real son" relates to his castration, with no mention of birth from her.⁹⁵ More complicated are the myths to be discussed in Chapter 6.

Epigraphical evidence and visual portrayals of Attis as Cybele's son cited by Vermaseren also merit some attention but are as inconclusive in and of themselves as the other evidence.⁹⁶ He cites evidence from an inscription and statue, dated to the third century C.E. in CCCA, from the Roman baths at Thermai Theseos in Lydia.⁹⁷ The statue was located in one of three niches in a grotto carved into the natural rock walls there, each of which portrayed an aspect of the Attis legend.⁹⁸ The word for son in the inscription, however, is a metaphorical use of the word *θάλος*, which also means "sprouting twig" or

⁹⁴Ov. *Met.* 10.104. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 9-10.

⁹⁵Scholia on Lucian, *Iupp. Trag.* 8: τὸν Ἄττιν Φρύγες σέβονται τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα τῷ Διονύσῳ. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Θηλυδρίαν ὑπὸ Ῥέας τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἀποκοπέντα μητρός, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐρώμενον αὐτῆς ὑπάρχειν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ γνήσιον υἱὸν αὐτῆς ὄντα τοῦτο δι' ἐκεῖνο παθεῖν αὐτόν φασι. ("The Phrygians worship Attis who is identical to Dionysus. It is said he is also an effeminate person because he was castrated by Rhea, the Mother of the Gods, for the purpose of being her beloved. Some say that, also being her real son, he endured it for that reason.") The rest of the passage relates this more closely to the *galli*, to be discussed further in Chapter 7.

⁹⁶M. J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art*, EPRO 9, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966) 8-14.

⁹⁷CCCA I, no. 473. The location is north of Kula.

⁹⁸Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis*, 8; Herrmann, *Ergebnisse*, no. 36. On the niches see CCCA I, no. 472.

"branch."⁹⁹ The first line of the inscription appears to be a title on the statue of Attis reclining, Μητέρος ἀθανάτων Φρύγιον θάλος ἄγλαόν Ἄττην, "Attis, a splendid Phrygian sprouting twig (or branch, or son) of the Mother of Immortals." If this indicates sonship, again the means by which it has come about is ambiguous, and the inscription and statue are quite late for the purposes of this investigation in any case.¹⁰⁰

Vermaseren, following Lambrechts,¹⁰¹ also refers to terracotta figurines which show a Mother goddess enthroned, but without any characteristic attributes to identify her definitely as Cybele. On her lap she holds a child identified as Attis by his characteristic Phrygian cap or tiara.¹⁰²

Another example is a relief from the Athenian agora which depicts Cybele seated in a naiskos, recognizable by her patera, holding a naked young child on her lap.¹⁰³ This, as Vermaseren points out, could be any

⁹⁹See *LSJ*, s.v. "θάλος" and s.v. "θαλλός."

¹⁰⁰It should be noted in passing that the adjective to describe Attis, ἄγλαόν, was also used to describe Agdistis in one of the inscriptions from the Roman era sanctuary at Midas City, 4.4.2. See also Maarten J. Vermaseren, "L'iconographie d'Attis mourant," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions*, presented to Gilles Quispel on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday, ed. R. Van Den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, *EPRO* 91 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981) 426-7.

¹⁰¹Lambrechts, *Attis*, 45.

¹⁰²Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 10 and pl. I, no.1. The statue may date from the Roman period or, if Vermaseren is correct, much earlier. Cf. *CCCA* II, nos. 683, 684, 695-721, from Cyprus, dated there to the sixth century B.C.E., but disputed according to Lynn Roller in e-mail correspondence.

¹⁰³Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 10 (= *CCCA* II, no. 78.).

child and is not necessarily Attis, given the words of Diodorus Siculus that "babies saved by her magic songs (spells) were generally taken up by her into her arms."¹⁰⁴ A terracotta from Argos is more clearly Attis, however, since the "Persian trousers" characteristic of Attis are clearly visible on the child in Cybele's lap.¹⁰⁵

Vermaseren points out that this portrayal is relatively rare and limited to certain places in Asia Minor, Greece, and islands in the eastern Mediterranean, and unknown in art from the western part of the Roman Empire.¹⁰⁶

5.4 Attis and Cybele: Shepherd-King and Guardian Goddess

From what we have seen so far here, apart from the mythic narratives to be discussed in Chapter 6, the relation of Attis to the Mother of the Gods cannot be neatly categorized. Elements of the identity of Attis in Anatolia do, however, show some key similarities to the male figures and kings associated with earlier Ancient Near Eastern

¹⁰⁴Diod. 3.58.3: διὸ καὶ τῶν βρεφῶν ταῖς ἐπιδαῖς σωζομένων καὶ τῶν πλείστων ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐναγκαλιζομένων.

¹⁰⁵S. Charitonidis, "Recherches dans le quartier est d'Argos," *BCH* 78 (1954) 414-6 and Fig. 1 (= *CCCA* II, no. 471.); and Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 11. Cybele is portrayed seated on a throne flanked by two lions. The representation of the child in her lap is damaged.

¹⁰⁶Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 11. He suggests that the type seems to be older than Lambrechts suggests, referring to examples from the Archaic period at Cos, the Hellenistic at Argos and Athens, and the Roman era at Cyprus, without specific citations other than those from Greece already discussed. None of the inclusions for Cos in *CCCA* are this type (*CCCA* II, nos. 669-71), although in two of them a lion is portrayed on Cybele's lap according to the description although not clearly visible in the plates.

guardian goddesses. Several of these similarities may help us better understand how what we know about Attis in Anatolia fits together to form his identity. It will be equally important to examine the elements which do not fit the pattern.

5.4.1 *Review of the Evidence for Attis in Anatolia*

The guardian goddesses are associated with male figures as their fathers, brothers, sons, or consorts, or some combination of relationships. Before we examine the nature of these relationships, it will be helpful to review the elements which have been seen in the Anatolian evidence for Attis. Attis is portrayed and referred to frequently as a "Phrygian shepherd." This identity was indicated in part by his headgear, viewed from the west as a shepherd's cap and the mark of a foreigner. Viewed from the east, however, the same headgear could be seen as a tiara which crowns a king. Attis is clearly identified as a king in Anatolia, both as a priest-king of an existing temple state of the goddess at Pessinus and as an ancestral king or hero-figure descended from deities. He also appears in an enforcement role as a protector of graves, in a role similar to that of the moon-god Mên to whom he bears marked similarities. An Attis can also be one of the *galli* who served the Mother of the Gods. In this connection he is also portrayed as a castrated and androgynous figure with a special relationship to the goddess, the nature of which is the subject of our exploration here.

5.4.2 *Shepherd-Kings and Guardian Goddesses in the Ancient Near East*

Association of shepherd imagery and kings was common in the Ancient Near East. The image is attested consistently in Mesopotamia for kings throughout both the Sumerian and Assyrian periods, as well as in Egypt, in Hebrew and Christian scriptures, and in Greek literature.¹⁰⁷ In a context where sheep-herding is a major economic activity, what the shepherd does in watching over sheep, keeping track of them and defending them, and guiding them with the use of the crook, provides a readily apparent metaphor for leadership. The shepherd's crook is readily identified with the royal scepter.¹⁰⁸ The king who carries the "highest shepherd's crook" is the one divinely appointed to mediate divine blessings to his people as the caretaker of agricultural production and gathering activities. Part of this responsibility is worship of and service to the deities.¹⁰⁹

In Sumer and Babylonia we meet shepherd-kings who represent divine or mythical figures in relation to Inanna and Ishtar. The shepherd-king

¹⁰⁷ *ABD*, s.v. "Sheep, Shepherd," by Jack W. Vancil.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, Helmer Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East*, trans. John Sturdy (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1973) 37 on the gifts of the god An to the king Urninurta, a throne and "the highest shepherd's crook which gathers all the *mes* in the land of Sumer, a righteous sceptre which keeps watch over the numerous men [people?] he has given Urninurta." The citation is from W. H. P. Römer, *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit*, *Documenta et monumenta Orientis Antiqui*, vol. 13 (Leiden, 1965) 11.

¹⁰⁹ Ringgren, *Religions*, 41, cites a hymn from the Sumerian king Lipitishtar from Römer, *Sumerische 'Königshymnen'* 33. Similar responsibilities are named for the Babylonian kings Hammurabi and Nebuchadnezzar II. See Ringgren, *Religions*, 103 and 110. Military defense is also an important royal role.

is the consort of the city's guardian goddess and represents a divine figure in the *hieros gamos* or sacred marriage rite understood to maintain an auspicious future for the city.¹¹⁰ Such shepherd-kings were described, like Attis, as radiant, and thus attractive to the goddess.

In the role of consort to the goddess, the king represents a god also portrayed as a shepherd, such as Dumuzi, who was even described as a rough-hewn shepherd.¹¹¹ The vague parentage of the shepherd-kings also suggests lineage.¹¹² According to a legend told in the first person by Sargon, the king who founded the old Akkadian kingdom, he was born in secret of a changeling mother and an unknown father and set adrift on the river sealed in a basket of rushes. Reared by Akki the drawer of water who found him, he later became king because the goddess Ishtar loved him.¹¹³ The Babylonian king Assurnasirpal also says that he was

¹¹⁰For example, it was said of King Shulgi, "The true shepherd Shulgi, the beloved, dressed himself in *ma*-clothes, ! the charms of the crown and of the clothing were radiant on his head. ! Inanna was in raptures at it; ! a poem welled up from her emotion, ! she struck up a song." *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. 11, 86, cited by Ringgren, *Religions*, 26.

¹¹¹Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*, 33.

¹¹²Thus the Sumerian King Gudea tells the goddess Gatumdug in his prayer to her that he has no mother and no father, that she is his mother and father, that she has received his father's seed and born him in the sanctuary. Ringgren, *Religions*, 38, quotes the prayer but gives no citation.

¹¹³Ringgren, *Religions*, 100, cites *ANET*, 119. Ringgren points out that this legendary motif is also used to show the divine protection of other heroes, such as Moses, Romulus and Remus, and Cyrus the Persian King.

"born amid mountains which no one knew," and recounts that he was selected by Ishtar.¹¹⁴

The act of selection on the part of the goddess was associated both with a rebirth as a son of the goddess at the king's coronation ceremony¹¹⁵ and with the goddess's choice of the king as her consort in the *hieros gamos* ritual. For the king, these roles were not necessarily seen as incompatible or incestuous. Chosen by the deities, kings became sons of the gods and goddesses and sit as children in the lap of the goddess.¹¹⁶ For the king, being chosen by the goddess also meant that he was her consort in a marriage rite, the *hieros gamos*. This union caused the goddess to determine a good destiny for the king and hence for the city. This good destiny took the form of "prosperous government, good vegetation, abundant prosperity, victory and success," general civic health involving both fertility and good government.¹¹⁷ The king was the intermediary between his people and the goddess who guarded the city's

¹¹⁴Ringgren, *Religions*, 101.

¹¹⁵Ringgren, *Religions*, 38. He argues against the notion of king's divine sonship as adoption. On the basis of the texts about the kings Shulgi and Gudea and the common epithet, "son in the flesh to [the god] x," he argues that the Sumerians understood a more direct sonship. The description of the coronation of King Shulgi indicates that he is given, as the shepherd of the lands, the sceptre of authority, and the royal vestments, and that "a priestess as representative of the goddess gave birth to the royal child." He says this also explains how a king can be simultaneously the son of genealogically incompatible deities, if crowned king over various cities with their respective gods and goddesses.

¹¹⁶Ringgren, *Religions*, 37-8, 102, and 171.

¹¹⁷Ringgren, *Religions*, 29

well-being and the mediation was accomplished partly by his sexual union with the goddess who had chosen him. This was not a permanent state, however. In the midst of the themes of descent and return from the underworld, associated with the seasonal cycle of fertility, was a kind of punishment of the king for a type of unfaithfulness to the goddess who had chosen him and provided him everything associated with his kingship. When he took his throne for granted and sat unmoved in royal raiment even in the midst of his wife's death and return from the underworld, she unleashed the demons of the underworld upon him.¹¹⁸

5.4.3 *Attis as Shepherd-King and Cybele as Guardian Goddess: Similarities and Differences*

From this summary of the pattern of relationship of guardian goddesses and kings in the Ancient Near East, several similarities to the relation of Cybele and Attis emerge. The similarities of the goddesses have already been discussed. Attis was seen as a shepherd and king as were the shepherd-kings of the cities guarded by these goddesses. He was portrayed with the trappings of a shepherd. He carried a staff and played a shepherd's pipe. His "Phrygian cap" could be identified both as the headgear of a lowly shepherd and as the tiara of a king. Here we can see it as the headgear of a shepherd-king.

Also like the shepherd-kings we have seen from the Ancient Near East, Attis as the Lydian king appeared as a king of divine descent. As the priest-king of the temple-state at Pessinus he presumably functioned

¹¹⁸Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*, 37-9, 44-8, and 52-68; Wolkstein, "Interpretations," 156-61.

cultically in a mediatorial role between the people and the goddess. While the ritual of the *hieros gamos* which expressed that mediatorial role in relation to Inanna-Ishtar cannot be assumed to have taken place at Pessinus, the evidence so far suggests that the relationship of Attis as a king to the goddess must have a similar function in bringing protection and the blessings of legal order and agricultural fertility upon the king's rule.¹¹⁹

Further similarities will be seen in the myths to be discussed in Chapter 6. In the myths of Cybele and Attis, the goddess will be seen to select her Phrygian shepherd on the basis of her attraction to him, just as the other guardian goddesses selected their consorts to be elevated to kingship. Likewise the theme of the would-be consort's unfaithfulness will be seen to emerge as it did in the case of Dumuzi, unfaithfulness which leads to punishment, including laceration. Lamentation for Attis also plays a major role in the myth and ritual of Cybele and Attis, just as it did in the pattern summarized.

¹¹⁹The descriptions of Attis as a "shining" figure are also consistent with the royal raiment described for the kings associated with Inanna-Ishtar. Further similarities also exist. One is the importance of the tree. Representations of Attis frequently show him under a tree, usually a pine. It will be seen in what follows that the tree figures prominently in the myth and ritual of Attis. The correspondences of the role of the tree in the myth are beyond the scope of what can be addressed here, since, they are complex and also related to the Creation cycle in Genesis. Likewise, there is a hint at the theme of androgyny in the Inanna stories, in the mention of a form of cross-dressing in the parade of the people of Sumer. Women wear men's clothing on the right side and men wear women's clothing on the left. This is also of interest but not directly pertinent to the theme of androgyny in connection with Attis. Wolkstein and Kramer, *Inanna*, 4-9 (on the Huluppu Tree) and 99.

While there is certainly a distinct correspondence with the pattern we have outlined, significant differences require further explanation of the identity of Attis in Anatolia. Foremost is the identity of Attis as a *gallus*, "an Attis." On the one hand, the shepherd-king in the pattern is in no sense a eunuch, and on the other, the *galli* who travel in mendicant bands or who staff temples were by no means all "kings," as we shall see below. Likewise, the androgynous image of Attis does not properly correspond to the shepherd-king who is clearly the masculine consort of the guardian goddess. In the story of the relationship between goddess and king, at least in the case of Inanna and Dumuzi, genitalia are clearly intact and operable and seen in very positive terms. For Attis this is clearly not the case and, for Cybele, the matter is left in question as she is seen as both fecund, the "Mother of the Gods," and in many senses virgin.

As we move into a discussion of the narratives of myths of Cybele and Attis, a few other significant differences will be noted. First, while the goddess selects Attis on the basis of attraction to him, there is no *hieros gamos* or sexual union between them, with one specific exception to be explained below. There is, instead, a castration which makes such union impossible, absent from the pattern of guardian goddess and shepherd-king seen so far. Furthermore, neither Attis nor Cybele journeys to the underworld. Attis dies and is mourned as a pine tree until he can be properly buried, and then restored to a state of preservation with little life, but there is no journey and no interaction with the deities of the underworld. Finally, it will be seen

that the origin of Attis in the wild and androgynous Agdistis is distinctly different from the pattern we have seen thus far.

Thus the pattern of the goddess and the shepherd-king can provide some information for understanding the role and perhaps the origins of Attis in Anatolia, but not an entire explanation. Profound shifts in religious understanding occurred before and during the Hellenistic and Roman eras which transformed the pattern of goddess, king, and city state. While an understanding of various theories of those shifts is material for other volumes, the process of Hellenization can be seen in what has been discussed so far. For the goddess, Hellenization of the cult meant Hellenization of her image and her incorporation of her into the Greek and then the Roman pantheon, the Greco-Roman "central zone." Hellenization of Attis meant a transformation of his image from a shepherd-king to an "effeminate shepherd-boy deity." What also appears to have happened, as will be discussed further below in the section on the *galli*, is a connection of the image and myth of Attis to the image and ritual practice of the *gallus*. As Attis became more of a deity he also became more accessible to imitation and identified with a larger group of worshippers within the cult, more than just the priest-king.

5.5 Attis: Visible by Double Vision

From what has been seen, Attis emerges in the early Roman Empire as a figure between categories, comprehensible it seems only by looking from two directions at once, visible by double vision. To form an image of him requires, perhaps, in modern terms, a "cubist" portrayal. To understand him in Anatolia appears to require that he be viewed

simultaneously from the west and from the east. Likewise, he slips back and forth in the area of blurred distinction between divine and human that appears to characterize Anatolia.¹²⁰ In him, the past glory of the divine kings can be glimpsed even in the form of a deity who is both worshipped and mocked. He is also of indeterminate gender, at a kind of intersection between male and female. He is little boy and shining youth. As a figure in this kind of "multi-liminal" position, especially as he is represented by the *galli*, he is at once attracting and repelling, a figure both admired and despised who inspires both emulation and ridicule.

¹²⁰This distinction must be seen as generally less firm in the ancient world than modern categorization, but it seems even less clear in Anatolia.

CHAPTER 6

CYBELE AND ATTIS IN THE *LIMEN*: MYTHS AND RITUALS

The preceding chapters have offered descriptions of Cybele and Attis based primarily on non-narrative materials. The Mother of the Gods has emerged primarily as a guardian goddess, the Mountain Mother who nurtures and oversees the orderly community life of particular places. Attis emerges with a mercurial quality that is difficult to categorize, at once dazzling and confusing, attracting and repelling, slipping away from facile categorizations, even in the ancient world. In the mythic narratives about Cybele and Attis his identity emerges as no less quicksilver, but becomes more intelligible when analyzed in the context of ritual processes.

In this chapter we will first survey the versions of the myth of Cybele and Attis which have been preserved in narratives by ancient authors (6.1). These will then be analyzed in relation to the experience of the *galli* in their self-castration as a rite of passage (6.2). The following section will examine the implications of liminality for the *galli* and Attis as understood in myth and ritual (6.3). Then further attention will be given to evidence of ritual in the cult, particularly the ecstatic participants (6.4) and the annual funeral rites (6.5). A summary section will revisit the pattern of the guardian goddess and shepherd king (6.6).

6.1 Versions of the Myth, with Preliminary Analysis

A number of versions of the myth or legend of Attis occur in Greek and Roman literary sources. These can be categorized generally on the basis of whether or not Attis is castrated. Given the evidence of the literary sources, it would appear most probable that the myth of Attis as a castrated figure emerged and was correlated to the image of the self-castrated *galli* sometime during the Hellenistic period.¹

6.1.1 *The Non-Castrated Attis: Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Hermesianax*

Herodotus tells an early version of an Attis legend in the fifth century B.C.E.² In his version Attis is not castrated but slain in an accident while hunting a wild boar. This version should be called a historical legend rather than a myth, since none of the characters in the story are deities. Cybele, also, does not appear in any form, nor does any cultic connection appear to be made. The Atys in the legend is

¹In this opinion, I basically concur with Philippe Borgeaud ("L'écriture d'Attis: le récit dans l'histoire," in *Metamorphoses du myth en Grèce antique*, ed. Claude Calame. Religions en perspectives, ed. Henry Pernet, 4. [Geneva: Editions Labor et Fides, 1988] 87-104.) The distinction between the groups of myths was defined by Hugo Hepding as "Lydian" and "Phrygian" or "Pessinuntian," the latter being the myths in which the theme of castration emerges. (Hepding, *Attis*, 98-122.) J. Toutain also provides an analysis of the "Phrygian" myth as a Hellenistic development (J. Toutain, "La légende de la déesse phrygienne Cybèle, ses transformations," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 60 [1909] 299-308.) See also Eugene N. Lane, "The Name of Cybele's Priests the 'Galloi'," in *Cybele, Attis, and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M. J. Vermaseren*, ed. E. N. Lane (Leiden: E. J. Brill, forthcoming).

²Hdt. 1.34-46.

a son of the Lydian king Croesus. Herodotus also mentions another Atys who was a Lydian king and the son of Manes.³ These historical legends confirm the association of the name Atys with royalty.

Diodorus Siculus, writing in the first century B.C.E., also offers a version in which Attis is not castrated.⁴ His renditions of myths of the Great Mother and of Cybele and Attis must be seen in light of his "euhemeristic" view, i.e. a view which assumes that the deities were originally great kings and heroes who were elevated to divine status by popular worship and subsequent legend.⁵

In Diodorus's telling, Cybele was originally the daughter of a king of Phrygia and Lydia. She was exposed as an infant on a Mount Cybelus, where she was nourished by wild beasts and rescued by women shepherders who name her Cybele for the mountain. When she grew up, she invented the *syrinx* pipe, cymbals and kettledrum, and she taught purification rites for the healing of flocks and little children. The people began to revere her then as the "Mountain Mother." Included in Diodorus's rendition are legends which relate Marsyas and Apollo to Cybele.⁶

³Hdt. 1.94.

⁴Diod. Sic. 3.58-9. See also 3.57 about Rhea and Basileia as the Mother of the Gods, and 3.55.8-9 on the relation of the Mother of the Gods and Myrina, the Amazon queen.

⁵See Hepding, *Attis*, 111-3. J. Toutain ("La légende," 304-6) concurs and also suggests that Diodorus renders the myth as a love story, after the fashion of Aphrodite and Adonis.

⁶Marsyas was a flute-player who lost a musical contest to Apollo and was hence flayed alive.

Cybele fell in love with Attis, who is described simply as a certain young man of the countryside.⁷ They consorted secretly and Cybele became pregnant at about the same time that her parents decided to recognize her and receive her back at the palace. When her father realized she was pregnant out of wedlock, he was enraged and had Cybele's nurses and Attis put to death and their bodies cast out unburied (καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐκρίψαντος ἄταφα). Cybele rushed out of the palace in a frenzy of grief, shrieking and beating on the kettledrum with her hair hanging free, and she wandered alone through every country. "But," as Diodorus says, "the myth goes on to say, a pestilence fell upon human beings throughout Phrygia and the land ceased to bear fruit." The people ask the god, whose identity is not specified, what they should do. They are told

to bury the body of Attis and to honor Cybele as a goddess. Consequently the Phrygians, since the body had disappeared in the course of time, made an image of the youth, before which they sang dirges and by means of honours in keeping with his suffering propitiated the wrath of him who had been wronged; and these rites they continue to perform down to our own lifetime. As for Cybelê, in ancient times they erected altars and performed sacrifices to her yearly; and later they built for her a costly temple in Pisinus [sic] of Phrygia, and established honours and sacrifices of the greatest magnificence, Midas their king taking part in all these works out of his devotion to beauty; and beside the statue of the goddess they set up panthers and lions, since it was the common opinion that she had first been nursed by these animals.⁸

Although Cybele's pregnancy precipitated this tragic chain of events, no mention is made of her giving birth to a child. Diodorus' explanation

⁷ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τινὰ νεανίσκον.

⁸ Diod. Sic. 3.59.7-8. Trans. C. H. Oldfather, LCL.

of the origin of Cybele is unique, however, and as one of his euhemeristic explanations it was probably not current among devotees of her cult.

Several elements, however, can be accepted from Diodorus's rendition which find confirmation elsewhere. The legend of Marsyas is independently attested in literary references and in iconography from Asia Minor and elsewhere.⁹ Diodorus probably associates him with Cybele because of their common association with the invention of Phrygian musical instruments. Apollo is also associated with Cybele in iconography and inscriptions.¹⁰ Attis dies in several renditions, although the explanation here is unique, as is the consummation of a sexual union between Cybele and Attis. The orgiastic rituals of mourning and grief emphasized here clearly characterize their cult. The use of a surrogate image of Attis to replace him in a funeral ritual and burial is a known part of the cult ritual, although a pine tree is generally used. The explanation of the burial to remove the curse on the land engendered by an unburied body is likely to be a traditional explanation since it serves no particular euhemeristic purpose.

⁹See *LIMC*, s.v. "Marsyas I," by Anne Weis. Cybele is present at the contest in an elaborate sarcophagus relief from Sidon in Phoenicia, *CCCA* I, no. 895.

¹⁰See especially *CCCA* I, nos. 252 (an inscription to *Νητρὶ Κυβέλης καὶ Απόλλωνι*); 283 (a relief of Cybele and Apollo); and 715 (an inscription concerning a foundation to honor the inscriber's parents and deities, including the Mother of the Gods and Apollo, by an oracle of Apollo).

In the other version of the myth which Diodorus tells, about Basileia as the Mother of the Gods, the goddess also wanders in frenzied grief with her hair undone, making noise on kettledrums and cymbals. In this case the grief is for her murdered children who become the sun and the moon.¹¹ This rendition also explains the continuing practice of honoring the goddess with noise-making on kettledrums and cymbals. Attis is not mentioned.

In a brief summary of the version of the myth of Attis told by the third century B.C.E. elegiac poet Hermesianax, preserved for us by Pausanias, we are told that Attis was born "unable to make children" (ὁὐ τεκνοποιὸς) to a Phrygian named Calaüs.¹² Attis in this version is, in a sense, "castrated from birth." When he grew up, Attis went to Lydia where he "celebrated (ἐτέλει) for the Lydians the *orgia* of the Mother." He was honored so much that Zeus became angry and sent a boar to wreak havoc on the crops. The boar killed Attis and some of the Lydians. This explains why the Galatians at Pessinus abstain from pork.¹³

The version of Hermesianax has several elements in common with the myths and legends of Attis already summarized. As in the legend from

¹¹Diod. Sic. 3.57. This narrative shows conflation of what must be a tradition of a creation cycle and a euhemeristic explanation. Detailed analysis is beyond the purview of this project.

¹²Paus., 7.17.9.

¹³καί τι ἐπόμενον τούτοις Γαλατῶν δρῶσιν οἱ Πεσσινούντα ἔχοντες, ὕῶν οὐχ ἀπτόμενοι. (And those of the Galatians (Gauls) who hold Pessinus carry out a custom in accordance with this by not touching swine.) This similarity to Jewish dietary laws is noteworthy but will not be discussed in this dissertation.

Herodotus, Attis dies in connection with a boar that is overtaking Lydia, an event which becomes an etiology for Pessinuntian dietary laws. This also bears some similarity to the sacred account by the wise man quoted by Lucian (4.3.1), that Attis was a Lydian who taught the rites of the Great Mother. Hermesianax mentions his congenital procreative inadequacy. This identifies Attis as less than male, just as his castration does in other renditions, including the unnamed authority in Lucian, *DDS*.

6.1.2 *The Castrated Attis*

In several other versions of the myth told in narrative form or as explanations of the *galli*'s ritual castration, Attis castrates himself. This interpretation can legitimately be understood as an important version for the cult in Anatolia.

6.1.2.1 Pausanias and Timotheus (Arnobius)

Pausanias, probably a Lydian who wrote his travel guide to Greece in the middle of the second century C.E. summarizes the version of Hermesianax in connection with a sanctuary of the Meter Dindymenê and Attis in Achaia. He says that he could not find out the ἀπόρρητον, or "secret of the mystery rite" about him, but relates the version of Hermesianax. Pausanias appears to view this as the older Greek version, because he then continues with the "current view" about Attis, apparently the view with which he is familiar as the Galatian version.¹⁴

¹⁴ νομίζουσί γε μὴν οὐχ οὕτω τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἄττην, ἀλλὰ ἐπιχώριός ἐστιν ἄλλος σφίσιν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος. (They certainly do not hold the same

Assuming he is a Lydian, this is likely to be the "Anatolian" view rather than the Greek. This version is also found in a more detailed form in the late third century Christian writer Arnobius. He attributes it to a Timotheus, probably identified as the Eumolpid Timotheus who participated in the institution of the Alexandrian cults under Ptolemy I.¹⁵ In any case, Arnobius's own comments indicate that this is a tradition with some antiquity in his time.¹⁶ The basic elements of the versions of Pausanias and Timotheus are quite consistent and may be summarized here together.

The myth begins with the sperm of Zeus which, combined with the earth, gave rise to Agdistis. In Pausanias, the sperm simply falls to the earth, but Timotheus contains an elaborate story.

In the territory of Phrygia there is . . . a rock of an unheard-of desolation throughout, the name of which is Agdus, so called by the natives of that region. Stones taken from it, as Themis had enjoined by an oracle, were thrown on the earth, empty of mortals, by Deucalion and Pyrrha; and from these, along with the others, this Great Mother, as she is called, was shaped and given breath. Her, resting and sleeping on the very crest of the rock, Jupiter craved for himself with incestuous desires. But in spite of his continued efforts, he failed to accomplish what he had proposed to himself and was defeated. Then the rock conceived and, with many groans going

things about Attis, but there is another legend which is indigenous among them.)

¹⁵See Lane, "The Name of Cybele's Priests," at note 21.

¹⁶Arn. *Adv. Nat.* 5.5. He says that the tradition is one that Timotheus *ex reconditis antiquitatum libris et ex intimis eruta, quemadmodum ipse scribit insinuatque, mysteriis*. ("dug up out of obscure books of antiquities and from the most esoteric mysteries, as he himself implies.") Arnobius of Sicca, *The Case Against the Pagans*, trans. George E. McCracken. Ancient Christian Writers Series, ed. Johannes Quasten, and Joseph Plumpe, no. 7 (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1949) 414.

before, in the tenth month, Agdestis is born, so called from his mother's name.

Agdistis is born a hermaphrodite, as Pausanias says, "a demon with double genitals, those of a man and those of a woman."¹⁷ Timotheus emphasizes the resultant strength and ferocity of Agdistis, "stimulated by both sexes,"¹⁸ and the havoc that Agdistis wreaks in this wild state. Pausanias says simply that the deities feared him.

The result is essentially the same. The gods cut off the male genitals. Timotheus offers an elaborate explanation. The gods hold a council to decide what to do about Agdistis. Liber, another name for Dionysus, devises a plan. First he inebriates Agdistis. Then while Agdistis sleeps in an alcohol-induced stupor. Dionysus sets a rope trap so that when Agdistis wakes up the rope noose severs the male genitals so that he bleeds profusely.

At that place, whether from the severed genitals or the blood, a tree grows up, either an almond or a pomegranate. The daughter of the king or the river Sangarios, named by Timotheus as Nana, takes the fruit of the tree and puts it in her womb,¹⁹ and she becomes pregnant. Timotheus tells a more extended story about the pregnancy. Her father

¹⁷δαίμονα διπλᾷ ἔχοντα αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν ἀνδρός, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν γυναικός.

¹⁸*huic robur invictum et ferocitas animi fuerat intractibilis, insana et furialis libido et ex utroque sexu.* (In him there was an invincible and ferocious power of passions which was untamed, insane and frenzied desire from both sexes.)

¹⁹κόλπος in Pausanias, *sinu* in Arnobius.

assumes she has been raped and shuts her away so that she will starve to death, but the Mother of the Gods feeds her to keep her alive.

Attis is the boy who is born, exposed, and tended by he-goats or fed on the anomalous "he-goat's milk." He grows up to be superbly beautiful. Agdistis falls in love with him.²⁰ In Timotheus' version, Agdistis buys the favor of Attis with "improper attentions,"²¹ such as gifts of wild beasts, and they wander together in the forest. Attis at first lies about the source of the gifts he is receiving, claiming that they are the products of his own efforts, but under the influence of wine he tells the truth, that they are rewards from Agdistis. This explains the prohibition of wine in his sanctuary.

Then an attempt is made to marry Attis to the daughter of the king at Pessinus. In Pausanias, Attis is sent there by his family. In Timotheus, Midas, who is the king at Pessinus, plans to marry Attis to his daughter in order to terminate his association with Agdistis, and he closes the city for the security of the wedding celebration.

Pausanias describes what transpires at the disrupted wedding briefly, "The marriage-song was being sung, when Agdistis appeared, and

²⁰In Timotheus, so does the Mother of the Gods.

²¹The pattern here looks like the Athenian homosexual pairing of adult males and adolescent boys, which will be discussed below. In Timotheus, Agdistis is still male, but in Pausanias the gender is not specified.

Attis going mad cut off his genitals, as also did he who was giving him his daughter in marriage."²² The version in Timotheus is more complex,

But the Mother of the Gods, knowing the youth's fate, and that he would be safe among human beings so long as he was free of a matrimonial alliance, enters the closed city, having lifted its walls with her head, which began to have towers because of this. As for Acdestis, bursting with anger at having the boy torn from him and brought to have interest in a wife, he inspires all the guests with fury and madness.

Here Agdistis and the Mother of the Gods are not identical but they show a clear alignment of interest, the Mother who knows what is best for Attis and Agdistis who is consumed with passion for him.

Terror-stricken, the Phrygians cry out 'Adore, adore'; the daughter of the concubine of Gallus cuts off her breasts, <in emulation of the self-mutilator>. Attis snatches the flute which the one who was goading them to fury was carrying, and being himself full of frenzy, and roving about, hurls himself down at last, and under a pine tree mutilates himself. With the stream of blood his life flits away. From the blood which flowed, a flower springs up, the violet, and entwines the tree. Thence was derived and arose the custom that even now the sacred pines are veiled and garlanded. The maiden who had been the bride, whom Valerius the pontifex writes was named Ia, covers the breast of the lifeless one with soft wool, sheds tears with Acdestis, and slays herself. When she dies, her blood is changed into purple violets. The Mother of the Gods digs under these, from which an almond grows, signifying the bitterness of burial. She then bears away the pine tree under which Attis had robbed himself of his manhood, to her cave, and about the trunk of the motionless tree, joining in lamentations with Acdestis, she beats and wounds her breast.²³

The image of the cult is evoked here, where music induces the worshippers to frenzy and self-mutilation.²⁴ The location of Attis's

²²Paus. 7.17.12. ὑμέναιος δὲ ἦδeto καὶ Ἄγδιστις ἐφίσταται καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀπέκοψε μανεῖς ὁ Ἄττης, ἀπέκοψε δὲ καὶ ὁ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ διδοῦς.

²³Arn, *Adv. Nat.* 5.7.

²⁴The identity of the "daughter of the concubine of Gallus" (*Galli*

self-castration under a pine tree is a common theme, as has been mentioned, in both literary and iconographic references, and the ritual practice of adorning the pine tree and mourning it in Attis's place is attested elsewhere, as will be seen.

6.1.2.2 Ovid and Catullus

Ritual and myth are seen together in a pattern similar to but distinct from that found in Pausanias and Arnobius in a short version of the myth in Ovid's *Fasti* mentioned above, from the end of the first century B.C.E.²⁵ In answer to Ovid's question about why the *galli* castrate themselves, a muse answers:

In the woods a Phrygian boy of handsome face, Attis by name, had attached the tower-bearing goddess to himself by a chaste passion. She wished that he should be kept for herself and should guard her temple, and she said, "Resolve to be a boy for ever." He promised obedience, and "If I lie," quoth he, "may the love for which I break faith be my last love of all." He broke faith; for meeting the nymph Sagaritis,²⁶ he ceased to be what he had been before. For that the angry goddess wreaked vengeance. By wounds inflicted on the tree she cut down the Naiad, who perished thus; for the fate of the Naiad was bound up with the tree. Attis went mad, and, imagining that the roof of the chamber was falling in, he fled and ran for the top of Mount Dindymus. And he kept crying, at one moment, "Take away the torches!" at another, "Remove the whips!" And oft he swore that the Palestinian goddess were on him. He mangled, too, his body

filia paelicis) is unclear here, but the action an attempt like that of Attis to be "neither male nor female." Diodorus Siculus relates a history of connection of the Amazons and the Mother of the Gods (3.55.4-9), but no mention is made of removal of breasts in connection with her cult. The references to female mutilation and suicide are rare, if not isolated, as is the action which produces the almond tree.

²⁵Ov. *Fast.* 4.223.

²⁶Sagaritis may correspond to the daughter of the river Sangarios who is Attis's mother, impregnated by the fruit of the tree which grows up where Agdistis was castrated.

with a sharp stone, and trailed his long hair in the filthy dust; and his cry was, "I have deserved it! With my blood I pay the penalty that is my due. Ah, perish the parts that were my ruin! Ah, let them perish," still he said. He retrenched the burden of his groin, and of a sudden was bereft of every sign of manhood. His madness set an example, and still his unmanly ministers cut their vile members while they toss their hair. In such words the Aonian Muse eloquently answered my question as to the cause of the madness of the votaries.²⁷

In common with the version in Pausanias and Arnobius, Attis castrates himself in a state of madness occasioned by imminent or accomplished sexual union with a female figure other than the goddess. In this case, Agdistis is not mentioned, and the passion and decision is Attis's and it is a "chaste" (*casto*) attachment.²⁸ The goddess desires that Attis serve her (*sibi servari*) and guard her temple (*sua templa tueri*) as a perpetual youthful servant (*puer*), as discussed above.²⁹ Union with a female figure occasions a change of identity, an act in this case in which he breaks his own promise to be a perpetual *puer* and abandons being what he was (*desinit esse quod fuit*). In a frenzy of guilt and remorse he destroys the genitals that he blames for his ruin. What has been destroyed here is his status as *puer* and his bond of chaste love for the goddess. The offended goddess wreaks her vengeance upon the Naiad, the tree-spirit. In both cases a tree is cut, but here it represents the female figure, rather than Attis. Likewise the female figure united or potentially united to Attis dies in both versions.

²⁷Ov. *Fast.* 4.223-244. Trans. James George Frazer in LCL.

²⁸Ov. *Fast.* 4.224.

²⁹Ov. *Fast.* 4.225-6.

Another narration of the Attis myth is found in Catullus 63, which was summarized above. This rendition identifies Attis almost completely as a *gallus*. The course of events shows both similarities and differences from other renditions. The forest location is common, but for Catullus the entire action takes place there, except the sea-crossing, and there is no reentry into civilized territory. As in Ovid, Attis begins by being drawn to Cybele. She is portrayed as jealous and angry in her possession of him. The goddess-induced madness is a common theme on which Catullus provides extended reflection, but there is no hint here that it has been induced by the prospect of heterosexual union. Madness seems rather to be produced by being in her Phrygian forest domain with the other revelers. As in most of the other renditions, Attis's castration begins a new and ambiguous sexual status. Catullus especially emphasizes this by the use of feminine pronouns and various anomalous descriptions of his status. In Catullus, Attis seems to be a lonely and tragic self-despising figure, Cybele a distant and controlling figure. The image of passionate relationship present in some of the other renditions, either with Cybele or Agdistis, is absent. As Britt-Mari Näsström points out, there is also a reversal in Attis's relation to civilization when his rendition is compared to that of Pausanias and Timotheus. For Catullus, Attis is in danger when he leaves civilization. While in the wilderness he goes mad and castrates

himself. In Pausanias and Timotheus, his reentry from the wilderness into the city is the dangerous occasion of madness and castration.³⁰

In these various renditions of the myth, Attis emerges in each case as an ambiguous figure who does not fit easily into categories. He becomes neither male nor female; he is both wild and tamed; and of ambiguous birth, he is alive in death. Yet this tragic and confusing figure is also in some way "luminous," as we saw from the images of him in Chapter 5. The nature of this ambiguity in the myth and image can be better understood, perhaps, in the context of the rituals and cultic figures associated with Attis. To do this it will be necessary to make a reconstruction which is probable but a reconstruction nevertheless.

6.2 Myths of Cybele and Attis and Rites of Passage

The *galli*, representing Attis, are also ambiguous figures.³¹ Both Attis and the *galli* function in a kind of "liminal position" and this is an essential aspect of understanding not only Attis's identity but also the *galli*'s experience and their social and religious function.³² The two identities become interwoven in what appears to have been a form of

³⁰Näsström, *The Abhorrence*, 61. Cf. the structural analysis by Jorgen Podemann Sorensen, "The Myth of Attis: Structure and Mysteries," in *Rethinking Religion: Studies in the Hellenistic Process*, ed. Jorgen Podemann Sorensen. *Opuscula Graecolatina*, no. 30 (Copenhagen: Institute for History of Religions, University of Copenhagen, 1989) 23-39.

³¹Sorensen, "The Myth," 28.

³²See, for example, Näsström, *The Abhorrence*, 70-4; Will Roscoe, "Priests of the Goddess: Gender Transgression in Ancient Religion," *HR* 35 (1996) 195-230.

rite of passage for those participants in the cult who enter into the particular form of cultic service peculiar to the *galli*.³³ The act of castration was the defining moment, but the myth and ritual set it in a particular context of meaning which appears to involve a choice of development and an affirmation of a permanent liminal status. Further implications of this status and the act of castration itself will be discussed in Chapter 7.

6.2.1 *Phases of Rites of Passage (van Gennep) Seen in the Myths*

Use of the term "liminal" indicates the context of a rite of passage defined in a classic work by Arnold van Gennep.³⁴ He delineates three basic phases in rites of passage, particularly passage from one social group defining a life phase to the next. The preliminal rites are rites of separation which may involve purifications or physical separation from the previous surroundings or social grouping. The transition rites are called "liminal" for the Latin *limen*, "doorway or

³³Cf. Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 70.

³⁴Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960; first published 1908). Britt-Mari Näsström in her analysis of Catullus 63 (*The Abhorrence*, 45) also discusses the resultant state of Attis after his castration as a state of liminality, relying upon further development of van Gennep's analysis by Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967) 96. Also useful is Turner's, *The Ritual Process, Structure and Anti-Structure*, Symbol, Myth and Ritual Series, ed. Victor Turner (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977). Turner's work merits further attention for more detailed subsequent work, but analysis here will be confined to the more basic structure set forth by van Gennep.

threshold." The liminal phase represents a boundary state, a place in neither one category nor the other. These might involve physical removal to another location. Arrival at the new status is represented by postliminal or "incorporation" rites, which frequently involve a ritual meal.³⁵

From the descriptions of Ovid and Catullus, the three basic stages may be glimpsed. A kind of purification or preliminal phase corresponds to the decision to "be a *puer* forever," to form a chaste attachment to the goddess. This would mean some form of separation from a past status or trajectory of development, which presumably would have led to heterosexual marriage. In Ovid, the *Attis-gallus* is already in the forest. In Catullus he is called to the forest. Crossing the sea symbolizes his separation. In Ovid the liminal phase begins when Attis "ceases to be what he was before" by union with the wood nymph. The liminal phase in Catullus begins with the entry into the wilderness and the orgiastic frenzy on Mount Ida. Liminality is indicated by a transitional state of madness. This liminal phase culminates in the act of castration, the defining moment which leads to the *Attis-gallus*'s new status. Catullus provides extended reflection from the perspective of the new status, described as permanent residence in liminality, represented by the wilderness. The *Attis-gallus* experiences profound

³⁵Van Gennep does make a connection between rites of Attis and this pattern of the rites of passage, but it is the ritual of the taurobolium that he discusses. This appears to have been a development in the cult after the first century, so it will not be discussed here. See van Gennep, *The Rites*, 92-3.

regret, but the passage across the threshold has been accomplished and there is no return.³⁶

The myth as told by Pausanias and Timotheus narrates a rite of passage into a sexual orientation that is probably best understood as unique to the social context of this cult, but which bears similarities to a male homosexual orientation.³⁷ Patterns of homosexual activity in the course of male development in the Greek world will provide some clues to the social function and significance of the ritual. The rite of passage appears in this myth to be an initiation into a permanent position of ritual mediation in this context. While it is admittedly hazardous and speculative to reconstruct ritual and cult on the basis of myth, a hypothetical reconstruction will prove useful so long as it is considered only as a hypothesis.

The preliminal phase occurs by withdrawal into the wilderness where Agdistis had once raged but where he now appears in controlled form already castrated, as a *gallus*.³⁸ In the *orgia* in the forest the young

³⁶For the application of the rites of passage specifically to Catullus, see Näsström, *The Abhorrence*, 75-8.

³⁷The terms "homosexual" and "heterosexual" are used here, but it must be kept in mind that they are relatively recent terms, even in English. "Sexual orientation" must be understood within a social context. No attempt is made to address the debate on this topic launched by Michel Foucault. On this see David Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York: Routledge, 1990) and Amy Richlin, "Not Before Homosexuality: The Materiality of the *Cinaedus* and the Roman Law Against Love Between Men," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3 (1992-3) 523-73.

³⁸Britt-Mari Näsström hints at this in a comment in her study of Catullus 63, "[Attis] grew up to be a handsome young man who developed a special relationship with Agdestis, which undoubtedly mirrors the common

males can vent the wild and uncontrollable urges of adolescence, perhaps aggravated by their unsettled sexual orientation so that their urges seem "doubled," like those of the untamed Agdistis. The previously castrated *galli* become the individual adult companions of the adolescents and express the attachment by giving them gifts, apparently with some note of secrecy.

The liminal phase begins when the secret is revealed, perhaps at the point of re-entry into the city. Then an attempt, perhaps only a ritualized attempt, is made to "marry them off" to women.³⁹ For those who ultimately become *galli*, however, the mania of the goddess and the passion of their liaison with "Agdistis" intervene to take hold of those for whom heterosexual marriage would, presumably, be truly disastrous. Again the liminality is a period of madness induced by the possibility of sexual union with a female. As the culmination of this period of madness, they castrate themselves.

After their castration, the process of incorporation begins. By self-castration, the newly made *gallus* comes into his own chosen form of "adulthood" in service to the goddess, putting on the particular form of female attire characteristic of his new position. Presumably those who do not survive the self-mutilation are mourned particularly by their

homosexual pattern of Greek homosexuality, i.e. the older part takes care of the younger, who plays the female role."

³⁹If all the adolescent boys participate in the *orgia* in the forest, then presumably most of them would, in fact, marry at this point.

gallus paramour and the woman to whom they were to be married.⁴⁰ The primary ritual of mourning before and after is collective, repeated each year over the pine tree that represents Attis.

It would appear that in this social context, represented by the "council of the gods," castration is considered the appropriate manner by which to tame the undifferentiated sexual urges of male adolescents who might otherwise threaten to be permanently "androgynous." The frenzied power of androgyny must be harnessed into a mediatorial position in the temple. It must be brought into the permanent liminality of sacred space where, in this social context, it belongs. The *galli*, as tamed androgynous beings, can then perform a socially and religiously useful mediatorial function.

6.2.2 *Male Rites of Passage and Homosexual Liaisons: Crete*

Support can be found for the hypothesis of such a rite of passage which involves a homosexual liaison in the evidence of an initiatory ritual at Crete reported by Ephorus.⁴¹ In it an older male (*erastes*) selects one of the boys (*pais*) from among those who have been waiting

⁴⁰Other evidence and common sense indicate that the castration is followed by a sedentary period of recovery which could be considered to extend the liminal phase.

⁴¹Ephorus, *FGrH* 70 F 149 (= Strabo 10.4.21). Strabo (10.4.22) indicates that many of the Cretan institutions which Ephoros describes have been displaced by Roman administration, but whether he means the leadership structure or all of the customs is unclear. On Ephoros' description of the initiation ritual see Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 261; and Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Life: From Conception to Old Age* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1990) 174-8. Garland includes a complete translation of the passage.

upon the communal meals of the men's club. The *erastes* arranges with three or four of the boy's friends to abduct the *pais* in a kind of ritual pursuit. The boy is then taken to the men's quarters of the abductor where he is given presents, after which he and the friends who arranged his abduction are taken away into the countryside where they feast and hunt for two months. After that the *erastes* presents the boy with a military uniform, an ox, and a wine cup. When they return to the city, the boy sacrifices the ox to Zeus and makes a feast for his friends in which he reports on the details of his affair with his abductor and whether or not it had pleased him. At this point, if there has been force involved, the boy can avenge himself upon the abductor and be free of him. Not to obtain an *erastes* was, however, considered a mark of shame. Those who were selected were honored with the best places at the dances and the races and they were given distinctive and superior clothing to wear for the rest of their lives which indicated their honored states as a κλεινός, or "famous."

The correspondence of this initiation ritual to the threefold structure of initiation identified by van Gennep has been pointed out by Robert Garland.⁴² It can be seen to have some confirming elements of correspondence to the hypothetical reconstruction of the *galli's* rite of passage. Here the rite of separation involves the withdrawal of the young boys first to the status of table servants at the men's clubs. The abduction begins the extended liminal period of feasting and hunting

⁴²Garland, *The Greek Way*, 174-7.

in the forest where the initiate is given gifts, just as Agdistis gives gifts to Attis in their time in the forest. Re-entry into the city occasions a ritual sacrifice and banquet of incorporation in which the initiand accepts a new and honored status of permanent alliance with the *erastes*, represented by a change of clothing.⁴³

Walter Burkert points out the similarity here to the abduction of Ganymede by Zeus to be his "cup-bearer" and live among the immortals.⁴⁴ The correspondence of that myth to this ritual can be seen in the fact that it is Zeus to whom they sacrifice and one of the gifts they are given is a cup. Plato also suggests that the Cretans invented the myth of Zeus and Ganymede to support their custom.⁴⁵ Like Ganymede, the κλεινός receives a position of honor and clothing which presumably accentuates his comeliness.

6.2.3 *Male Homosexual Liaisons at Athens as Transition from Pais to Citizen and the Greek View of the Galli*

We saw above that Martial considered Attis's relation to Cybele as analogous to the relation of Ganymede to Zeus.⁴⁶ Cybele also brings Attis into a place of honor in which his physical attractiveness is

⁴³Whether this forces an option against heterosexual marriage is not clear, but the dishonor involved for a handsome or well-born *pais* not to be chosen for "abduction" would suggest that heterosexual marriage is not precluded.

⁴⁴Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 261.

⁴⁵Pl. *Leg.* 636 D.

⁴⁶See 5.3.

emphasized and in which a subordinate sexual relationship is implied. Both of the youths were described by Martial as *puer*, the Latin equivalent of *παῖς*, which is a term which can refer to several categories of individuals, as was mentioned above. Likewise, what Cybele desires, according to Ovid, is that Attis be a perpetual *puer*.⁴⁷

The ambiguity of the word *puer* or *παῖς* (*pais*) represents a category in the family system and concept of development in antiquity which does not correspond readily to modern concepts, as was mentioned at 2.2.1.1. *Pais* represents the undifferentiated category of children and slaves at the level of the family hierarchy one step above the domesticated animals. "Sons" would have to emerge from this category by a process which differentiated them from slaves, a process with some correspondence to a rite of passage. Mark Golden has analyzed how, among the Athenian elite, this process of differentiation relied upon a homosexual relationship which defined the transition to adulthood for male citizens, not by an official ritual but in the gradual course of relational development from adolescence to adulthood.⁴⁸ The relationship in the case of Athens is also between an older *erastes* and the younger male, designated the *eromenos*. Golden analyzes, in greater detail than can be discussed here, the stages of development in this relationship which bring a young man from the position of *pais* aligned

⁴⁷See 6.1.2.2.

⁴⁸Mark Golden, "Slavery and Homosexuality at Athens," *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 308-324. His notes contain other important bibliographic references on this topic.

with slave status to the position of master as a controller of his own *paides*.⁴⁹ This period of several stages of homosexual relationship functions, as the brief period in the Cretan context did in a ritualized way, as an extended liminal phase. Here the end of the process is incorporation as an adult citizen by heterosexual marriage and the establishment of a new generation of the family, culminating in the birth of the first child.

For males of the elite the marriage would mean neither an exclusive sexual relationship nor a transition to a permanent heterosexual orientation, but there does not appear to have been a culturally sanctioned location for a permanent non-heterosexual orientation analogous to the social location of the *galli*.⁵⁰ The *galli* do not appear to have been prominent in the cult in Greece and were considered repugnant probably precisely because of their double liminal qualities: as androgynous, neither developed into a "male" as a citizen and head of household nor as a "female" who bears children; and as socially ambiguous, neither in the slave status as permanently *paides* nor in the son status as those who inherit the household. They would appear to the Hellenistic social context like the Hellenized portrayals of Attis, permanently prepubescent males, youths who never become adults, whose upper body musculature never fully develops and who never grow hair on

⁴⁹Golden, "Slavery and Homosexuality," 312-5, and 318-9.

⁵⁰For later reference it is worth noting here that the repugnance felt toward the *galli* in Greece, or from a "Hellenic" viewpoint, would be based on their perpetual adolescence.

their faces or genitals. They are also Attis as the "effeminate easterner" according to Lynn Roller's analysis discussed above, the foreigner who dwells in the margin between "civilization," as defined by Hellenism, and the "barbarian" wilderness.⁵¹ Yet the very liminality represented by Attis had its allure, the allure expressed by Catullus of the very frenzied madness of this marginal position.

6.3 The Lure and Fear of Liminality

6.3.1 *Liminality and the Power of Pollution (Douglas)*

Mary Douglas has analyzed the power in liminality as a state which defies boundary definitions in her already classic work *Purity and Danger*.⁵² The liminal position is considered polluted because it is outside of the categories which establish purity. Yet purity pursued to its logical conclusion means not only cleanliness but sterility.

The quest for purity is pursued by rejection. It follows that when purity is not a symbol but something lived, it must be poor and barren. It is part of our condition that the purity for which we

⁵¹The nature of the interrelationships of these oppositions in Hellenistic culture is a large and complex topic which cannot be treated adequately here. See, for example, François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, trans. Janet Lloyd, *The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1988); and Hall, *Inventing*. Both of these authors point to the ambiguous location of the Mother of the Gods in relation to foreignness. (Hartog: 68, 70, 72, 75, 81, 110; and Hall: 153-4.) Hall contends that the Mother is essentially assimilated but provides a means, in Greek tragedy, for "externalization of the *furor*, strangeness, and wildness, the 'un-Hellenic' and 'irrational' facets of accepted Greek cults."

⁵²Douglas, *Purity and Danger*. Douglas offers a much more complex analysis of the problems and dynamics of liminality in various kinds of societies than is implied here.

strive and sacrifice so much turns out to be hard and dead as a stone when we get it. . . . Purity is the enemy of change, of ambiguity and compromise. . . . The final paradox of the search for purity is that it is an attempt to force experience into logical categories of non-contradiction. But experience itself is not amenable and those who make the attempt find themselves led into contradiction.⁵³

The liminal position is thus not only the location of what is polluted, what is "dirt," what is outside the defined boundaries. It also is the position of special creative power as the location where change, creation, and renewal occur.

The danger which is risked by boundary transgression is power. Those vulnerable margins and those attacking forces which threaten to destroy good order represent the powers inhering in the cosmos. Ritual which can harness these for good is harnessing power indeed.⁵⁴

Liminality involves not only boundary transgression but also the creative power and awesome potential of the primordial substance, undifferentiated chaos, dangerous and terrifying. Yet because of its very danger and creative potential it has a special relationship to what is considered sacred. Thus the very structures and processes which establish purity by rejection of what does not fit into categories also affirm boundary transgressions in a ritual frame, to harness the power of liminality.

In a given culture it seems that some kinds of behaviour or natural phenomena are recognised as utterly wrong by all the principles which govern the universe. There are different kinds of impossibilities, anomalies, bad mixings and abominations. Most of the items receive varying degrees of condemnation and avoidance. Then suddenly we find that one of the most abominable or impossible is singled out and put into a very special kind of ritual frame that

⁵³Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 161-2.

⁵⁴Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 165,

marks it off from other experience. The frame ensures that the categories which the normal avoidances sustain are not threatened or affected in any way. Within the ritual frame the abomination is then handled as a source of tremendous power.⁵⁵

The ritual frame implies social organization which sustains it, and there may be socially sanctioned roles in which this power is seen to be harnessed as will be seen in the case of the *galli*. The danger and power of liminality may also inhere in individuals who represent internal boundary transgression without ritual sanction.⁵⁶ When this liminality continues beyond the time-specific ritual frame, it will be referred to here as an "interstitial position." An "interstitial position" retains some of the pollution and creative power of the liminal position, which inheres in the person who holds this position within the society. As a social position, an interstitial position is part of the structure of social organization. It is not "outside of" society, but in society's "interstices," margins between more "stable" categories.

6.3.2 *Attis Between the Boundaries in Hellenistic Culture: Androgyny, Boundary Territories (Amazons and Effeminate Easterners)*

What is a liminal or interstitial position depends upon the dynamics of the system of categorization and definitions of purity in a given social context. From the perspective of Hellenistic culture, Attis appears in just such a liminal position at several of the most

⁵⁵Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 165.

⁵⁶Many elements of Douglas's analysis are glossed over here, especially the relation of ritual, boundary, and body.

significant oppositional boundaries which defined that culture: male and female; slave and son-citizen; Greek and barbarian; civilization and wilderness; controlled behavior and frenzy; and, ultimately, also life and death.⁵⁷ Three of these oppositions can be seen in what has been described as rhetorical commonplace in the "three reasons for gratitude," which read, in the version attributed to Thales by Diogenes Laertius,

τριῶν τούτων ἕνεκα χάριν ἔχειν τῇ Τύχῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ οὐ θηρίον, εἴτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή, τρίτον ὅτι Ἕλληνα καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον.

. . . to have gratitude to Fortune for three things: first for being born a human being and not a wild beast, then for being born a man and not a woman, third for being born a Greek and not a barbarian.⁵⁸

These three oppositions and the others are interrelated, but most readily evident among Attis's boundary transgressions is his androgyny. In this area of liminality, he also fits into other Hellenistically-defined liminality as well.⁵⁹

⁵⁷While boundary definition need not require dualistic oppositions, they are characteristic of the Hellenistic context.

⁵⁸Diog. Laert. 1.33. For citations attributed to Plato see Wayne A. Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *HR* 13 (1974) 167, n. 7. Meeks points to the statement as a commonplace and cites sources which show how it was transformed in Judaism for use in the synagogue liturgy as a prayer of thanks by Jewish men for not being made a gentile or a woman or a beast (167-8, ns. 8 and 9.) Relevance to Gal 3:28 will be discussed in Part C.

⁵⁹An argument for androgyny as the foremost aspect of Attis's identity, as opposed to definition of him as a "fertility god," is made by Carsten Colpe, "Zur mythologischen Struktur der Adonis, Attis- und Osiris-überlieferungen," in *lišan mithurti: Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherr von Soden*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Gesschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments,

Androgyny, as a state of boundary transgression was perceived as a threat both internally and externally. When androgyny occurred in physical form in the birth of hermaphrodites, it was seen as an ill omen and a sign to be destroyed. Such children were usually left to die or thrown in the sea.⁶⁰

The Amazons also appear in a liminal position in the Greek mythological framework as an external androgynous threat. A study of Greek perception or creation of them by William Blake Tyrrell shows how they function as liminal in Greek categories.⁶¹ As masculine females they are the precursors of the "effeminate Persians" who later inhabit the areas of Asia Minor which form the territorial margins of Greece.⁶² There they pose a military threat and a threat to all that is civilization from the Greek viewpoint, beings in a sense monstrous in a

ed. Kurt Berherhof, Manfred Dietrich, and Oswald Loretz (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon and Bercker Kevelaer, 1969) 23-44. He assumes a greater antiquity for the castration tradition in connection with Attis than some other scholars, but the antiquity of the tradition preceding the Greco-Roman era is not an issue here. Colpe also points to the philological argument for the original androgyny of Cybele set forth by Wolfgang Fauth, "Adamma Kubaba," *Glotta* 45 (1967) 129-48. Fauth makes an interesting case, but it likewise is not of concern here.

⁶⁰See Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 43-4. Examples of discovery and destruction of hermaphrodite children in the Roman context can be found also in Livy *Iulii Obsequentis*: 3, 22, 27a, 34, 36, 48, 50, and 53.

⁶¹William Blake Tyrrell, *Amazons: A Study in Athenian Mythmaking* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984). Whether or not there was ever an Amazon culture is not the concern of Tyrrell's study, nor is it of any import here. Tyrrell examines how the Amazons function in Greek (specifically Athenian) myth to support Athenian family and social organization.

⁶²On the homelands of the Amazons, see Tyrrell, *Amazons*, 55-7.

"twilight zone," as Tyrrell puts it, of "animal/human, god/human, and male/female beings; they are not civilized."⁶³ The Persians become assimilated to them in the Greek imagination as a threat to be defeated, according to Tyrrell, as soft men in place of hard women, on the basis of qualities perceived to inhere in their Asiatic homeland which has three meanings,

It is a land outside Greece on the frontier of civilization and savagery. Through the assimilation of Persians to Amazons it is a land that is soft, one that emasculates its men and virilifies its women. It is a land of slaves. . . . The Greeks defeated the Persians, who would have enslaved them as they had the redoubtable Amazons. The link connecting Persians, Amazons, and the meaning of their homeland in Asia is slavery.⁶⁴

Androgyny, the territory of Asia, barbarians, and slavery merge in the Greek system of categories in a threatening liminal territory to the east.⁶⁵

The Amazons as they are described in Greek narrations as inhabitants of the territories of Asia Minor ruled over by the Mother of

⁶³Tyrrell, *Amazons*, 59.

⁶⁴Tyrrell, *Amazons*, 63.

⁶⁵Tyrrell cites a passage from Aristotle (*Pol.* 1327 b 18-34) which also associates lack of spirit, cowardice, and tameness with Asia in contrast to the spirited, warlike, and wild European nature. Aristotle explains this by the presence of the harsh season in the cold climates of Europe in contrast to the mild and seasonless climate of Asia. Tyrrell's contrast of Greece and Asia on this basis is, however, problematic since Aristotle's argument idealizes the liminal place of Greece between the two as the nationality suited by symbolic geography for world rulership. Greece is thus in the position of moderating between European savageness and Asian servility in Aristotle's view because of its interstitial, or liminal, position. A paradox for Aristotle's view, however, is the Greek tendency to apply wildness and frenzy to the eastern as well as the northern peoples.

the Gods have a special devotion to her and spread her cult, establishing the mysteries at Samothrace.⁶⁶ Appropriate to the goddess of the liminal territory is worship by the masculinized females, who continue to exist in the Greek mythic imagination, as well as the feminized males who actually serve the goddess in her temples in the heart of her territory.⁶⁷

By geographic association, the Greeks perceive those who inhabit this territory as enslaved. While the question of slave status does not seem to relate as directly to the course of development in the case of the Amazons as I would contend it does in the case of the *galli*, the Amazons are also perceived in this system as daughters, female *paides*, who fail to make the transition into adulthood, defined for a woman in the Greek context not so much by marriage itself as by bearing a child

⁶⁶Tyrrell, *Amazons*, 55, 77. A helpful collection of the literary references is also found in Florence Mary Bennett, *Religious Cults Associated with the Amazons* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912; reprint, New Rochelle, New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1987) 17-29. See also Diod. Sic. 3.55.8-9. The other deities which received the devotion of the Amazons were also seen as non-Hellenic.

⁶⁷Androgyny is found also the form of "two-fold" deities and deities who practice transvestitism, a number of which are distinctive to Asia Minor. Zeus of Labranda in Caria, for example, is a bearded god iconographically quite similar to the Ephesian Artemis, and understood to be bisexual. Heracles, "the pre-eminently virile hero," also exchanges clothes with the Lydian queen Omphale, to whom he is enslaved and required to perform tasks normally defined as female (See *OCD*, s.v. "Omphale.") The Mother of the Gods also has androgynous aspects, Agdistis whom we have seen already in the Attis myth and inscriptional evidence, and Misa, an androgynous goddess identified with her in an Orphic Hymn. On the bisexual deities, see Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 18-32.

to her husband which he can know with certainty he has fathered.⁶⁸ They, like the *galli*, remain in developmental "limbo," no longer children but also not fully adults. They are perceived as promiscuous and bear children whose fathers cannot be determined, and are thus defined in Greek categories as bestial and savage, outside of civilization as defined by clear paternal lineage.⁶⁹ In the Greco-Roman family system, this lack of determinable paternal lineage would also associate offspring with slave status. The discussion of the *galli* below will show how they, too, would be associated with slavery by their inability to generate or claim offspring.

Androgyny expressed in clothing was also indicative of liminality. Delcourt collects the literary evidence on transvestism in the Greek antiquity in her volume on Hermaphrodite.⁷⁰ She shows that in general donning the clothing of the other sex was associated in some way with sexual union, either as a part of rites of passage toward marriage or in the annual orgiastic celebrations connected with Dionysus, a liminal phase with a ritual frame. Transvestitism can thus be associated with liminal phases, and a permanent change of clothes would indicate a permanent state of liminality.

⁶⁸Tyrrell, *Amazons*, 65-6 and 76.

⁶⁹Tyrrell, *Amazons*, 30-1. He relies on the Cecrops myth, for which the sources are late and Roman, as he acknowledges.

⁷⁰Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 1-16.

Androgyny was associated with the primordial origins as well as the dangerous *limina* of rituals and territories in the Greeks' human experience. Plato interprets Hesiod's description of Earth and Eros proceeding from the neuter chaos as "the two sexes issuing from a primitive *utrumque*."⁷¹ He also narrates the well-known philosophical myth of the original self-contained androgyne which was split to form male and female.⁷² In the philosophical myth, the androgyne was a third sex. The androgyne's behavior occasions a council of the gods to determine a course of action to establish control, similar to that held to solve the "problem of Agdistis." The solution is to slice them in two into male and female because they cannot be permitted to continue to be licentious.⁷³ Self-contained generativity from such a boundary transgression is viewed as dangerous.

The theme of androgyny as a means of salvation is prominent in the gnostic trajectory of early Christianity, but the gnostic texts which emphasize this theme of return to a primal androgyny postdate the period of Paul's ministry,⁷⁴ During the period of the early Empire, however,

⁷¹Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 17. Pl. *Symp.* 178B. The reference is not quite as direct as Delcourt implies. Orphic cosmogonies expand on this theme.

⁷²Pl. *Symp.* 189E-193D, attributed by Plato to Aristophanes. See Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 73-4; and Meeks, "The Image," 185-6, and n. 87. Meeks shows how the rabbis used the myth in interpretation of Genesis.

⁷³οὕθ' ὅπως ἐφ'εν ἀσελγαίνειν. Pl. *Symp.* 190C.

⁷⁴On the theme of androgyny in gnosticism and early Christianity, see Meeks, "The Image," 165-208; Jonathan Z. Smith, "The Garments of Shame," in *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, vol. 23 (Leiden: E. J. Brill,

the theme of unification of male and female as opposites emerges as part of the Greco-Roman religious and philosophical ethos in which the various streams of Christianity grew and is hardly an exclusively Christian phenomenon.⁷⁵ Both Christian and "pagan" movements of this type held up Attis as a model as they sought salvific power in a liminal position between male and female and the "asexuality" of Attis became transformed into a new model of purity.⁷⁶ Given the emergence of gnosticism as a religious development over the course of the first two centuries of our era, however, we must recognize that to understand the significance of androgyny in the ancient world is to aim at a shifting target.

1978) 1-23; Elaine H. Pagels, "The Gnostic Vision," *Parabola* 3 (1978) 6-9; Marvin W. Meyer, "Making Mary Male: The Categories of 'Male' and 'Female' in the Gospel of Thomas," *NTS* 31 (1985) 554-70.

⁷⁵Predating and current with Paul evidence of the notion of androgyny as salvific is not as abundant as it is in texts dated to the second century and later, but part of this evidence is in orphic texts which are difficult to date. Marie Delcourt collects some of these and other significant philosophical representations of androgyny, in addition to Plato. (Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, 67-83.)

⁷⁶Several texts from later antiquity lift up Attis as a salvific model because of his androgyny and consequent "purity." The Christian sect of the Naassenes found in Attis a salvific figure, according to Hippolytus (*Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* 5.2). The Emperor Julian, who attempted to restore the traditional deities after Constantine's endorsement of Christianity, also found in Attis a salvific figure. (Julian *Or.* 5). His passion for the traditional gods is credited to his education under the eunuch tutor Mardonius during his early years of Christian education in Cappadocia, and later under a pagan philosopher at Ephesus. The Neoplatonic writer Sallustius expresses a perspective similar to Julian's in his *De diis et mundo* 4.7-11.

6.3.3 *Implications of Anatolia as the Center of Its Own World (Not the Liminal Territory of Greece)*

This discussion of Attis and the *galli*, who occupy a liminal position from a Hellenistic point of view should offer some glimpse of the complexity of the cult in Anatolia. We must recognize that Anatolians would be inclined to view themselves as the center of their own world, not as a liminal territory of Greece, and thus their view would be significantly different. We do not have an extensive literary record in any of the indigenous languages of Anatolia to inform us about what their perceptions of their own cults or of either the Persian or Hellenistic incursions may have been, although in Chapter 3 we saw some clues to their distinct religious ethos. In addition the various Anatolian groups' own self-perceptions and self-definitions would surely be influenced greatly by the Hellenistic colonizers' perceptions of them, given the widespread use of Greek as the *lingua franca* and of Hellenistic educational and cultural institutions. We cannot undertake here a thoroughgoing application of sociological and anthropological methods to this question, but we can recognize that what Paul met in Anatolia, from his own bicultural perspective as a Hellenistic Jew or Jewish Hellene, was a distinctive multi-culture within the Greco-Roman world. Even though we have made an effort to enter the territory as he would, from the east, he also enters with a Hellenistic education and thus may well have brought the Hellenistic image of Anatolia as a limianl territory with him.

6.4 Rituals of the Cult of Cybele and Attis

6.4.1 *Consistent Elements and Evidence of the Cult at Rome*

In the preceding discussion of the myths of Cybele and Attis, mention has already been made of several elements of the rituals, such as the raucous grieving over Attis in the form of a pine tree. Much of the further evidence about various aspects of the ritual is either from the cult at Rome or sources from the late Empire or both. Such evidence cannot be uncritically transferred to central Anatolia in the first century C.E.

Enticing, for example, is a calendar of the March festivals for Attis from the fourth century C.E. which lists ritual events over the course of two weeks in the last part of March. Several scholars provide reconstructions of the course of events on each of these days and show the connection of the rituals to the *collegia* responsible for them.⁷⁷ Thus the sequence is related: *Canna intrat*, the entry of the reeds, accomplished by the *collegia* of the *Cannophori* or "Reed-Bearers;" *Arbor intrat*, the entry of the tree, accomplished by the *Dendrophori*, the "Tree-Bearers" who cut the tree and carry, as the surrogate of Attis's body in a funeral procession, as the mourning begins; *Sanguem*, the "Day of Blood," when the *galli* flagellated themselves and when young men became *galli* by self-castration; *Hilaria*, the "Day of Rejoicing," after

⁷⁷ Graillot, 108-49; Showerman, *The Great Mother*, 56-60; Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis*, 113-24; and Stephen Benko, *The Virgin Goddess: Studies in the Pagan and Christian Roots of Mariology*. *Studies in the History of Religions, Numen Bookseries*, ed. H. G. Kippenberg and E. T. Lawson, vol. 59 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993) 71-4.

the surrogate burial of Attis; *Requietio*, or the "Day of Rest;" *Lavatio*, the day on which the cult image of Cybele and the instruments bloodied on the "Day of Blood" are taken to the Almo and washed; and finally the *Initium Caiana*, about which little is known. Following this in April a series of feast days known as the *Megalensia* was celebrated at Rome with sporting and theatrical events in honor of the Magna Mater.⁷⁸

Scholars do not agree about when the various elements of this ritual calendar were introduced into the cult at Rome and which elements are "Phrygian."⁷⁹ Yet even though we cannot rely on all the elements of this orderly calendar, we can be confident of those we have already seen in the myths. Certainly these included orgiastic rituals accompanied by the deep-voiced rhythm of the big drums, shrill flutes, and cymbals. These *orgia* are also consistently associated with mourning in references to Phrygia. The mourning takes place as a kind of funeral ceremony for Attis in the form either of an image or a pine tree, wrapped in

⁷⁸See Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis*, 124-5, and his notes for further references.

⁷⁹A helpful summary of the basic positions is provided by Garth Thomas, "Magna Mater and Attis." *ANRW* II.17.3 (1984) 1500-35. A traditional view, associated generally with the assumption of the "dying-rising god" saw the evidence of the cult at Rome as applicable to the cult generally across the Roman Empire. Pierre Lambrechts' view of a historical development of the cult which varied geographically is part of his theory of the late introduction and deification of Attis. His view on the cult is most economically presented in Pierre Lambrechts, "Les fêtes <<phrygiennes>> de Cybèle et d'Attis." According to Lambrechts, the element of *Hilaria* which would be associated with the "rising" of Attis in some form is a later development. Another aspect of the dispute is the theory that the Emperor Claudius was responsible for promotion and reform of the cult.

garlands. The funerary ritual is also attested in the myths, confirmed at Rome in the *Arbor intrat*. Mania and general mayhem on the "Day of Blood," including the self-castrations by the Attis-*gallus* figures also appear in the myths. Ritual change of clothing by Attis or the *galli* is also a consistent feature. Of these elements as general aspects of the rituals of Cybele and Attis in Anatolia we can be reasonably secure. The version of the myth found in Pausanias and Arnobius may also indicate some form of wedding ceremony as part of the ritual, as the context from which the ritual frenzy emerges. This may be distinctive in Anatolia given the likely origin of this version of the myth. Additional information from ancient sources can amplify our impression of these basic elements even though it is impossible to provide as complete a picture as is offered by the data about the cult at Rome.

6.4.2 Evidence of Cult "Mysteries" in Anatolia

Giulia Sfameni Gasparro has assembled the data for the cult's "mysteries" in Anatolia in a chapter of her monograph on the soteriology of the cult.⁸⁰ Her concern is to establish the relationship between the "esoteric-initiatory" form of the cult and the "public" form, and whether both can be traced back to the cult's Anatolian form.⁸¹ Sfameni Gasparro collects the important attestations of various aspects of the cult in Anatolia during and before the first century C.E.

⁸⁰Sfameni Gasparro, "The Problem of the Phrygian Mysteries," chap. in *Soteriology*, 64-83.

⁸¹Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 65.

We have already seen the mention of "mysteries" in an inscription from Sardis in the Persian period, an order from the Persian governor proscribing anyone who serves the cult of Zeus Baradates from participation in the mysteries of Sabazios, Angdistis, or Mā.⁸² This is acknowledged as the earliest mention of "mysteries" of Agdistis or the Mother of the Gods in Anatolia, but it is unclear what the Persian governor may mean by the term.⁸³ As Sfameni Gasparro points out, the use of the term to refer to rites of Cybele becomes frequent in the Hellenistic and Roman period, along with the terms ὄργια or ὄργιασμοί, but to what extent it refers is to private or to public ritual is uncertain.⁸⁴ In some cases the term "mystery" used of the cult appears to denote the self-castration of the *galli*,⁸⁵ although references which could be more general are also found.⁸⁶ Other evidence on the

⁸²See 4.4.2.

⁸³Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 66-7. (μυστήρια)

⁸⁴Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 68.

⁸⁵Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 70, and 77, nn. 75-7. The references are later Latin sources (*Schol. in Aves* and Paulinus of Nola), except for a papyrus fragment which places a *gallus* in a mystery initiatory context. (The reference is to P. Parson, "A Greek Satyricon?" *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 18 (1971) 53-68, Pl. VII, and *Pap. Oxyr.* XLII, 3010.)

⁸⁶Such general references are primarily inscriptions. (Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 70-1.) She mentions one from Pessinus, from the first century C.E. appears to mention an association of "co-mystes" of "Attabokaoi" who raise an honorary stele for their benefactor. See *CCCA* I, no. 60. (Ἀτταβοκαοὶ οἱ ἰ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ μυστηρίων ἰ συνμύσται), "Attakobaoi who are co-mystes of the mysteries of the Goddess." *CCCA* I, no. 59, also from Pessinus and dated either to the late first century or to the second half of the second century C.E., is like it, except for the word μύσται instead of συνμύσται. Those honored in both cases have

"mysteries" in Asia Minor is no more specific on the question of "public" or "private" mysteries, as Sfameni Gasparro defines it.⁸⁷ If, however, we make less demands of the data, and ask more simply for further description of the cult in Anatolia, or in its "Phrygian" form, we can learn something more about the rituals of the cult.

6.4.3 *Behavior Beyond the Boundaries: Wild and In the Wilderness*

A basic image which emerges is that of wild abandon, behavior that moves beyond the bounds of the controls of everyday life. This can be seen in literary references from Greek sources as well as Latin. We have already seen above that Cybele is identified with the mountain not only as overseer and guardian but also as the wilderness, the *fera montium dea*, the wild goddess of the mountain, described in a Homeric hymn.⁸⁸

Two relatively early Greek sources associate worship of the goddess in mountain forests particularly with Cyzicus. From Herodotus, writing in the fifth century B.C.E., we learn of a Scythian named Anacharsis who

strong associations with the cult of the emperor as well as the cult of Attis and the Mother of the Gods. Nothing indicates whether or not the Ἀτταβοκαιοὶ are *galli* or not. Another from Pergamum, dated to the Roman period, is a votive stele raised by a Secundus, a *mystes* of the Meter Basileia (Σεκοῦνδος μύ-ιστης Μη[τ]ρὸς Βα-σιλ[ι]κής [ἀν]έθηκε), CCCA I, no. 351. Whether or not Secundus is a *gallus* is also not determinable. The other inscription is from Sardis, from 200 C.E., and refers to a μυστήριον Ἀτταί, which Sfameni Gasparro identifies as "a hall for celebrating the mystery rites" of Attis. (See CCCA I, no. 464, and CMRDM I, no. 79.)

⁸⁷Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 71-3.

⁸⁸See 4.5.3.

was so impressed with the pomp of the Cyzicenes' celebration of the feast (ὄρτή, Ionic for ἑορτή) of the Mother of the Gods that he vowed to establish a nightly rite for her upon his return to Scythia. He does this by hiding himself in the forest there, carrying a cymbal and hanging images (ἀγάλματα) on himself.⁸⁹

The *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, written in the third century B.C.E., also recounts the legend of Jason and his shipmates beset by foul weather at Cyzicus after a battle.⁹⁰ An oracular sea-bird tells the Argonauts to ascend Mount Dindymus and make a sacrifice and celebration to propitiate the Mother of the Gods there.⁹¹ The Argonauts do so and in the woods at the top cut a vine with a thick trunk and carve an image of the goddess. They set up this image in the midst of some oaks and perform sacrificial rites before it to ask the goddess to send the storm away. They invoke her as "the Meter Dindymene, greatly revered, who dwells in Phrygia."⁹² While libations are poured on the sacrifice,

⁸⁹Hdt. 4.76. (καὶ εὔρε γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνάγοντας τοὺς Κυζικηνούς ὄρτην μεγαλοπρεπέως κάρτα, εὔξατο τῇ μητρὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἣν σῶς καὶ ὑγιῆς ἀνοοστίη ἐς ἑωυτοῦ, θύσειν τε κατὰ ταῦτα κατὰ ὥρα τοὺς Κυζικηνούς ποιεῦντας καὶ παννυχίδα στήσειν. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκητο ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν, καταδύς ἐς τὴν καλεομένην Ὑλαίην (ἥ δ' ἔστι μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλήϊον δρόμον, τυγχάνει δὲ πᾶσα ἐοῦσα δενδρέων παντοίων πλέη), ἐς ταύτην δὴ καταδύς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις τὴν ὄρτην ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τῇ θεῇ, τύμπανόν τε ἔχων καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα.) The introduction of foreign ritual is not pleasing to the Scythian king, who kills Anacharsis in the midst of his rites.

⁹⁰Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1034-1152.

⁹¹Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1089-96.

⁹²Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1125-6. (Μητέρος Δινδυμίνην πολυπότνιαν

ἄμυδις δὲ νέοι Ὀρφεὺς ἀνωγῇ
 σαίροντες βηταρμόν ἐνόπλιον ὠρχήσαντο,
 καὶ σάκεα ξιφέεσσιν ἐπέκτυπον, ὥς κεν ἰωὴ
 δύσφημος πλάζοιτο δι' ἡέρος, ἣν ἔτι λαοὶ
 κηδεῖη βασιλῆος ἀνέστενον. ἔνθεν ἐσαιεὶ
 ῥόμβῳ καὶ τυπάνῳ Ῥεῖην Φρύγες ἰλάσκονται.⁹³

By command of Orpheus, the young men in full armour moved round in a high-stepping dance, beating their shields with their swords to drown the ill-omened cries that came up from the city, where the people were still wailing for their king. This is why the Phrygians to this day propitiate Rhea with the tambourine and drum.⁹⁴

Miracles of natural abundance are recounted which show that the goddess is well-pleased with their rites.⁹⁵ The ritual appears in both cases to imply noise-making in the forest.

Lucian, in a satire from the second century C.E., describes the goddess herself as driven mad by Eros with love for Attis and wandering wildly with her lions up and down Mount Ida.⁹⁶ She gains this wild reputation because of the ritual madness she was seen to inspire in her followers, madness associated with the cacophony of her characteristic musical instruments. In other Greek literary references, this wild abandon is associated with the mountain and the forest and with the similar mountain *orgia* of Dionysus.

ἀγκαλέοντες, ἰ ἐνναέτιν Φρυγίης.)

⁹³Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1134-9.

⁹⁴Apollonius of Rhodes, *The Voyage of Argo, The Argonautica*, trans. E. V. Rieu (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1959) 64.

⁹⁵Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1140-52.

⁹⁶Lucian *Dial. D.* 233-4.

The Greeks associated the Mountain Mother with Dionysus in this manifestation. One example is found in Euripides' *Bacchae* from the fifth century B.C.E., which identifies the cult and dances of Dionysus as of Lydian, Phrygian, and other Asian origin.⁹⁷ Dionysus travels with a band of Lydian women from the mountain of Tmolus. He commands them to lift up the drums native to Phrygia, invented by Great Mother Rhea and Dionysus.⁹⁸ The chorus that enters reiterates their Asian origins and identifies service to Bacchus/Dionysus as observation of the rites of Cybele.

ὦ μάκαρ, ὅστις, εὐδαίμων
τελετὰς θεῶν εἰδὼς
βιοτὰν ἀγιστεύει
καὶ θιασεύεται ψυχάν,
ἐν ὄρεσσι βακχεύων
ὁσίοις καθαρμοῖσιν·
τά τε ματρὸς μεγάλας ὄρ-
για Κυβέλας θεμιτεύων
ἀνὰ θύρσον τε τινάσσω
κισσῶ τε στεφανωθεὶς
Διόνυσον θεραπεύει.

ἴτε Βάκχαι, ἴτε Βάκχαι,
Βρόμιον παῖδα θεὸν θεοῦ
Διόνυσον κατάγουσαι
Φρυγίων ἐξ ὀρέων Ἑλλάδος εἰς
εὐρυχόρους ἀγυιάς, τὸν Βρόμιον.⁹⁹

O blessed the one who, fortunately
knowing the rites of the gods,
leads a pure life
and is initiated in spirit,
celebrating on the mountains the rites of Bacchus

⁹⁷Eur. *Bacch.* 13-22,

⁹⁸Eur. *Bacch.* 55-9. αἴρεσθε τὰπιχώρι' ἐν πόλει Φρυγῶν ; τύμπανα, ῥέας τε μητρὸς ἐμά θ' εὐρηματα.

⁹⁹Eur. *Bacch.* 72-87.

with holy purifications.
 O blessed the one who keeping the lawful *orgia*
 of the Great Mother Cybele,
 raising the thrysus on high,
 and crowned with ivy,
 serves Dionysus.

Come, (women) Bacchantes! Come, (women) Bacchantes!
 (Come, women) bringing Bromion, god-pais of a god, Dionysus,¹⁰⁰
 from the mountains of Phrygia to the broad roads of Hellas.

Without further extensive discussion, it should be noted here that Euripides' play deals with the dynamics of cult in the boundary areas in its territorial origin and wilderness association as well as the boundaries of behavior which is beyond the bounds of usual control. He shows not only the element of creative potential found in these liminal areas but also the extreme danger of its denial.¹⁰¹

Hints can be seen in this passage of the operation of the paradoxical identification of the goddess simultaneously with law and community order, on the one hand, and chaotic abandon in the mountain wilderness. Leading a holy or pure life is inherently connected to "reveling the spirit" (θιασεύεται ψυχάν) in the manner of the rites of Cybele, with the lawfulness and conformity to established tradition implied in the verb θεμιτεύων.¹⁰² The consequences revealed in the rest of the play suggest that proper attention to the limits of order, in the form of the worship of Dionysus, is vital for maintenance of community

¹⁰⁰The theme of Phrygian origins is repeated.

¹⁰¹See also Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 9-15, on the relevance of Eur. *Bacch.* for the cult of Cybele.

¹⁰²See *LSJ*, s.v. "θεμιτεύω," and s.v. "θέμις."

order within the boundaries. Attempted suppression of the worship of Dionysus beyond the boundaries proves to be self-destructive. It would appear that the goddess who protects the written law in her temple, at the heart of Athens and elsewhere, guards the community order also by nurturing human aspirations that fall outside the boundaries of that order.

The images that Euripides gives throughout the play of the worshippers running on the mountain and dancing, shrieking, and tossing their hair in ecstatic *orgia* and divine *mania* are consistent with the images of the cult of Cybele which Euripides credits as the origin of the rites of Dionysus. Such an image is evoked in Catullus 63 where the devotees of Cybele run over the mountain sides in a state of *mania* with characteristic musical accompaniment of the drums, cymbals, and Phrygian flutes, gyrating their heads like "an unbroken heifer starting aside from the burden of the yoke."¹⁰³ Dedications collected in the Greek Anthology, for example, also refer to wild feet, loosened and tossing hair, gyrating necks, and piercing shrieks of voices and musical instruments.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³Catullus 63.33. (*veluti iuvenca vitans onus indomita iugi*). On the association of this image with the head-gyrations of the *galli*, see K. M. W. Shipton, "The Iuvenca Image in Catullus 63." *CQ* 36 (1986) 268-70.

¹⁰⁴See, for example, *Gr. Anth.* 6.51; 6.94; and 6.173. The dedicants are in two cases clearly *galli*, but one may be a natural-born woman or a *gallus* who refers to himself with a feminine name and pronouns.

In Demosthenes we find a similar description of night mysteries, with mention of characteristic trappings of the rites of Dionysus, which involve ululation. The corresponding day-time ritual parade of the bacchanals involves swinging snakes with alternate shouts of *Euoi Saboi!* and *Hyes Attes!* while being acclaimed by elderly women who hold titles in the cult.¹⁰⁵ The cry lends itself to the suggestion of some association of the cult with Attis, whether it was the cry or Attis as a cult figure which came first.¹⁰⁶

Other examples abound. At Rome, Dionysus of Halicarnassus, who wrote at the beginning of our era distinguishes the frenzied aspects of the various "foreign" cults from the decorum characteristic of native Romans. He indicates that while Romans participate in the cult of Cybele according to their own custom, with sacrifices and games in her honor, it is Phrygians who engage in all the less sedate activities, including the ecstatic transports and frenzies, the procession with the image of the goddess escorted by characteristic musical accompaniment, the donning of flamboyant clothing, and begging for alms. Portrayals of the procession by Lucretius, Ovid, and Juvenal tend to confirm this

¹⁰⁵Dem. *De Cor.* 259-60. The context is a speech by Demosthenes intended to discredit Aeschines, in this instance by pointing to his poverty-stricken upbringing as the son of a grammar-school teacher and a mother who prepared the paraphernalia for the mysteries. Demosthenes assumes that the mysteries are discredited by association with poverty and with women.

¹⁰⁶See Roller, "Attis," 255. She suggests that the gods could be personified from the cry. As she points out, Strabo's comments (10.3.18) on this speech identify the cries as those of the rites of Sabazios and of the Mother.

picture.¹⁰⁷ The Anatolian origin of the procession in some form can be seen in iconographical evidence. For example, a sculpted model of a shrine for Kybele excavated at Sardis shows a procession of male and female votaries drinking and dancing.¹⁰⁸ Strabo also mentions semi-annual "exoduses," which can be assumed to have been processions outside of the city boundaries, of the goddess Mâ from the temple state of the Pontic Comana in which the priest wore a crown (διάδημα).¹⁰⁹

The wild and orgiastic image of the "fertility goddess" mentioned in Chapter 4 is thus reflected in the ritual behavior of her followers. The connection between this "wild" behavior, at the boundaries of the ordered civilized community, and the function of the guardian goddess in the maintenance of that community order must also be understood in her followers' behavior.

6.4.4 *Divine and Human Ecstatics: Corybantes, Curetes, Dactyli and Cabiri*

Ecstatics in the processions and *orgia* of the are variously identified as Corybantes, Curetes, Cabiri, and Dactyli, as well as *galli*..¹¹⁰ Apollonius in the *Argonautica* evoked this image of the young

¹⁰⁷Lucr. *De Rerum Natura*, 2.598-657; Ov. *Fast.* 4.179-246; and Juv. 6.511-16.

¹⁰⁸Mary Jane Rein, "The Cult and Iconography of Lydian Kybele," (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1993) 71-3. She hypothesizes a procession to Mt. Tmolus near Sardis, as was mentioned by Euripides in the citation above.

¹⁰⁹Strabo 12.2.32.

¹¹⁰On the basis of these different identifications of the ecstatic devotees of the goddess and her different names, I. M. Diakonoff

men leaping and dancing in armor and making a general ruckus by beating on their shields.¹¹¹ Lucretius's description evokes a similar but wilder image of the armed escorts in the procession of the goddess, called Phrygian or Dictaeon Curetes, who shake their armor and clash "bronze upon bronze," who cut themselves and "leap up streaming with blood" while shaking their plumed helmets.¹¹²

As mythical beings, the Curetes, Corybantes, or Dactyli are assistants of the goddess who made a clamour to cover the cries of the infant Zeus to protect him from destruction by his father.¹¹³ They tend to have magical and metal-working associations and to be "servants and

delineates four different Anatolian deities who appear in Asia Minor under the name of Cybele by the time of Roman domination and associates each with specific geographic areas. See Diakonoff, "On Cybele and Attis," 333-40. Distinctions are also made by C. Kerenyi, "The Great Mother of the Gods and Her Companions," chap. in *The Gods of the Greeks*, trans. Norman Cameron (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1951) 82-90. While there may be some justification for such delineations of different origins and associations, the distinctions are not useful here, and it is probably best to acknowledge "the wild confusion of places, names, myths, and cults which is characteristic of all pictures of enthusiastic worship in ancient literature," along with Ivan M. Linforth, *The Corybantic Rites in Plato*, University of California Publications in Classical Philology, eds. W. H. Alexander, W. M. Green, and I. M. Linforth, vol. 13, no. 5 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, and London, England: University of California Press and Cambridge University Press, 1946) 122.

¹¹¹See 6.4.3.

¹¹²Lucr. *De rerum natura* 2.629-643. (LCL translation)

¹¹³See, for example, Lucr. *De rerum natura* 2.633-639. A connection between this myth and the Phrygian site of devotion to the Meter Steunene at Aezanoi, has also been persuasively made by Louis Robert, as was mentioned above. See 4.4.3.7.

instruments of the Great Mother."¹¹⁴ These mythical beings were portrayed in cultic activity.¹¹⁵

Lucian portrays the Corybantes as a kind of hybrid between the image given for participants in the rituals of Cybele and the divine beings they represent. They are possessed by a *mania*, cutting themselves with swords and rushing around wildly to the sound of drums, cymbals, and horn, but they are also a mad and threatening force who, as Aphrodite warns her son Eros, may also catch him.¹¹⁶ The image incorporates both the Corybantes as divine beings and their visible effects when they take possession of a worshipper in the ritual context of music and dance.

¹¹⁴Kerenyi, *The Gods*, 85. See also Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 173, and 281.

¹¹⁵Hall (*Inventing*, 153-4) suggests that the view of these mythical attendants and their characterization in Greek drama "owe more to poetic imagination than to any authentic cult," as a Greek conceptualization of foreign deities, an "externalization of the *furor*, strangeness and wildness, the 'un-Hellenic' and 'irrational' facets of accepted Greek cults." She, however, analyzes drama from the Classical period and shows that the Greeks' construction of images of foreign cultures does not necessarily constitute fact about them. The evidence offered in what follows is an attempt to show what elements are not the product of the Greek creative imagination but have some corroborating evidence. Burkert (*Greek Religions*, 173) points out that these associations of mythical divine beings clearly "mirror real cult associations." For example, Strabo's identification (14.1.20) of a mythical location where Couretes protected Leto's newborn children from Hera, corresponds to the presence of an association of *couretes* is attested at Ephesus by epigraphical evidence. (See also Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 417, n. 8.)

¹¹⁶Lucian *Dial. D.* 233-4. Euripides also indicates that both the Corybantes and the Mountain Mother could possess a person and produce a dangerous lovesickness. He also lists Pan and Hecate as possessing deities. Eur. *Hipp.* 141-50.

Two Anatolian sources from second century C.E. Cappadocians show that the behavior of those under divine possession described here can be seen as characteristic of Anatolia, and not just a Greek invention of "foreign" behavior. A comment by Arrian, a Bithynian who was also a governor of Cappadocia, which is preserved by Eustathius writing in the twelfth century C.E. and describes the Phrygians,

ὅτι μαίνονται τῇ Ῥέᾳ, καὶ πρὸς Κορυβάντων κατέχονται, ἥγουν κορυβαντιῶσι δαιμονῶντες. ὅταν δὲ κατάσχη αὐτοὺς τὸ θεῖον, ἐλαυνόμενοι καὶ μέγα βοῶντες καὶ ὀρχουμένοι προθεσπίζουσι τὰ μέλλοντα, θεοφορούμενοι καὶ μαϊνόμενοι.

They yield to madness in honor of Rhea and are possessed by the Corybantes, that is to say, they become Corybantic, being under daemonic control. When the divine power takes possession of them, they rush about, they shout aloud, they dance, they predict the future, being mad and powerless in the hands of the gods.¹¹⁷

The Cappadocian medical writer Aretaeus also describes a pious madness which causes people to cut themselves, behavior associated with Corybantic madness as seen in Lucian,

τέμνονταί τινες τὰ μέλεα, θεοῖς ἰδίοις ὡς ἀπαιτοῦσι χαριζόμενοι εὐσεβεῖ φαντασίῃ· καὶ ἔστι τῆς ὑπολήψιος ἡ μανίη μοῦνον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα σωφρονέουσι. ἐγείρονται δὲ αὐλῶ καὶ θυμηδίῃ, ἢ μέθῃ, <ἢ> τῶν παρεόντων προτροπῇ. ἔνθεος ἦδε ἡ μανίη. κῆν ἀπομανῶσι, εὐθυμοί, ἀκηδέες, ὡς τελεσθέντες τῷ θεῷ· ἄχροοι δὲ καὶ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ ἐς μακρὸν ἀσθενέες πόνοισι τῶν τραυμάτων.

Some people slash their limbs, with the pious notion that they are doing something pleasing to their gods, who, they believe, expect this of them. Their madness is limited to this assumption on their part, because they are sane in all other respects. They are roused by pipes and gladness of heart or drunkenness, under the instigation of other persons who are present. This madness is what is called enthusiasm. If they endure to the end, they are happy and free of distress, believing that they have experienced the sacrament of a

¹¹⁷Eustathius *On Dionysius Periegeta* 809 (ed. Bernhardt, vol. 1, 256), as cited and translated by Linforth, *Corybantic Rites*, 123, n. 5.

god; but they are pale and emaciated, and the weakness caused by the pain of their wounds lasts for a long time.¹¹⁸

Such performances of self-affliction are characteristic of the *galli*, as will be discussed in Chapter 7. Here we can see, however, that an Anatolian medical observer has described the behavior with no implication that it is a dramatic invention.

6.4.5 *Corybantic Possession and the Limen between Divine and Human*

Such self-abusive Corybantic possession forms a liminal state between divine and human, and those so possessed represent an active divine presence. Clues to how this was understood can be found particularly in the works of Plato, who mentions Corybantic possession in the liminal state as *mania* induced by special music and dance. The image of Corybantic enthusiasm is used by Plato and a number of other ancient authors as a positive metaphor for other forms of "emotional transport" and distinguished from madness which is an illness.¹¹⁹ Some attention to these authors' descriptions and vocabulary provides further clues about the paradoxical interrelation of the identity of the goddess

¹¹⁸ Aretaeus 3.6.11 (*Corp. Med. Graec.* ii, p. 43, 29ff), as cited and translated by Linforth, *Corybantic Rites*, 147 and n. 47. The Greek he cites also includes the heading, 'Ἀρεταίου Καππαδόκου περὶ αἰτιῶν καὶ σημείων χρονίων παθῶν βιβλίον α', (Aretaeus of Cappadocia concerning causes and signs of chronic sufferings, Book A.)

¹¹⁹ Linforth shows that while such possession was understood as madness it was generally viewed positively especially for its beneficial and "curative" properties. (Linforth, *Corybantic Rites*, 125, 129-38, 151, and 154. See also Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 22; Pl. *Phdr.* 228B and 234D; *Cri.* 54D; *Ion* 533D-536-D; Philo, *De opificio mundi* 71; *De migratione Abrahami* 35; *Quis rerum divinum heres* 69-70; *De somnis* 2.1; *In Flaccum* 169; and *De vita contemplativa* 12.

as a guardian of community order and, at the same time, the goddess of the wild places and ritual abandon.

Ivan M. Linforth studied the verbal form based on the word Corybants, "κορυβαντιᾶν," to show that it can mean "to participate in Corybantic rites or rites of the Corybantic type," "to be possessed by the Corybants," or more generally "to be agitated" in the sense of emotional transport similar to Corybantic possession.¹²⁰ Associated with this verb are words which indicate possession, forms of ἔνθεος, "full of the deity, inspired, possessed," and κατέχω, a verb with multiple meanings including, "to possess or occupy" a territory and in the passive, "to be possessed" by a deity or "to be spellbound."¹²¹

The major aspects can be seen, for example, in an extended passage in Plato's *Ion*, where Socrates describes the poet's inspiration by the Muse by analogy to the magnet forming a chain of bits of iron, all dependent upon the magnetic power (δύναμις) of the stone. So also the Muse inspires (ἐνθέους . . . ποιεῖ) people who spread the inspiration to others (διὰ δὲ τῶν ἐνθέων τούτων ἄλλων ἐνθουσιαζόντων). Good poets recite not from technical skill so much as from being inspired and possessed (οὐκ ἐκ τέκνης ἀλλ' ἔνθεοι ὄντες καὶ κατεχόμενοι), just as the Corybantes do not dance while they are in rational control of their senses (ὥσπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες οὐκ ἔμφορονες ὄντες ὀρχοῦνται) but when they shout aloud in the melody and in the rhythm, they are in Bacchic

¹²⁰Linforth, *Corybantic Rites*, 138, 144, 152, and 154.

¹²¹See *LSJ*, s.v. "ἔνθεος," "ἐνθουσία," and "κατέχω."

ecstasy and are possessed (ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ἐμβῶσιν εἰς τὴν ἁρμονίαν καὶ εἰς τὸν ῥυθμόν, βακχεύουσι καὶ κατεχόμενοι). The analogy is extended to the Bacchic activity of miraculously drawing milk and honey from the rivers while in this state of possession. The poet also brings sweets like the bees from the gardens of the Muses, and like the bee "is a light and winged and sacred thing," who cannot do anything until he becomes divinely possessed and out of his senses and his mind is no longer in him (πρὶν ἂν ἔνθεός τε γένηται καὶ ἔκφρων καὶ ὁ νοῦς μηκέτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνῇ.) Poets do not recite by technical skill (τέχνη) but by divine power (θείᾳ δυνάμει) in a state in which God removes (or captures or destroys) their minds (ὁ θεὸς ἐξαιρούμενος τούτων τὸν νοῦν). In this state they are used by the deity as assistants (ὑπηρέταις) as are oracular prophets (χρησμοδοῖς) and divine prophetic seers (τοῖς μάντεσι τοῖς θείοις). The fact that they are not in their normal minds (οἷς νοῦς μὴ πάρεστιν) shows that what they say comes not from them but that it is the god himself, who cries out to us through them (ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ λέγων, διὰ τούτων δὲ φθέγγεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς). The one possessed thus reveals the divine power (δύναμις) by being possessed (κατέχω) by the deity, and without his or her own mind (νοῦς) speaks from the deity. Such possession is similar to the revelation of the δυνάμεις, the "deeds of power" seen in the Anatolian divine judicial system in Chapter 3, where the deities who "possess" (κατέχω) towns and territories maintain order by divine power. Revelations of the deities' powers in this form of possession would serve as a reminder of their powers, to be discussed below at 6.4.6.

Divine possession is described elsewhere in Plato and also in Philo as divine madness and as a "mindless" state. In passages in the *Phaedrus*, for example, divinely-induced madness is distinguished from madness as a human illness, as "the 'birth' by a complete divine change of the customary ways" (τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ θείας ἐξαλλαγῆς τῶν εἰωθότων νομίμων γιγνομένην).¹²² Philo extols the *therapeutes* who pursue a philosophic way of life because they do not follow customary teachings but "being seized heavenward by love, just as those in a state of Bacchic or Corybantic ecstasy, they are in a state of divine possession until they see what they desire" (ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἀρπασθέντες οὐρανίου, καθάπερ οἱ βακχεύομενοι καὶ κορυβαντιῶντες, ἐνθουσιάζουσι μέχρις ἂν τὸ ποθούμενον ἴδωσιν.)¹²³

Divine madness appears as a kind of departure from the normal structure of life that keeps the mind in order. Philo describes his experience of the mindless state in the context of his work on occasions "when I come empty suddenly I become full being invisibly snowed upon and seeded by thoughts from above, so that by divine possession I become

¹²²Pl. *Phdr.* 265A-B. Four types this divine madness are distinguished as particular to four deities: prophetic (μαντικὴν) belongs to the breath of Apollo, ritual or initiatory (τελεστικὴν) to Dionysus, poetic to the Muses and erotic to Aphrodite and Eros. He also describes the madness using forms of the word *μανία*, and discusses its benefits, including the cleansing and purifying value of madness in the rituals (καθαρμῶν τε καὶ τελετῶν.) Pl. *Phdr.* 244A-245C. On this passage see also Ivan M. Linforth, *Telestic Madness in Plato, Phaedrus 244DE*, University of California Publications in Classical Philology, vol. 13, no. 6 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946) 163-72.

¹²³Philo *De vita contemplativa* 12. "Customary teaching" renders "οὔτε ἐξ ἔθους οὔτε ἐκ παραινέσεως ἢ παρακλήσεώς τινων."

like a Corybant and become mindless of everything, place, surroundings, myself, things said, things written." (ὥς ὑπὸ κατοχῆς ἐνθέου κορυβαντιᾶν καὶ πάντα ἄγνοεῖν, τὸν τόπον, τοὺς παρόντας, ἑμαυτόν, τὰ λεγόμενα, τὰ γραφόμενα.)¹²⁴ To be divinely possessed, then, requires abandonment not only of the regular rules of behavior but the mind itself (ἄγνοειν). Those observing perceive the removal of the normal mind as a sign that the one in the ecstatic state speaks for the deity since he or she is possessed by the deity.

As the passage in the *Ion* continues, Plato's Socrates emphasizes the theme of divine possession (κατεχόμενοι) in which the one who speaks, in this case a poet, is only an interpreter of the deities (ἡ ἐρμηνῆς εἰς τὸν θεῶν), and those who are possessed have each been seized by one deity (κατεχόμενοι ἐξ ὅτου ἅν ἕκαστος κατέχεται). Further on he makes this more explicit, using the image of the magnet and the pieces of iron, saying that one poet is suspended from one Muse, another from another, thus we say that "he is possessed (or held)" (ὀνομάζομεν δὲ αὐτὸ κατέχεται). Socrates then uses the verb repeatedly as he elaborates his description, which makes the divinely possessed speaker a link in the chain from the deity to the audience, sustained by the deity's magnet-like power.¹²⁵

¹²⁴Philo *De migratione Abraham* 35.

¹²⁵The verb κατέχω appears frequently in other such descriptions. Cf., for example, Philo *Qui rerum divinarum heres* 69-70; *De opificio mundi* 69-71; and *De migratione Abrahami* 35.

The implication is that the one possessed not only has a personal experience which can be curative but also mediates between the deities and the wider community. The ecstatic speaker, prophet or Corybant or poet, has a particular social role in a community in which the deities are understood to participate. The state of ecstasy not only transports the ecstatic emotionally but also maintains the relationship between communities and their deities. The mediator, not coincidentally, embodies the liminal position in behavior beyond the boundaries of normal everyday customs, leaving the mind within the boundaries, to be possessed by the deity.

6.4.6 *Divine Possession and Community Order (Law and Melody)*

The verb κατέχω used for this possession is the same one used in several of the inscriptions cited in Chapter 3 to indicate the deity's rulership over a particular place. The confession inscription concerning the three pigs, for example, began, "Great is Mother Anaitis who possesses (κατέχουσα) Azitta and Great is Men Tiamou and Great are their deeds of power" (Μεγάλη Μήτηρ Ἀνάετις Ἀζιττα κατέχουσα καὶ Μεῖς Τιάμου καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν.)¹²⁶ This may provide another clue to the

¹²⁶See 3.2.4.3. In addition, a long inscription from the late fourth century found at Colophon in Ionia includes a dedication to a list of deities, including a Meter Antaia, and all the other deities and heroes "who rule us, both city and country" (οἱ κατέχουσιν ἡμῶν τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἰχώραν), see CCCA I, no. 599. An Astragalomanteia from Attalia in Pamphylia says of the Mother of the Gods, "rulership like powerful wolves holding a lamb or lions holding a cow, the spiral of all these things and you, rulership. ([ὥς] ἄρνα κατέχουσι λύκοι κρατεροί τε λέοντες ἰβ[ι]ους ἔλικας πάτων τούτων καὶ σὺ, κρατ[ήσις].) See CCCA I, no. 738. Cf. CCCA i, no. 757. Pierre DeBord (*Aspects*, 166) also comments on the use of

apparently paradoxical dual unity of identity of the goddess. While the use of this word to describe the deity's rule over a particular locality does not suggest a permanent state of "Corybantic enthusiasm" among the population in general, the active presence of the deity is felt in the "deeds of power," the δυνάμεις, which are seen as the direct and active intervention by the deities in everyday affairs as well as in the state of divine madness among the ecstasies.¹²⁷ The "possession" of the locality by the deity, seen both in the enforcement role and in the active possession of some worshippers in the ritual context would not be viewed as contradictory but as a unified ordering of life under the care and protection of the guardian deity, the Mother of "Our Place."

The image of the magnetic stone and bits of iron that Plato uses may be applied in this case to the community. The guardian deity's power holds the community together like a magnet would hold not just a single chain of iron bits suspended but an agglomeration of iron shavings. The magnetic power which holds the outermost bits is mediated through the inner ones. The innermost "bits" are the Corybants or Curetes understood as divine beings which seize individual human beings in the ritual context who in turn manifest the deities' δυνάμεις by drawing other participants into the ritual "enthusiasm." In everyday community life the divine δυνάμεις operate in enforcing actions such as

κατέχων and βασιλεύων for the relationship between particular villages and their specific dominating deities in the rural Lydian inscriptions.

¹²⁷ See the discussion of δυνάμεις in Chapter 3, and especially Steinleitner's understanding of the term. See 3.2.5.3.

those seen in the confession inscriptions and function like a divine magnetic force to keep the whole configuration bound together in a divine social order as an electromagnetic field in which non-alignment produces a shock.¹²⁸ The image of the magnetic field, however, describes the operation of divine δυνάμεις of deities understood to be very real personalities, not impersonal forces.

A return to the passage in Plato's *Ion* and to two of his other indirect descriptions of the Corybantic ecstatic state can show how the apparent disorder relates to community order specifically in the form of laws. Possession by a particular divine entity is transmitted in the ritual context as the Corybantic worshipper focuses entirely upon the particular melody of that entity and responds with bodily movements. As the rhythm and melody of the particular deity become manifest in the ecstatic's dancing, the deity takes hold and possesses the ecstatic.¹²⁹

Laws operate like the melodies. This can be seen in the end of the dialogue of Socrates and Crito.¹³⁰ Socrates is imprisoned shortly before his death, and Crito comes to visit him to offer an escape plan. Socrates responds with an expression of loyalty to laws even though it means his own death. To explain he describes the Laws personified in a voice that speaks to him and reminds him of how they have been responsible for him since his earliest nurture and training as an

¹²⁸See the comments on ἐπιζητεῖν above. See 3.2.5.5.

¹²⁹See Pl. *Ion* 536C.

¹³⁰Pl. *Crito* 50C-54D.

infant. The voices of the Laws which he hears function for him like the flute melodies operate for the Corybantic worshippers to provide a focal point for the whole of Socrates' attention so that other voices are blocked out.¹³¹ Laws guide his behavior, presumably, like the melody guides the Corybantic dance.

A reference to Marsyas in the *Minos*, alternatively titled *On Law*, confirms this.¹³² In a dialogue between Socrates and a companion about who the appropriate lawgivers are for given contexts, such as the trainer for the body or the shepherd for the sheep.¹³³ Marsyas is named, with Olympus the Phrygian, as the best lawgiver for the laws of flute-playing (ἐν τοῖς αὐλητικοῖς νόμοις νομοθέτης). "Their flute melodies also are most divine, and alone move and reveal those who are in the use or service of the deities (τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ἐν χρειᾷ ὄντας); and still up to now only these are left as the ones that are divine (καὶ ἔτι

¹³¹Pl. *Crito* 54D. Ταῦτα, ὦ φίλε ἑταῖρε Κρίτων, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ἐγὼ δοκῶ ἀκούειν· ὥπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες τῶν αὐλῶν δοκοῦσιν ἀκούειν, καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ αὕτη ἡ ἡχὴ τούτων τῶν λόγων βομβεῖ καὶ ποιεῖ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν. (These voices, dear friend Crito, you know very well that I think that I to hear, just as the Corybantic ecstasies think that they hear those of the flutes, and this sound of these words rings deep in me and it causes me not to be made able to hear any others.) Linforth discusses the use of the word δοκέω here as an indication of an "imagined" flute melody that the Corybantic devotees hear. This seems to be over-interpretation of the use of the term here. It would seem to indicate more the internal experience than that the flute music is imaginary. See Linforth, *Corybantic Rites*, 136-7.

¹³²Pl. *Minos*, 318B.

¹³³The idea of law in this passage is associated very closely with the activity of just apportionment and orderly distribution.

καὶ νῦν μόνα λοιπά, ὥς θεῖα ὄντα)." ¹³⁴ The flute melodies in the rituals, which originate in Phrygia, operate as a kind of divine harmonic law in this instance. They manifest the δυνάμεις of the deities by designating which individuals are in their service, which are divinely possessed.

This service and possession by the melodies of Marsyas could also be understood in terms not of harmonious divine law but less benignly as a spell he casts upon hearers, as can be seen in the speech of Alcibiades about Socrates as a satyr in Plato's *Symposium*. ¹³⁵ Alcibiades describes his experience of hearing Socrates as the emotional upset, the leaping heart and streaming tears felt by those in a Corybantic frenzy. Socrates's speeches make him feel his own worthlessness and inadequacy so that he describes his life to be as miserable as a slave's (ἀνδράποδον). ¹³⁶ From this it can be seen that divine possession is not always understood as a positive experience but could make the ecstasies see themselves from the perspective of the deities who possessed them, sometimes a bitter awareness.

¹³⁴Cf. the LCL translation which reads ἐν χρείᾳ as "in need of the gods," and seems to imply that it is Marsyas and Olympus who remain, not the flute tunes.

¹³⁵Pl. *Symp.* 215C. ὁ μὲν γε δι' ὀργάνων ἐκλήλει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος δυνάμει. ([Marsyas] who charmed people by means of instruments by the power [of the breath from] his mouth).

¹³⁶See Pl. *Symp.* 215E-216D.

6.4.7 *Divine Possession and Connection to the Primordial and Transforming*

The musical strains which cast this spell incite a dance which in some descriptions evokes a connection which is not only divine but also primordial, both in the sense of creation myths and in the sense of a return to infancy. Both Lucian and Philo describe the dance in connection with the dance of the heavenly spheres in rhythmic harmony in the context of creation.¹³⁷ Lucian cites astral harmony as proof that dance itself was primordial (πρωτογόνοϛ), and in the beginning Rhea ordered the dances of the Phrygian Corybantes and Cretan Curetes, which allowed Zeus to be protected.¹³⁸ The connection to infancy as a primordial experience can be seen by a reversal of an analogy in Plato's *Leges*, in which the healing and soothing effect of the motion and sound of baby-rocking and crooning is likened to the healing results of the Corybantic dance and melody.¹³⁹ Here we find the primordial connections generally characteristic of liminality.

The Corybantic experience described indirectly by the analogies found in these literary references took place in the context of rituals, frequently called "mystery initiations," but probably best described as telestic rites or *teletae*. The central element of the ritual, at least in one version known from Samothrace, was a "chairing" or "enthronement" ceremony (θρόνωνσις) in which the worshipper undergoing the experience

¹³⁷Lucian *Salt.* 7; and Philo *De opificio mundi* 69-71.

¹³⁸Lucian *Salt.* 8.

¹³⁹Pl. *Leg.* 7.790C-791B.

would be seated in a chair around which the ministering worshippers would dance until the seated person was caught up into the dance.¹⁴⁰

These rites were understood to confer some form of benefit upon the individual participant and were a rite of passage perhaps best left defined generally in the formula of the hymn cited by Demosthenes, "I fled what is bad, I found what is better."¹⁴¹ The passage is made through a liminal and transformative experience which is beyond the boundaries of conventional norms of behavior. Yet beyond conventional boundaries does not mean simply out of control and unruly. Rather it is under the control of a more encompassing divine ruling power, mediated through shrill reed-flute melodies and low-pitched drum rhythms in which the ecstatic leaves his or her normal senses and lets the divine entity take charge. Divine rhythms and melodies organize the ritual, just as laws order everyday community life. Under divine possession the worshipper enters the *limen* between divine and human and may perform some mediating function in the social organization, which includes the deities. This kinetic liminal state which, in Anatolia, probably took

¹⁴⁰See Arthur Darby Nock, "A Cabiric Rite," *AJA* 45 (1941) 577-81; and Linforth, *Corybantic Rites*, 154-7. Nock (579-80) shows the connection of these rites with the Mother of the Gods, a connection that is lacking in the Athenian evidence, as Linforth notes (157). Philo's image of the dance of the heavenly bodies and the mind's transport in the midst of the astral dance appears to rely on the image of this ritual context. See *De opificio mundi*, 69-71. Whether women participated in this particular ceremony is not made clear.

¹⁴¹Dem. *De cor.* 259. ἔφυγον κακόν, εὑρον ἄμεινον.

place in forest and mountain locations outside the town boundaries, can also be seen to connect the worshipper to what is primordial.

An excessive reliance on available evidence from Plato and Philo must be acknowledged here, and their viewpoint may distort our perception of experience generally associated with the "mystery cults" as they took shape in a more Hellenized environment. It may well be that the attempt to discern "mysteries" for participants in the cult, other than the *galli*, may not be appropriate in Anatolia. In Anatolia we see a cult with a history on its own territory, the cult of a goddess in place as the mountain overlooking the city and land she guards. At Pessinus, for example, where the cult and the social organization of the temple state would not be distinguished, initiatory ritual would have a different significance than what is described, for example, of the cult of Isis in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

In general, we have seen that Anatolian cult organization is distinguished by the presence of temple hierarchies in which significant numbers of temple personnel serve for life. Rites of passage into such positions would have social and religious significance which should not be too readily equated with the more personal experiences and motivations associated with the so-called "mystery cults." Initiation in the "mysteries" is not necessarily characterized by a qualitative change in outward social or religious status or relationship. Initiates might become members of a voluntary association with other co-mystes, or they might not, but in many of the so-called "mystery cults" they did not become priests or prophets as a result, nor did

they make a permanent change in their daily wearing apparel or in how they made their living.

For the cult of the Mountain Mothers in their home territories, the inward experience and the outwardly visible attributes of divine possession play an important role in communal ritual. The communal ritual in turn helps to maintain orderly community life. In this sense the elements of a "fertility cult" can be seen in the annual commemoration of Attis's death to be discussed in the next section.

6.5 Annual Funeral Rites

6.5.1 *Annual Lamentations and "Fertility Cult"*

Although the passage from Herodotus cited at 6.4.3 portrays Anacharsis as engaging individually in a nightly ritual for the Mother of the Gods in the Scythian forest, the more orgiastic communal ritual appears to have been an annual affair characterized by the activities of mourning. That the rites unquestionably took place annually at Rome during the last part of March has already been mentioned. The version of the myth in Diodorus Siculus discussed above also explains an annual ritual in honor of Cybele and mourning rituals over a surrogate image of Attis, although they may not belong to the same ritual cycle.¹⁴² Plutarch, writing in the late first century, indicates that the ceremony is annual in Phrygia when he includes them among a list of lugubrious rituals of various nationalities.¹⁴³ He indicates the connection of these various annual rituals with the seasonal cycles of agricultural production. Of the Phrygians he says,

Φρύγες δὲ τὸν θεὸν οἰόμενοι χειμῶνος καθεύδειν, θέρους δ' ἐγρηγορέναι, τότε μὲν κατευνασμούς, τότε δ' ἀνεγέρεις βακχεύοντες αὐτῷ τελοῦσι.

The Phrygians, who believe that the god is asleep during the winter and awake in the summer, in the one part of the year perform rituals

¹⁴²See 6.1.1.

¹⁴³Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 69. Πῶς οὖν χρηστὸν ἐστὶ ταῖς σκυθρωπαῖς καὶ ἀγελάστοις καὶ πενθίμοις θυσίαις, εἰ μήτε παραλείπειν τὰ νενομισμένα καλῶς ἔχει μήτε φύρειν τὰς περὶ θεῶν δόξας καὶ συνταράττειν ὑποψίας ἀτόποις; (How, then, are we to deal with their gloomy, solemn, and mournful sacrifices, if it be not proper either to omit the customary ceremonials or to confound and confuse our opinions about the gods by unwarranted suspicions?) Trans. Frank Cole Babbitt, LCL.

which lull him to sleep while in the other part of the year they perform bacchic-type rites to awaken him.¹⁴⁴

While the god is not named, Plutarch most probably refers to Attis. In the passage which follows he explains the rituals in connection with the agricultural cycle as an aspect of civilization,

The season of the year also gives us a suspicion that this gloominess is brought about because of the disappearance from our sight of the crops and fruits that people in days of old did not regard as gods, but as necessary and important contributions of the gods toward the avoidance of a savage and bestial life. At the time of year when they saw some of the fruits vanishing and disappearing completely from the trees, while they themselves were sowing others in a mean and poverty-stricken fashion still, scraping away the earth with their hands and again replacing it, committing the seeds to the ground with uncertain expectation of their ever appearing again or coming to fruition, they did many things like persons at a funeral in mourning for their dead. Then again, even as we speak of the man who buys the books of Plato as 'buying Plato,' and of the man who represents the poems of Menander as 'acting Menander,' even so those men of old did not refrain from calling by the name of the god the gifts and creations of the god, honouring and venerating them because of the need which they had for them. The men of later times accepted this blindly, and in their ignorance referred to the gods the behaviour of the crops and the presence and disappearance of necessities, not only calling them the births and deaths (γενέσεις καὶ φθοράς) of the gods, but even believing that they are so; and thus they filled their mind with absurd, unwarranted, and confused opinion although they had before their eyes the absurdity of such illogical reasoning.¹⁴⁵

To philosophers who challenge the logic of lamenting the deities themselves, Plutarch responds that it is actually the crops that the people are lamenting while they pray to the gods to supply abundance in the next cycle.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 378F.

¹⁴⁵Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 379A-B. Trans. Frank Cole Babbitt, LCL. (The original Greek is not particularly significant here.)

¹⁴⁶Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 379C.

What can be seen in this passage is that the annual mourning rituals were understood to be connected to the cycle of crops and that the crops were identified by common people with the deities themselves in a cycle of birth and death. While Attis himself cannot be force-fit into a model of a "dying-rising god" as discussed in Chapter 1, the rituals are nevertheless associated with the fallow and abundant cycle of the seasons. Some of the literary sources from late antiquity develop this theme.¹⁴⁷

Sfameni Gasparro's analysis of "Attis' vegetal connections" can aid in distinguishing between the aspects of the ritual and myth identifiable with so-called "fertility cults" and the assumption of Attis as a "dying-rising god."¹⁴⁸ The mourning of Cybele and the sterility of the land associated with the death and unburied body of Attis is analogous to episodes in the myths of Ishtar-Tammuz and Demeter-Persephone where the absence of the goddess brings sterility to the land.¹⁴⁹ In the case of Attis there is no alternating absence and

¹⁴⁷Firmicus Maternus, a later Christian polemical writer, makes the identification of the annual funeral rites for Attis as fertility rituals. See Firm. Mat. 3.1-3. See Varro and Porphyry as preserved in August. *De civ. D.* 7.24-25; and Arn. *Adv. Nat.* 3.32. Earlier, in the first century B.C.E., Lucretius' allegorical interpretation of elements of the procession at Rome identifies the Mother of the Gods with the earth, Lucr. *De rerum natura* 598-700 *in passim*.

¹⁴⁸Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 43-9.

¹⁴⁹Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 44-5.

return. Attis dies with no revival. He remains in a "subsistence in death."¹⁵⁰

Nevertheless dead Attis is annually commemorated by the funeral rites or lamentation performed by the Phrygians before his image. In this manner the character is felt to be present in a ritually effective way, and order returns after its disruption.¹⁵¹

The annual lamentation becomes the community's ritual participation in the seasonal agricultural cycle. The people mourn with their goddess, the Mother of their place, for the mercurial figure of Attis, for his death in life and his life in death. The community thus ritualizes the order of agricultural production by a "disordered" orgia of grief which marks the passage from one phase of the cycle to the next. Plutarch mentions the role of orderly agricultural production in the maintenance of civilized community life against threatened lapse into a "savage and bestial life" (ζῆν ἀγρίως καὶ θηριωδῶς). Here we can see the pattern of the guardian goddess who is not simply the "Earth Mother" who represents the abundance of nature but the force which brings forth abundance by means of ordered community life in concert with the natural cycles, marked by annual community rites of passage through the liminal times between seasons.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 45, and 42.

¹⁵¹Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 45.

¹⁵²Van Gennep mentions seasonal changes as rites of passage, most commonly found as new year's celebrations or ceremonies marking either equinoxes or solstices. For example, expulsion of winter may be seen as a rite of separation and the entry of summer into the community a rite of incorporation. Van Gennep, *Rites*, 178-9.

6.5.2 *Attis and the Pine Tree*

Attis's primary "vegetal connection" is with the pine tree. He is frequently portrayed, as was mentioned in Chapter 4, under a pine tree, standing, sitting, or reclining after his castration. Pine trees in iconography of the cult are also shown with the characteristic musical instruments of the cult hanging from the branches.¹⁵³

The *Arbor Intrat* mentioned as part of the celebration at Rome is also confirmed as a basic element of the cult in Anatolia. Graillot's description may be a probable reconstruction, although he relies primarily on Roman and Latin sources from late antiquity.¹⁵⁴ He describes a ceremonial cutting of the pine tree. On the stump, a ram may have been immolated in sacrifice to consecrate the tree.¹⁵⁵ The trunk was then wrapped in purple linens which may indicate a royal corpse. The branches were hung with attributes of Attis as the Phrygian shepherd: staff, syrinx, tambourine, cymbals, and double flute. In the midst of the tree a little figurine of Attis was attached.¹⁵⁶ A funeral procession then transported the tree to the sanctuary with dirges and mourning and deep-voiced drumbeats. The tree was displayed at the

¹⁵³See Vermaseren, *Legend*, 14-20.

¹⁵⁴Graillot, 121-5.

¹⁵⁵Firm. Mat. Err. Prof. Rel. 27.1, 4. Which cult includes the immolation of the ram is not directly specified. See Firmicus Maternus, *The Error of the Pagan Religions*, trans. Clarence Forbes, Ancient Christian Writers Series, ed. Johannes Quasten, Walter J. Burghardt, and Thomas Comerford Lawler, no. 37 (New York and Ramsey, New Jersey: Newman Press, 1970) 219, n. 501.

¹⁵⁶See Firm. Mat. Err. Prof. Rel. 27.1.

sanctuary for the adoration of the faithful.¹⁵⁷ After the other days of *orgia*, Attis was transported into the temple and buried or shrouded there.¹⁵⁸

Ritually and symbolically, then, Attis is a pine tree, an evergreen, a tree of the forests on the mountain sides. The tree is cut and mourned annually in keeping with the order of the seasons, but it does not actually "die" annually like a deciduous tree or the grain or flowers of the field. Attis is also associated with this other annual vegetation and the crop cycle,¹⁵⁹ but he is identified as the pine tree. It is to the pine tree that his image is attached and as the pine tree that he is buried to take away the curse on the land.

Here we can conjecture that the rite of passage from one season to the next may be indicated in the rite of separation of the tree from its roots on the mountainside, the separation of Attis from Cybele, the transitional time of mourning and *orgia*, and the reincorporation in the burial of Attis, either in Cybele's temple or in a mountain cave.¹⁶⁰ It is in this time of transition that young men pass through their rite of passage also and become *galli*, reincorporated with the goddess by their

¹⁵⁷ Graillot, 123-5.

¹⁵⁸ Graillot, 130. The rituals of the "rise" of Attis described by Graillot for the succeeding days cannot be securely dated as early as the first century C.E.

¹⁵⁹ Castration and harvest are also symbolically equated in later sources.

¹⁶⁰ See Arnobius *Adv. nat.* 5.7, cited at 6.1.2.1.

castration and change of clothing, and that the other *orgia* of grief and divine possession may have occurred.

6.6 Myths and Rituals of Cybele and Attis; The Pattern of Guardian-Goddess and Shepherd-King Revisited

Several elements of the pattern of the Guardian Goddess and the Shepherd King can be detected in the myth and ritual of Cybele and Attis, although transformed in significant ways. In the last chapter, the pattern of the Ancient Near Eastern Guardian Goddess and Shepherd King was summarized. Similarities were noted between the image of Attis as the shepherd-king and the Ancient Near Eastern shepherd-kings. We can now review the pattern with the myths and rituals in mind.

We have seen in several of the narratives that Cybele chooses Attis because she is attracted to him, as the ancient near eastern goddesses chose the kings or the divine figures they represented. This relationship placed the king in an intermediary position between the goddess and her people. The general well-being of the city relied upon the king's relationship with the goddess, expressed in his sexual union with her. His refusal to maintain that union resulted first in the absences of the goddess during her journey in the underworld and then in his death. His absence signalled sterility of the land and stopped the movement of all the equipment of food production.

In the narratives of the myth of Cybele and Attis there is, as has already been mentioned, no journey to the underworld and no "dying and rising." Yet we do find similar themes. The faithfulness of Attis is not established by sexual union with the goddess but rather by a kind of

"trial by marriage," or more specifically "trial by human (or naiadic) heterosexual union." In the myth as told by Pausanias and Timotheus the castration and death of Attis takes place in the context of an interrupted wedding.¹⁶¹ The attempt is made to break Attis's relationship with the chimerical Agdistis by marrying him to a young woman, a plan which fails and leads to his castration and death. In the various versions it can be seen that Attis castrates himself in some form of attempt, either on his part or Cybele's, to secure his loyalty. Just as Inanna unleashed the powers of the underworld on Dumuzi, Cybele unleashes her *mania*; or Attis, more attentive to Cybele than Dumuzi was to Inanna, is seized by a sense of guilt. The result is the same.

The castration appears to obviate the necessity of a journey to the underworld, yet the themes of absence, return, and the death of Attis are still present. The unburied body of Attis occasions the sterility of the land which threatens community life, and Cybele is not absent but mourns and wails with her people in the *orgia* on the mountainsides. Ritually Attis is "found" as a pine tree, given a royal funeral complete with great wailing and pomp and self-laceration. Mythically, the goddess claims him in a form of life-in-death in which the body is preserved. In his representatives, the castrated *galli* who survive, he is present as a sign of cultic faithfulness to the goddess. In any case the curse on the land occasioned by the decaying body is removed and

¹⁶¹Apuleius, writing in Latin in the second century C.E. also refers to the interrupted wedding as if his readers are familiar with the event (Apul. *Met.* 4.26.) Pausanias also mentions that the king castrated himself as well.

Attis's bond of relationship with Cybele is sealed so that the well-being of the community may be assured. Agricultural production can continue, governmental administration can be maintained, and pestilence, disease, and invading hordes can all be kept outside the limits of the community maintained by the goddess's power when she is at peace.

This description may be applicable to the cult as it originated in its Anatolian homeland where the Attis was the priest-king. By the first century C.E., however, we see the cult in diaspora conditions. The focus upon Attis as a shepherd-king has been transposed to the *galli*. While the temple remains as a center, the "entrepreneurial" role of the *galli* as "holy men" who are both located in temples and wandering as prophets and religious performers appears to be more prominent. The ritual which had centered around the figure of Attis as the priest-king has been appropriated by the *galli* so that the "mysteries" of the cult of Cybele and Attis form their "initiation."¹⁶² Their activity and role in this transformed context is the subject of the next chapter.

¹⁶²On this cf. Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 66-77.

CHAPTER 7

THE GALLI: LIFE IN THE *LIMEN*

The previous chapters showed that it was sometimes difficult to distinguish descriptions of Attis from descriptions of the *galli* who served the goddess. The *galli* have been discussed already as the initiates represented by Attis when we analyze the myths in connection with their rite of passage. Attis and the *galli* emerge, as has been discussed, into a permanent liminal state. The new status they assume places them always in the liminal position between male and female, divine and human, slave-child and adult citizen male. No longer in the ritual *limen*, they move into a cultic and social position which is liminal, "interstitial" as a social location between the categories of defined social groupings with the permanent pollution and power of the liminal position. The *galli* have the same mercurial quality as Attis, projecting an image which at once attracts and repels. This chapter will focus on the *galli* in this interstitial position in order to understand the implications of their social location and cultic function. The *galli*, like Attis, are visible only by double vision. Their image is double-valent, and it is this very double-valence which is the foundation of Paul's rhetorical strategy, as will be argued in Part C.

In the Hellenistic and Roman eras we see the *galli* identified with Attis as a castrated figure. We have seen this identification in literary evidence already cited, such as Catullus, Martial, Lucian, and others, as well as in the discussion of the myth as it relates to the initiation of the *galli*. The term *gallus* as a technical name for these cultic servants of the Mother of the Gods comes into the literature during the Hellenistic period. The traditional name was μητραγύρτης, or "the Mother's beggar." With the emergence of the term *gallus*, the evidence of castration also asserts itself, as has been pointed out by Philippe Borgeaud, and more recently in a forthcoming article by Eugene Lane,¹ although such a role within the cult of guardian goddesses of the ancient near east may have a much longer history, seen in the *gala*, *kurgarru*,[^] and *assinnu* of the cults of Inanna and Ishtar, as Will Roscoe argues in a recent article.²

¹Philippe Borgeaud, "L'écriture d'Attis: le récit dans l'histoire," in *Métamorphoses du mythe en grèce antique*, ed. Claude Calame, Religions in Perspectives Serie, ed. Henry Pernet, no. 4 (Geneva: Édition Labor et Fides, 1988) 89. Eugene N. Lane, "The Name of Cybele's Priests the 'Galloi.'" Lane argues that the confusion of the term with the name of the Galatians may not be mere coincidence but happened in connection with the renaming of rivers as Gallus after the Galatian invasions.

²Will Roscoe, "Priests of the Goddess," demonstrates striking similarities of social, economic, and religious traits and functions of three gender-transgressing cult functionaries: the *galli* of the Roman era, the *Hijra* who serve the goddess Bahuchara Mata in present-day India, and the functionaries of Inanna and Ishtar. While the data is insufficient to establish historical continuity for this pattern so that eunuch or gender-transgressing functionaries could be interpolated wherever a guardian goddess is found, wherever these functionaries are found there appears to be a guardian goddess and a set of similar traits and functions.

In the Hellenistic period the focal point of ritual in the cult thus appears to have shifted from the priest-king Attis to these itinerant practitioners.³ Attis as the priest-king, as the shepherd-king, may once have been the major mediator between the people and their goddess to maintain the orderly functioning of the community and the cycle of cultivation. Where the goddess remained as the guardian over a temple-based cult and social organization, the Attis-king may have continued in this function.⁴ By the Hellenistic era, however, as Attis began to emerge as a divine figure in myth and in Hellenized iconography, so also the *galli* rose to prominence, first called *metragyrtēs* or "Mother-beggars" and then *galli*. As itinerant practitioners, they thus served a population devoted to and "possessed by" the Mother of the Gods, but now both culturally invaded in the homeland and physically dispersed within Anatolia and across the Roman Empire. The interstitial position of the *galli* is no less complex than the new social context of the cult. While the *galli* began increasingly to represent Attis ritually, they also emerged with a distinct image and identity of their own.

The first part of this chapter will be devoted to descriptions of the *galli* and their cultic performances (7.1). The second part will

³Roscoe, "Priests of the Goddess," also makes this suggestion.

⁴Even at Pessinus, however, this function is distributed among a council of *archigalli*, five Phrygians and five Galatians. See CCCA I, nos. 59 and 60. See also Graillot, 354; and Jerome Carcopino, "La réforme romaine du culte de Cybèle et d'Attis," in *Aspects Mystiques de la Rome Païenne* (Paris: L'Artisan du Livre, 1942) 158-9.

examine various elements of the social and cultic role of the *galli* as they functioned in an interstitial position (7.2). The third part will propose some hypotheses about the complex of motivations a young male might have had to castrate himself to become a *gallus* (7.3). In turn, this analysis will provide a background from which better to understand why adult gentile males in Anatolia would want to be circumcised, and what symbolic implications circumcision would evoke in this context (Chapter 8).

7.1 Descriptions of the Galli

The presence of *galli* and *archigalli* is attested in Anatolian epigraphical evidence and a portion of an accompanying relief, from locations in Galatia proper and Pisidia, and from the cities of Cyzicus, Smyrna, Cyme, Hierapolis, and Savatra.⁵ Most of the inscriptions date to the second or third century C.E. or are undated. Two are earlier. One of these is a contract from the first century B.C.E. in Cyme, which names a [Μέ]νανγρος ἀρχίγαλλος of a society of mysteries in honor of the god Καίων Μάνδρος, the only instance of this title in another cult.⁶ The other is from Cyzicus, dated 46 B.C.E., and is a votive to the Meter Kotiane by a *gallus* Soterides on behalf of his

⁵CCCA I, nos. 35a, 57, 76, 287, 528, 548, 745-8, 755, and 801. No. 748 is the tomb of a ἱερόγαλλος. An attestation on the Aegaeon island of Lesbos excludes either *galli* or Galatians, men or women, along with traitors, (δὲ μὴ εἰστέιχην μηδὲ πορδότης : [μὴ εἰσ]τείχην δὲ μηδὲ γάλλοις μηδὲ : [γυ]ναῖκες γαλλάζην ἐν τῷι τεμένει), CCCA II, no. 553.

⁶CCCA I, no. 528. See also Joseph Keil, "Mysterieninschrift aus dem äolischen Kyme," *JOAI* 14 (1911) 133-140.

own "co-habitor" or "spouse" (τοῦ ἰδίου συμβίου), a soldier who has been taken captive in a battle in Libya.⁷

Some visual portrayals of *galli* and *archigalli* have been preserved in reliefs, mostly from Rome and Italy, which show adult eunuchs in their characteristic attire and with the equipment of their cultic role.⁸ All are dated to the second or third century, but the portrayals correspond to items mentioned in earlier literary evidence, and to the portion of a relief portraying a *gallus* from Comana in Pisidia.⁹ A monument or altar, of unknown provenance and possibly from the early second century C.E., also shows *galli*.¹⁰ On the front face of the stone two figures dressed and posed as the mourning Attis flank a standing Cybele. These figures are identified by some scholars as *galli*. On the left face, we also see four similarly-attired figures carrying a sacred bier on poles. On the bier is a throne with a *cista mystica* and two additional Attis-*galli* figures flanking the throne. All the *galli* but the ones on the bier clearly wear the Phrygian cap, the *anaxyrides* or "Persian trousers," girdle-sleeved *chitons* and cloaks.

⁷CCCA I, no. 287.

⁸CCCA III, nos. 249, 250, 307, 422, 446, 447, 448, and 466.

⁹CCCA I, no. 755.

¹⁰CCCA VII, no. 39. On the right face of the stone is a pine tree hung with cymbals, tympanum, and pipe. See also Ludwig Budde and Richard Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press for the Fitzwilliam Museum, 1964) 77-8, no. 125 and Pl. 41. It should be noted that the attire portrayed is not particularly "feminine."

A further piece of evidence, which might be classified as literary, is found in one of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, dated by the hand-writing to the second century C.E. It further confirms the status of the *galli* as initiates of the cult and provides further information on the significance of their "homosexual" identity and relationships.¹¹

Literary sources provide descriptions of the *galli* and their activities. Two of the most vivid descriptions of the *galli*, particularly as mendicant bands, describe *galli* of the Syrian goddess.¹² A third reference also probably describes *galli* of the same goddess.¹³ Many other texts, which refer to various aspects of the attire and behavior of the *galli* of the Mother of the Gods, are repeated in the descriptions of the *galli* of Atargatis. Here several selected citations will represent the rest of the evidence.

7.1.1 *The Galli's Initiation into a Liminal Gender*

In Chapter 6 implications of the gender ambiguity of the *galli* were discussed in connection with the ambiguity of Attis as an androgynous being, as "feminized male" or "neither male nor female." We have already seen many references to Attis which are also applicable to the

¹¹Parsons, "A Greek Satyricon?" 53-68. The text is POxy 3010.

¹²Apul. *Met.* 8.25-30; and Lucian *DDS* 27 and 50.

¹³Firm. *Mat. Err. Prof. Rel.* 4.2-3. He describes them in the context of the religion of the Syrians and Africans and refers to the goddess of the air who in the area of Carthage would be the Punic Tanit or Latin Caelestis. Her priests were not eunuchs. See comments in the Forbes translation, 150-1, nn. 64 and 71.

galli in this androgynous representation. This will emerge again in descriptions to be discussed below.¹⁴

Much of the literary evidence about the gender ambiguity of the *galli* is drawn from satirical works and from Christian anti-pagan polemics. These emphasize the effeminate aspects of the *galli* in order to ridicule them. However, both humor and polemics rely on some level of accuracy to be effective. We can assume that the *galli* and the goddess's devotees looked at something close to the same image as the satirists and polemicists, even if they did not see it as ridiculous.

Attis and the *galli* assume an ambiguous gender status after the act of self-castration when they also begin to wear a different set of clothing, seen as female clothing. They also appear to have taken on a role in sexual activity which was "neither male nor female."

Lucian describes the ritual of castration in the context of the temple-based cult of Atargatis at Hierapolis in Syria.

(50) ἐν ῥητῇσι δὲ ἡμέρησι τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν ἀγείρονται, Γάλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἔλεξα ἱροὶ ἄνθρωποι τελέουσι τὰ ὄργια, τάμνονταί τε τοὺς πῆχεας καὶ τοῖσι νάτωοιςι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τύπτονται. πολλοὶ δὲ σφίσι παρεστεῶτες ἐπαυλέουσι, πολλοὶ δὲ τύμπανα παταγέουσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ αἰδίδουσιν ἔνθεα καὶ ἱρὰ ὕσματα. τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐκτὸς τοῦ νηοῦ τότε γίνεται, οὐδὲ ἐσέρχονται ἐς τὸν νηὸν ὁκόσοι τότε ποιέουσιν. (51) ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσιν ἡμέρησι καὶ Γάλλοι γίγνονται· ἐπεὰν γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐλέωσί τε καὶ ὄργια ποιέωνται, ἐς πολλοὺς ἤδη ἡ μανίη ἀπικνέεται, καὶ πολλοὶ οἱ ἐς θένν ἀπικόμενοι μετὰ δὲ τοιάδε

¹⁴For example, in Catull. 63 that they are referred to using feminine forms of nouns, and this device is used in many other literary references. Ovid, Juvenal and others refer to them as *semiviri* or "half-men," Ovid *Fasti* 4.183 (*semimares*); Juv. *Sat.* 6. 513. A more extensive discussion of the "anomalous state" of the *galli* in Catullus 63 can be found in Nasstrom, *The Abhorrence of Love*, 44-59. See also Lucian (*Gr. Anth.* 6.17) in which feminine pronouns are used to refer to Attis. See also Graillot, 230-1.

ἔπρηξαν. καταλέξω δὲ καὶ ταὶ ποιέουσιν· ὁ νεηνίσκης, ὅτῳ τάδε ἀποκέεται, ρίψας τὰ εἴματα μεγάλη βοῇ ἐς μέσον ἔρχεται καὶ ξίφος ἀναιρέεται· τὸ δὲ πολλὰ ἔτεα, ἐμοὶ δοκέει, διὰ τοῦτο ἔστηκε. λαβὼν δὲ αὐτίκα τάμνει ἑαυτὸν θέει τε διὰ τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῇσι χερσὶ φέρει τὰ ἔταμεν. ἐς ὁκείην δὲ οἰκίην τάδε ἀπορρίπτει, ἐκ ταύτης ἐσθῆτά τε θεηλέην καὶ κόσμον τὸν γυναικῆιον λαμβάνει. τάδε μὲν ἐν τῇσι τομῇσι ποιέουσιν.

(50) On appointed days, the crowd assembles at the sanctuary while many Galli and the holy men whom I have mentioned perform the rites. They cut their arms and beat one another on the back. Many stand about them playing flutes, while many others beat drums. Still others sing inspired and sacred songs. This ceremony takes place outside the temple and none of those who perform it enters the temple. (51) On these days, too, men become galli. For while the rest are playing flutes and performing the rites, frenzy comes upon many, and many who have come simply to watch subsequently perform this act. I will describe what they do. The youth for whom these things lie in store throws off his clothes, rushes to the center with a great shout and takes up a sword, which, I believe, has stood there for this purpose for many years. He grabs it and immediately castrates himself. Then he rushes through the city holding in his hands the parts he has cut off. He takes female clothing and women's adornment from whatever house he throws these parts into. This is what they do at the Castration.¹⁵

Other evidence offers variations on the details, but the pattern of self-castration in a state of goddess-induced mania and subsequent change of clothing is consistent.

7.1.1.1 Castration

The castration was not consistently accomplished with a sword. Other instruments mentioned include a sharp stone or a piece of Samian potsherd, which would presumably make a clean cut as "the only way of avoiding dangerous results," as Pliny, writing in the late first century C.E., points out.¹⁶

¹⁵Lucian *DDS* 50-1.

¹⁶*Ov. Fast.* 4.237-8; *Pliny HN* 35.165; *Mart.* 3.81, 4.2; and *Juv.* 6.54 (potsherd) 2.111-6 (probably knife). Plutarch describes such an

Exactly what was severed is not clear.¹⁷ Terms are used which refer to genitals without further specificity, such as αἰδοῖα, γεννητικὰ ἄρθρα, and *mentula*, or refer even more generally to amputation of "manhood," or "superfluous flesh."¹⁸ The *galli* were perceived and described as eunuchs. The suggestion has been made that the actual castration was exceptional and that most of the *galli* actually underwent some "lesser form of mutilation or scarification," but this was probably

action by a young man in Athens as one of the ill omens which should have warned the Athenians against a disastrous military venture against Sicily in the late fifth century B.C.E.: καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν. ἄνθρωπος γάρ τις ἐξαίφνης ἀναπηδήσας ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἔϊτα περιβὰς ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ λίθῳ τὸ αἰδοῖον. (There was also what happened around the altar of the Twelve Gods. A certain man having suddenly leapt upon it and then straddled it cut off his genitals with a stone.) Plut. *Vit. Nicias* 13.2. See Graillot, 22-3 and 296. For other references to the means of castration see *RAC*, s. v. "Gallos," by G. M. Sanders.

¹⁷For a discussion of methods, which relies on the evidence about the short-lived Emperor Elagabalus of the early third century C.E, see Aline Rousselle, *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity*, trans. Felicia Pheasant, Family, Sexuality and Social Relations in Past Times, eds. Peter Laslett, Michael Anderson, and Keith Wrighton (London: Basil Blackwell, 1988) 122-3. While her use of the evidence on this point is well-reasoned, further reliance on literary evidence about his activities (*SHA, Vita Heliogabali*) as information about Syrian cults, the cult of Cybele, or the *galli* is problematic. Such evidence is not only late for the purposes of this investigation, but also even if the elaborate tales told of the unpopular young emperor's activities could be accepted as accurate, they may reflect the explosive combination of a unique adolescent sexual imagination and imperial power, not any cultic practice learned in his homeland.

¹⁸Lucian *DDS* 20 and 50 (αἰδοῖα); Schol. on Luc. *Iupp. Trag.* 8 (τὰ γεννητικὰ ἄρθρα); Mart. 3.81; and 4.2 (*mentula*); Plin. *NH* 35.165 (*virilitatem*); August. *De civ. D.* 7.26 (*virorum*); Juv. 2.111-6 (*supervacuam carnem*). Arn. *Adv. Nat.* 4.28 (*genitabiles partes*); and 5.7 (*genitalia*). Also Min. Fel. *Octavius* 22.9, "aut cui testa sunt obscena demessa."

a development at Rome.¹⁹ Other evidence suggests that in other locations the severed organs were not flung anywhere but either preserved and carried in a special receptacle or deposited in sacred caves.²⁰

Some sources, mostly later Latin ones, associate the action of castration with harvest.²¹ Graillot also interprets the description of a *gallus* by the poet Antipator of Sidon of the late second century B.C.E. as "ἴθρις ἀνὴρ" as derived from the same root as θερίζειν (to harvest).²² Influence of emphasis on the fertility aspects of the cult both by the later writers and Graillot can be seen here, but it does indicate that observers applied this interpretation whether or not this was the participants' understanding.

7.1.1.2 Change of Clothes

The wild ritual that Lucian describes at Hierapolis is consummated in a change of clothing. According to him, the new costume consisted of

¹⁹Beard, "The Roman and the Foreign," 174. See also *RAC* "Gallos," G. M. Sanders. (He cites Gal 5:12 as evidence of the actual practice in Phrygia.)

²⁰See Graillot, 297. On the caves (θαλάμαι) see Nic. *Alex.* 6-8 and Schol. in v. 8. in Hepding, *Attis*, 8-9): Λοβρίνης θαλάμαι. τόποι ἱεροὶ ὑπόγειοι, ἀνακείμενοι τῇ Ῥέᾳ, ὅπου ἐκτεμνόμενοι τὰ μήδεα κατετίθεντο οἱ τῷ Ἄττει καὶ τῇ Ῥέᾳ λατρεύοντες. (Caverns (Chambers) of Lobrion. Subterranean sacred places, dedicated to Rhea, where the castrated ones in the service of Attis and Rhea used to deposit their genitals.) The severed organs were also understood by some ancient authors as an offering to the goddess. See, for example, Schol. on Luc. *Iupp. Trag.* 8, "ἀνετίθεντο."

²¹See Graillot, 294, especially n. 8.

²²Graillot, 294. *Gr. Anth.* 6.219.5. *LSJ* lists only this citation as restored from ἴθρις (experienced, skillful) and gives the meaning as "eunuch." See *LSJ*, s.v. "ἴθρις."

female clothing from whatever house had been presented with the dubious gift of the new *gallus*' now superfluous flesh. Many descriptions of the *galli*'s female attire survive, yet the interpretation of the costume as simply "female clothing" does not fully encompass its significance. The *galli*'s attire is clearly distinguishable from women's clothing and is hardly typical female attire.²³

The basic element of the *galli*'s attire was a long robe, known in Greek as a χιτών and in Latin as a *stola*, which was usually yellow, multi-colored or heavily ornamented with embroidery.²⁴ This robe is seen by Greek and Roman sources as feminine but, as with the image of Attis, viewed from the east it could also appear as the attire of a priest.²⁵ This phenomenon was already noted for the case of Dionysus above, in connection with the Greek tendency to associate "eastern" and "effeminate."

The *galli* also adorned themselves with τύποι or ἀγάλματα, relief representations of divine personages, presumably worked in metal. Reliefs and statues portray *galli* wearing these primarily as chest

²³For one vivid description see Apul. *Met.* 8.27, quoted below.

²⁴See Graillot, 297-8, and 298, n. 3. They also wore simple sandals. Graillot provides citations for other elements of their insignia. A compound word (μελαμπεταλοχίτωνα) in Timoth. *Pers.* 134-5 probably indicates such a robe embroidered with dark leaves worn by the Mountain Mother herself. See T. H. Janssen, *Timotheus Persae: A Commentary*, Classical and Byzantine Monographs, eds. G. Giangrande and H. White, vol. 6 (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1984) 87-8.

²⁵Nässtrom, *The Abhorrence*, 58-9, also asserts this but provides, unfortunately, no conclusive citations and minimal argument.

pectorals and sometimes armlets as well.²⁶ One example of such a bronze pectoral survives, probably made at a workshop at Smyrna in the second or first century B.C.E. It is covered with images of the Mother of the Gods and other deities in iconography of an "Asiatic appearance," including motifs of Anaeitis and Atargatis.²⁷ Graillot interprets these pectoral images as a mark of the *gallus*' devotion to the deities.²⁸ The images themselves are clearly more than feminine jewelry and indicate a religious function. Over the priestly robe, the *gallus* quite literally "puts on" the deities to whom he is devoted, or at least their images.

The hair and hairstyle of the *galli* was also distinctive. Reports indicate that they grew their hair long. Loosened and flying wild in the *orgia* of the goddess, their hair made a strong visual impression on spectators, as will be seen below. When they were not in the manic state, their hair was carefully styled, as can be seen in their portrayals in reliefs. One of these shows long tightly-controlled braids,²⁹ consistent with the description: "in a female *chiton*, artfully well-coiled on top, luxurious knots of braids and a hair-net."³⁰ Mention

²⁶A. S. F. Gow, "The *Gallus* and the Lion: *Anth. Pal.* vi 217-20, 237," *JHS* 80 (1960) 88-93.

²⁷Ellen D. Reeder, "The Mother of the Gods and a Hellenistic Bronze Matrix," *AJA* 91 (1987) 423-40, esp. 433 and 436.

²⁸Graillot, 299.

²⁹*CCCA* III, no. 466.

³⁰θηλυχίτων, ἀσκητὸς ἐϋσπεύροισι κορύμβοις, ἰ ἀβρῶ τε στρεπτῶν ἄμματι κεκρυφάλων. *Gr. Anth.* 6.219.3-4. It should be noted also that two of the other visual portrayals show shorter curly hairstyles: *CCCA* III, nos. 249 and 446.

is also made in the *Greek Anthology* of "yellow" hair (ξανθός) probably indicating blonde or reddish-blonde.³¹ It cannot be determined, however, whether this means that the *galli* were generally blondes, natural or dyed, or that the individuals who made the dedications preserved in the *Anthology* took personal pride in the color of their hair.³² Their hair was also called "consecrated" (ἱερά), even in a context which clearly emphasizes their effeminacy by the use of feminine pronouns.³³ The *galli* also painted their faces. As Graillot points out, this can indicate their cultic function as well as "effeminacy."

Some of the *galli* also dressed as kings. These were *archigalli* or high priests. In 102 B.C.E., the high priest of the Mother of the Gods at Pessinus, Battaces, went to Rome, either to prophesy Roman victory or to lodge a complaint regarding some defilement of the temple at Pessinus.³⁴ Diodorus Siculus describes his royal attire and how it scandalized the republican Romans with their strong bias against kings. He wore an immense gold crown (χρυσοῦν στέφανον ὑπερμεγέθη) and a flowered or brightly-colored robe interwoven with gold (στολὴν ἀνθίνην

³¹*Gr. Anth.* 6.51.8; and 6.217.10. *LSJ* also indicates brown or auburn, s.v. "ξανθός."

³²Graillot, 300, indicates that they dyed their hair, but cites only these two entries in *Gr. Anth.*

³³*Gr. Anth.* 6.173. There is the possibility that Achrylis who dedicates the offerings in this entry is, in fact, a woman, but the mention of the utterance of the ululation of the γαλλαι of Cybele makes status as a *gallus* more likely.

³⁴Plut. *Vit. Mar.* 17.5-6; Diod. Sic. 36.13.1-3.

διάχρυσον).³⁵ Such attire would befit his role as the high priest of a temple state. One of the *galli* is also observed by Varro's voyeuristic character in the *Menippean Satires* wearing royal attire, in the first century B.C.E. He is described as "shining like the dawn in a purple linen robe," and wearing "a crown gleaming with gold and gems," a spectacle so brilliant as to "fill the place with light."³⁶ One of the reliefs of an archigallus also shows him wearing a crown,³⁷ and the headgear of the "half-man" (*semivir*) who attends the chorus of Bellona and the Mother of the Gods mocked by Juvenal is described as a tiara. He is seen as one who commands reverence from the other *galli*.³⁸

The *galli* may also have been marked with tattoos or by ritual scarification, although this practice may not have been confined to them. Lucian tells us that all the people of the holy city of Atargatis, for example, were marked with *stigmata*, either on their wrists or their necks, and because of this, all Assyrians bear a

³⁵Diod. Sic. 36.13.1. On the issue of whether Battaces was castrated or not, see Thomas, "Magna Mater and Attis," 1510-1. For discussion of other issues about his visit in the political context of Rome see M. Gwyn Morgan, "Villa Publica and Magna Mater: Two Notes on Manubial Building at the Close of the Second Century B.C." *Klio* 55 (1973) 213-45.

³⁶*aurorat ostrunum hic idutus supparum, ! coronam ex auro et gemmis fulgentem gerit, ! luce locum afficiens.* Varro *Sat. Men.*, Eumenides 138 (121) = XXII. Jean-Pierre Cèbe, *Varron, Satires Ménippées*, vol. 4, *Epitaphiones - Eumenides*. Collection de l'école française de Rome, 9 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1977) 533.

³⁷CCCA III, no. 448.

³⁸Juv. 6.511-16.

stigmata.³⁹ The fourth century Christian poet Prudentius indicates that the *galli* marked themselves with brands using red hot needles.⁴⁰ The *galli* could not help but have their arms covered with scars as a direct consequence of the orgiastic blood-letting ceremonies to be discussed below.⁴¹

The *galli* are thus distinguished as a group by their attire, which identifies them as of ambiguous gender and also conveys a sense of status. No longer wearing the clothing of males, they put on clothing that not only resembles female attire but also looks luxurious. Part of the process of their initiation was learning to wear female clothing.⁴² Yet they do not become women. Their costume is cultic, clothing of the interstitial position which transgresses the categories of male and female and is also special and beautiful clothing. They wear the costume of their new consecrated gender-ambiguous interstitial position.

³⁹στίζονται δὲ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἐς καρπούς, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐχένας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἅπαντες Ἀσσύριοι στιγματηφορέουσι. Lucian *DDS* 59. Robin Lane Fox indicates that practice of tattooing wrists and hands with a vow to a deity was a Syrian custom, seen on model hands used as votive offerings as well as in the literary evidence: *Pagans and Christians* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986) 33-4 and 685, n. 21.

⁴⁰Prudent. *Perist.* 10.1076-80. Graillot indicates that this could be a more generalized practice, 297, n. 7.

⁴¹This issue is of consequence in relation to Gal. 6:17.

⁴²POxy 3010, ll. 7-8, (καὶ διδασθέντι θηλυκῇ(ν) : φορεῖν []). Parsons, "A Greek Satyricon?" 54-5.

7.1.1.3 Sexual Practices

Transgression of the categories of male and female appears also to have been an aspect of the *galli's* sexual activity. While some observers have seen in the *galli's* castration a renunciation of sexual activity for a chaste state,⁴³ significant evidence suggests that this should not too readily be assumed, and that the *galli* may well have engaged in sexual activity and liaison with males.

We have already begun to see this in the discussion in Chapter 6 of the myths of Attis as they correspond to rites of passage. Attis was also identified by Martial as an "effeminate male concubine," and by Lucian as a third type of *hetaira* in a satirical poem of Lucian's included in the *Greek Anthology*, cited above.⁴⁴ Lucian names Attis, as a *gallus*, as one of three *hetairai* who make offerings to the goddess Cypris from the profits of their sexual services, the first as a boy and

⁴³Graillot is the most notable proponent of this position. See also A. D. Nock, "Eunuchs in Ancient Religion," *ARW* 23 (1925) 25-33; reprint in *Essays*, 7-15.

⁴⁴*Gr. Anth.* 6.17. Αἱ τρισαί τοι ταῦτα τὰ παίγνια θῆκαν ἑταῖραι, ἰ Κύπρι μάκαιρ', ἄλλης ἄλλη ἀπ' ἐργασίης· ἴ ὦν ἀπὸ μὲν πυγῆς Εὐφρὼ τάδε, ταῦτα δὲ Κλειὼ ἰ ὥς θέμις, ἡ τριτάτη δ' Ἀττὶς ἀπ' οὐρανίων. ἰ ἀνθ' ὧν τῇ μὲν πέμπε τὰ παιδικά, δεσπότι, κέρδη, ἰ τῇ δὲ θηλείης, τῇ δὲ τὰ μηδετέρης. (The three *hetairai* offer you these playful offerings, blessed Cypris, each one from her own particular work; Euphro, on the one hand, from what he has gained from the employment of his buttocks, Cleo, on the other hand, from what she has gained from the employment of what is natural, thirdly, Attis from what she has gained from the heavens. In return, Master Goddess [Despotes], send to the one the profit from the things of childhood, to the next the profit of the ways of females, and to the other, the profit from the things which are neither of the two.)

the second as a woman.⁴⁵ As the third, Attis is referred to in the feminine form and makes the offering from what she or he has gained "from the heavens." (ἀπ' οὐρανίων) and seeks profit from the goddess from what is neither of the things of childhood nor of the ways of females.⁴⁶ Lucian places the *galli*'s sexual activity both in the *limen* of "neither boy nor woman," and also indicates that it is, in some sense, "consecrated." Yet he also places it in the category of sexual activity for profit, i.e. "prostitution." The *galli* were also inscribed on the tax roles at Rome with courtesans and prostitutes.⁴⁷

Martial provides more information on the nature of the assumed sexual activity of the *galli* in one of the epigrams that the Loeb translation renders in Italian rather than English.

*Quid cum femineo tibi, Baetice Galle, barathro?
haec debet medios lambere lingua viros.
abscisa est quare Samia tibi mentula testa,
si tibi tam gratus, Baetice, cunnus erat?
castrandum caput est: nam sis licet inguine Gallu,
sacra tamen Cybeles decipi: ore vir es.*⁴⁸

What are you doing, Baeticus the Gallus, with a feminine orifice?
This tongue should lick men's "mid-parts."
Why would your male member be cut off with a Samian potsherd,
if a vagina were so much pleasure to you, Baeticus?

⁴⁵Gr. Anth., 6.17.

⁴⁶ἀνθ' ὧν τῇ μὲν πέμπε τὰ παιδικά, δεσπότι, κέρδη, ἰ τῇ δὲ θηλείῃς, τῇ δὲ τὰ μηδετέρης.

⁴⁷Graillot, 288. He cites (n. 1) Hephaest. Alex., Schol., p. 194, ed. Westphal: οἱ Γάλλοι διαβάλλονται ὡς θήλειαν νόσον ἔχοντες, διὸ καὶ σώματα φόρον ἐτέλουν Ῥωμαίοις εἰς τοῦτο. (The *galli* are accused as those who have a "female illness," therefore they also pay a body tax to the Romans in this.)

⁴⁸Mart. 3.81.

Your head ought to be castrated: for granted that by your genitals
 you are a Gallus,
 nevertheless you deceive the sacred rites of Cybele: by your
 mouth you are male.⁴⁹

The presumption here appears to be that *galli* were considered a kind of third sex who would normally perform oral sex on males, not females. Martial's satirical epigram criticizes the behavior of the *gallus* not because he is sexually active, but because his oral sexual activity is performed upon a woman, not a man.

This explains the third type of sexual service offered by Attis as the *gallus* in Lucian's epigram. According to Roman sexual *mores*, the basic categories of sexual activity were not based so much on the gender of the person with whom the activity took place so much as the distinction between active and passive. Honor accrued to the male penetrator irrespective of the gender of the one penetrated. Domination and submission was of more concern than gender. Consequently, the Latin verbs indicate three modes of sexual intercourse, based on the orifice of penetration, vaginal (*futuere*), anal (*pedicare*), and oral (*irrumare*, as passive, or *fellare*, as active).⁵⁰ As the third type of *hetaira*, the Attis of Lucian's epigram profits, it would seem, by the mouth.

⁴⁹A more lurid translation into metric and rhymed English is included in Beard, "The Roman and the Foreign," 175, a translation reluctantly contributed to the author by Simon Pembroke: "What, licking women down inside there, Gallus? : The thing you should be sucking is a phallus. : They cut your cock off, but not so to bed, : Cunt-lover: what needs doctoring now's your head. : For while your missing member can't but fail, : Your tongue still breaks Cybele's rule: it's male."

⁵⁰T. P. Wiseman, *Catullus and His World: A Reappraisal* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 10-14.

Other references assume that the *galli* take the passive role in sexual activity with men, thus conforming to Roman conventions in which the male citizen generally had sexual access to most of the dependents in his household, who were thus in the dishonored or penetrated position. The male householder could also have attractive young slave boys emasculated to prevent them from sexually maturing and prolong their usefulness to him for this purpose.⁵¹ References to the *galli* with the term *cinaedus* (κίναῖδος) indicates that they were considered along with such boys and eunuchs as the penetrated, and thus dishonored, partner.⁵² Submission to oral penetration was considered the most degraded form, so the satirists' portrayal of the *galli* in this manner subjects them to intense ridicule.⁵³

We cannot, however, assume that Roman and Greek categories of sexual activity were also Anatolian, although determination of what such

⁵¹See Aline Rousselle, "Personal Status and Sexual Practice in the Roman Empire," in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body: Part III*, ed. Michel Feher (New York: Zone, 1989) 313-4.

⁵²See Roscoe, "Priests of the Goddess," for further references. He points out the presence of a κίναεδος at the initiation of a *gallus* narrated in POxy 3010 (Parsons, "A Greek Satyricon?" 54-5.) See also Graillot, 318, nn. 3 and 4. They were also referred to with the words *spadus*, and *molles*: see Näsström, *The Abhorrence*, 45.

⁵³Mary Beard sees the *galli*'s oral sexual activity as outside the usual sexual *mores*, but it is unclear whether she is referring to the activity with women which is the subject of Martial's accusation or the expected activity with men which is implied. Evidence does not warrant the suggestion that the former was a common practice. If she refers to the latter, she has misread the significance of active and passive in this context. (See Beard, "The Roman and the Foreign," 175-6.) She otherwise provides a useful analysis of the *galli*'s interstitial position at Rome, although she does not use the term.

categories would be for any of the other cultural groupings present in Anatolia is beyond the scope of this investigation and probably beyond the available evidence as well. Assuming, however, that they were sexually active, descriptions of them as "chaste" and "pure" which have been cited to support the image of their chastity must also be considered.⁵⁴ In a satire by Varro, for example, the voyeuristic adolescent who dons female clothing and enters Cybele's temple to see what happens there describes the clothing of the *galli* he sees as "*casta*" (chaste or virtuous), but the emphasis is on the youthful and delicate beauty of the *galli*.⁵⁵ Other references are also ambiguous.⁵⁶ For example, Apuleius' reference to the *galli* as "*purissimi*" is surely meant to be ironic, since his satirical portrayal emphasizes quite the opposite, yet the irony may appeal to the disjuncture between their self-conception and their behavior.⁵⁷

Dioscorides also refers to a *gallus* as "*ἄγνός Ἄτυς, Κυβέλης θαλαμηπόλος*," (pure or sacred Atys, Cybele's bridegroom or chamber-servant.)⁵⁸ This reference could as easily indicate sexual

⁵⁴Nässtrom, *The Abhorrence*, 45 and 79-80, points to Varro. See also Graillot, 294.

⁵⁵Varro, *Sat. Men.* 135 (119).

⁵⁶Several are found in defense of Graillot's assumption that the *galli*'s were castrated in order to serve the goddess in perpetual chastity. Graillot, 294.

⁵⁷Apul. *Met.* 9.8, cf. 8.29.

⁵⁸*Gr. Anth.* 6.220.3.

activity on the part of the *galli* as lifetime chastity.⁵⁹ We saw in Chapter 3 the presence of so-called "sacred prostitution" in some of the temple-based cult organizations of goddesses similar to Cybele, and it has already been mentioned that "prostitution" is not an accurately descriptive term.

Two examples from studies of religion in contemporary India may help to reorient preconceived assumptions contained in the term. A study of the *devadasis* of Puri by Frédérique Apffel Marglin provides a clue simply in its title, *Wives of the God-King*.⁶⁰ These women, inaccurately stereotyped as prostitutes during the era of British domination in which their cults and rituals almost disappeared, were married to the deity in a marriage ceremony and lived in the temple compound. Their status as wives of the deity entitled them to dance and sing in the temple rituals, as the "auspicious women."⁶¹ Their marriage

⁵⁹ A contemporary of Augustine's, Paulinus of Nola, hints that the *galli*'s submission to sexual intercourse with men was part of their self-understanding as consecrated. After explaining that the goddess castrated the shepherd because of his desire to be chaste (*casta*) and thus refused her approaches: *nunc quoque semiviri mysteria turpia plangunt ; nec desunt homines, quos haec contagia vertant, ; intus et arcanum quiddam quasi maius adorant ; idque vocant sanctum, quo si velit ire pudicus, ; iste profanus erit. sic artior ipse sacerdos femineos vitat coitus patiturque virilis.* (Now too half-men beat themselves in grief in disfiguring mysteries, nor is there any lack of men who turn to this contagion. They adore some thing which is inside and secret as if it were greater and they call it holy, what if a chaste man wants to approach, he will be profane. Thus the priest himself is more restricted who avoids intercourse with woman and submits to it with men.) Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen* 32.88-93.

⁶⁰ Frédérique Apffel Marglin, *Wives of the God-King: The Rituals of the Devadasis of Puri* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985).

⁶¹ Marglin, *Wives*, 7.

to the deity did not mean, however, either that they became celibate or that they became prostitutes who accepted remuneration for the temple or themselves in exchange for sexual activity. Nor did it mean that they were involved in any sexual activity as part of temple rituals. The temple itself and the rituals would be considered polluted by sexual intercourse or by the presence of a *devadasi* who had had intercourse on the day of her temple duty.⁶² Their sexual relations were expected to be restricted to the king and the brahmin priests, and included extended relationships which could last for many years.⁶³ Some *devadasis* considered themselves reflections of the heavenly courtesans of the king of the gods, who were there for the pleasure of the court of the gods. As earthly counterparts, they were the courtesans of the temple court of the king and brahmin priests.⁶⁴

Some of the evidence suggests some similarities for the place of the *galli*'s sexual activity. The inscription from Cyzicus, cited above, indicates a *gallus* who has a relationship with a soldier that he describes as his σύμβιος, his "spouse."⁶⁵ The papyrus fragment also shows relationships between co-initiates in the cult who as part of their initiation learn, among other things, how to wear female clothing. The subject has undergone initiation for the sake of a certain Iolaus,

⁶²Marglin, *Wives*, 89.

⁶³Marglin, *Wives*, 90-1.

⁶⁴Marglin, *Wives*, 91-2.

⁶⁵CCCA I, no. 287.

"so that you can have a fully-fledged *gallus* at your side."⁶⁶ A *cinaedus* is also present in the scene, but a distinction appears to be made between him and the completed or perfect *gallus* who has learned everything in the initiation.⁶⁷ Even though, as Parsons argues, this is probably a fragment of a satirical piece, the status of *gallus* is associated with a relationship of friendship since the main characters are referred to as φίλος and the last line is about the virtues of friendship. The *cinaedus* is present but prostitution does not appear to be the operative concept for the *galli* here.⁶⁸ As in the case of the *devadasis*, the *galli* appear to have been sexually active within a specific class or set of relationships.

A second example from India are the *hijra*, the self-castrated devotees of one of the many Indian mother goddesses.⁶⁹ Will Roscoe demonstrates striking similarities between this group and the *galli*, on the basis of social, economic and religious functions, as well as

⁶⁶This reconstruction of ll. 16-19 is by Parsons, "A Greek Satyricon?" 57, and 60. (γάλλος γεγον [.]. Ἰόλαι δια σε [! Νείκων μαν [.] αδιασεναπο. [! ἵνα γάλλον εχη [.] νειδοτα πάντα ! οἶδα δὲ συ τισι.)

⁶⁷Parsons, who has reconstructed the text, emphasizes the "mystical" knowledge as opposed to the "practical," but the items he cites are mostly practical aspects of the ritual, such as ululation. See Parsons, "A Greek Satyricon?" 60.

⁶⁸Apuleius also portrays a traveling band of *galli* with a young male slave as a "common concubine," but this detail in the portrayal is likely to be a imaginative reconstruction. Apul. *Met.* 8.26.

⁶⁹I rely here on Roscoe's summary, especially of the major ethnographical study of this group: Serena Nanda, *Neither Man nor Woman: The Hijra of India* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing, 1990). See Roscoe, "Priests of the Goddess," at nn. 45-73.

mythological parallels.⁷⁰ The *hijra* "live in collectives with recognized leaders" who are linked in a national network. Although they serve sometimes as temple functionaries, they appear most often in bands and wander with begging rights in specific territories. They appear on special occasions to "call down the blessings" of the goddess with performances of wild dancing accompanied by rhythmic music with flutes and drums.⁷¹ They also turn to prostitution with males. One was characterized in a humorous drama in the first century C.E. as "the pest of the public thoroughfares," and described as a freelance courtesan.⁷²

This description of the *hijra* corresponds to a cult organization which is ultimately temple-based with vocational functionaries in "extension sites" and wandering as itinerant practitioners. In this context, prostitution appears to be part of the means of support, not a cultic function. The *galli* also wandered, as will be discussed further, individually and in mendicant bands, based at least in some cases in temples of the goddess. As temple-based vocational cult functionaries, the evidence is silent about their involvement in prostitution as a revenue-generating activity.⁷³ As itinerants, economic

⁷⁰Roscoe, "Priests of the Goddess," especially Tables 1 and 2.

⁷¹Roscoe, "Priests of the Goddess," at n. 48. He points to other similarities to activities of the *galli* which will be discussed below, such as begging and giving prophesies. The self-castration for the *hijra* is a more careful procedure performed by an expert in the temple and involves removal of both penis and testicles. They are also ridiculed in first century C.E. dramas.

⁷²Roscoe, "Priests of the Goddess," at n. 69, cites the *Ubhaya bhisā rika*, v. 21-2.

⁷³August. (*De civ. D* 6.7-8) in the early fourth century C.E.

factors may well have led to the prostitution of which the satirists accuse them, yet this is not their primary identity.

7.1.1.4 Gender Ambiguity and Cultic Liminality

The effort of the satirists to define the *galli* and their sexual activity by means of categories intelligible to Roman readers cannot capture their significance within the world of the cult of the Mother of the Gods. Initiated by self-castration and a change of clothes into an ambiguous gender status, they occupy an interstitial position. In their own social world of the "Anatolian zone," they are not at the lowest rung of the ladder of phallic penetration, as they are in the "Roman zone," but dwellers in a liminal gender related to the temple. Their interstitial position is a location fraught with pollution and danger on the one hand and the creative power of the sacred on the other.

The image recorded in the fourth century by the Christian polemicist Firmicus Maternus reveals the relationship of this gender liminality and the other cultic functions:

For, because air is an intermediary (*interiectus*) between sea and sky, they honor it through priests (*sacerdotum*) who have womanish voices (*effeminatus vocibus*). Tell me, is air a divinity if it looks for a woman in a man (*quod in viro feminam quaerit*), if its band of priests can minister to it (*cui aliter servire sacerdotum suorum chorus non potest*) only when they have feminized their faces, rubbed smooth their skin, and disgraced their manly sex by donning women's regalia? In their very temples one may see scandalous performances, accompanied by the moaning of the throng: men letting themselves be handled as women (*viros muliebria pati*), and flaunting with boastful ostentatiousness this ignominy of their impure and

appears to say that the rites of the Mother of the Gods include men playing the part of women sexually (6.8), but he also emphasizes that they are secret (6.7).

unchaste bodies. They parade their misdeeds in the public eye, acknowledging with superlative relish in filthiness the dishonor of their polluted bodies (*contaminati corporis*). They nurse their tresses and pretty them up woman-fashion; they dress in soft garments; they can hardly hold their heads erect on their languid necks. Next, being thus divorced from masculinity, they get intoxicated (*adimpleti*) with the music of flutes and invoke their goddess to fill them with an unholy spirit (*nefario repleti spiritu*) so that they can predict the future to fools. What sort of monstrous and unnatural thing (*prodigium*) is all this? They say they are not men, and indeed they aren't; they want to pass as women, but whatever the nature of their bodies is, it tells a different story. Ponder too what sort of divinity it is which finds it such a delight to sojourn in an impure body, which clings to unchaste members, which is appeased by the contamination of a polluted body.⁷⁴

What can be seen here is that the ambiguous gender status of these functionaries, created by their attempt to appear as women, is directly related to their possession by the goddess during cultic rituals. Their transformed bodies are the ones seized by the deity to show her power. The transformation, however, also makes them "polluted" and abhorrent to the Christian observer who leaves us the record. Firmicus Maternus also says that, as representatives of an intermediary deity, even if she is incorrectly identified, they are also of intermediate gender.

⁷⁴Firm. Mat. Err. Prof. Rel. 4.1-3, trans. Clarence A. Forbes, 50-1. He describes the worshippers as Assyrian and African devotees of Juno or Venus or Tanit-Caelestis, but the case is strong that he has confused them with *galli* of Atargatis and Cybele, since there is not other attestation of such functionaries in the cult he mentions. See 151, n. 71 and A. J. Festugière, review of Julius Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanorum religionum*, trans. Gilbert Heuten, in *REG* 52 (1939) 645.

7.1.2 *The Galli as Cultic Performers: Manic Drumbeats, Whips and Knives*

In Firmicus Maternus we begin to see the interconnection of the *galli's* gender ambiguity and their interstitial position in the context of cultic performances. These performances were their major role in the cult and apparently also their major means of support. In Chapter 6 we already examined in some detail the image of the Corybants and Curetes. The *galli's* performances are in many ways similar, and they probably form an overlapping category with these other enthusiasts. Like the Corybants they are moved by ritual music of drums and flutes to come under the possession of a deity who moves them to orgiastic blood-letting ceremonies. The most vivid description of one of these performances is found in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, told from the perspective of the main character who, during his transformation as a donkey has been purchased by an itinerant band of *galli* of the Syrian goddess.

Next day they put on varicoloured garments and beautified themselves hideously by daubing clay pigment on their faces and outlining their eyes with greasepaint. Then they set out, wearing turbans and saffron-colored robes and vestments of linen and silk. Some had white tunics flowing in every direction, gathered up into a girdle, and on their feet they wore yellow shoes. They wrapped the goddess in a silken mantle and put her on my back to carry, while they, with arms bared to the shoulders and brandishing frightful swords and axes, chanted and danced, excited by the frenzied beat of the flute music.

After passing a number of small cottages in their wandering course, they came to the country house of a rich land-owner. As soon as they reached the entrance-way they frantically flung themselves forward, filling the place with the sound of their discordant shrieks. For a long time they dropped their heads and rotated their necks in writing motions, swinging their hanging locks in a circle. Sometimes they bit their own flesh with their teeth, and finally they all began slashing their arms with the two-edged blades they were carrying. In the midst of all this one of them started to rave more wildly than the rest, and producing rapid gasps

from deep down in his chest, as though he had been filled with the heavenly inspiration of some deity, he simulated a fit of madness -- as if, indeed, the gods' presence was not supposed to make men better than themselves, but rather weak and sick. Now see what sort of reward he earned from divine providence. Shouting like a prophet, he began to attack and accuse himself with a fabricated lie about how he had perpetrated some sin against the laws of holy religion; and he went on to demand just punishment for his guilty deed from his own hands. He snatched up the utensil which is the distinctive attribute of these half-men, a whip with long tassels made of twisted strips of wooly hide studded with numerous sheep's knuckle-bones, and he scourged himself hard with strokes of its many knots, fortifying himself with miraculous obstinacy against the pain from the gashes. You could see the ground growing wet with the filthy, effeminate blood from all this slashing of swords and lashing of whips. I was struck with considerable alarm when I saw this generous profusion of gore from so many wounds. I was afraid that by some chance the foreign goddess's stomach might get a yearning for ass's blood, as some humans' stomachs yearn for ass's milk.

At last, however, when they had grown tired, or at least sated with self-laceration, they ceased their butchery and took up a collection. People vied in offering them copper coins -- yes, and even silver ones -- which they collected in the ample folds of their robes; and they gave them a large jar of wine, milk and cheeses, and some spelt and wheat. Some even donated barley for the goddess's carrier. They greedily raked it all in, stuffed it into the sacks which they had had the foresight to acquire to carry their profits, and piled it on my back. Now, indeed, burdened with the weight of a double load, I was a travelling storehouse and temple in one. Thus they roamed about plundering the entire territory.⁷⁵

This description provides a great deal of information about the *galli's* major cultic activity, most of which is corroborated by other evidence.

The accoutrements of self-punishment are described in other literary references and shown in reliefs of the *galli* mentioned above. The scourge of knuckle-bones, the ἀστραγαλωτή, is mentioned also by Plutarch, for example, and shown on a second century C.E. relief of a

⁷⁵Apul. Met. 8.27-8, trans. J. Arthur Hanson, LCL. Elements of the Latin text important for this investigation will be mentioned in what follows.

gallus from Lanuvium.⁷⁶ The sharp instruments are also mentioned, for example, as objects dedicated to the goddess in the votive epigrams of *galli* in the *Greek Anthology*, as the αἵματι φοινιχθέντα φάσγανα, "swords reddened with blood," and the λυσιφλεβῆ σάγαριν, the "vein-opening double-axe."⁷⁷ Many ancient authors mention the *galli's* ceremony of self-laceration.⁷⁸

Apuleius mentions only the flute music, which has already been discussed in Chapter 6 for the role it plays in the Corybants' divine possession. Other characteristic musical instruments of the cult have also been mentioned already, the deep-voiced leather-headed drums and the cymbals. The rhythm instruments, also mentioned in the *Greek Anthology* and seen on reliefs of the *galli*, were used for a mania-inducing undergirding rhythm.⁷⁹ The rhythm is probably preserved in the galliambic meter of Catullus 63, which John Kirby has analyzed to explain its psychological effect.⁸⁰ As he explains it, psychologically,

⁷⁶Plut. *Adv. Colotes*, 33 (1127C); and *CCCA* III, no. 466. Such a scourge is portrayed in the hand of an Attis published by Chadwick ("An Attis," 90-92.). From the photograph it appears to be a circular shape, like a wreath or crown. He dates it to the the second or third century C.E. but does not indicate provenance. For further references see Graillot, 305, n. 3.

⁷⁷*Gr. Anth.* 6.51.7-8 and 6.94.5.

⁷⁸See Sen. *Agamemnon* 686-90; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 1.21; Lucr. 2.630-2; Stat. *Theb.* 10.164-173; and Min. Fel. *Oct.* 22.9. For additional references to self-flagellation by the *galli* and others see also Graillot, 304-6.

⁷⁹*Gr. Anth.* 6.51, 94, 217, 218, 219, 220, 234. and 237; and *CCCA* III nos. 422 and 466.

⁸⁰John Kirby, "The Galliambics of Catullus 63: 'That Intoxicating

the rhythm is what the listener to a piece of music or metered poetry attempts to appropriate first, "because this establishes the framework within which one is going to hear the entire piece." But with a meter like this one, "one is taken by surprise. Essentially it pulls simultaneously in two directions: it woos the listener into expecting triple time, and then challenges that expectation with a simultaneous duple rhythm. The result is intoxicating -- and sometimes disquieting." The galliambic meter used by Catullus in 63, and presumably by the *galli* in the resounding beat of the tympanum and clash of the cymbals that Catullus and others so vividly describe, constantly alternates a duple and triple rhythm in each line to create a mesmerizing push-pull effect.⁸¹

Apuleius, who favors the cult of Isis, takes a dim view of the *galli* and attributes their performances to base motivations and chicanery, but we should not assume that major functionaries of a cult that endured for centuries were all well-trained charlatans. Rather if we envision the scene he describes while taking seriously the positive image and understanding of the Corybants described in Chapter 6, the *galli* can be seen in their own context as powerful evidence for the continuing *δυνάμεις* of the Mother of the Gods.

Meter," *Syllecta Classica* 1 (1989) 63-74. He notes (66, n. 13) that Wiseman (*Catullus and His World*, 200 and n. 73) concurs that the meter of the poem is the ritual meter.

⁸¹Kirby, "Galliambics," 66.

If we were to imagine ourselves as observers in an Anatolian village of the scene Apuleius describes, we would first hear the boom of the drumbeat as the *galli*'s procession approached, ta-ta-tum-ta-tum-ta-tum-tum, ta-ta-tum-ta-ta-ta-ta-tum, perhaps alternated with variations.⁸² This and the shrill flute music, with the crash of cymbals, would probably cause us to leave whatever activity had occupied us to come and see. If the sound had not caught our ears our eyes would be drawn to the image of the *galli* as they approached, their painted faces and multi-colored robes flashing and their long hair tossing as they gyrated to the rhythm of the drums. With the entourage, an image of the goddess would also come into view, borne on the back of some beast of burden or carried in a cart. What villager would not drop tedious everyday activity to follow along to see this spectacle?

With a sufficient crowd in tow, the entourage would stop at some open space for the more intense movement in the ritual. Perhaps the drums beat faster, perhaps the flute melodies became embellished and complex. In any case, surrounded by the people of the village, the *galli* would appear to be no longer moving in time with the rhythm but to be moved by the rhythm, as if the music passed directly to their bodies without passing through their minds. The rest of the crowd would also feel the effect of the drums and the flutes and would observe within a kind of surround-sound rhythm.

⁸²See Julia W. Loomis, *Studies in Catullan Verse: An Analysis of Word Types and Patterns in the Polymetra*, Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca Classica Batava, eds. W. den Boer, W. J. Verdenius, and R. E. H. Westendorp Boerma, supplement 24 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970) 119.

When the *galli* began to speak, perhaps in the prophetic belly-talking described by Apuleius, the crowd would listen intently. When they began to beat and cut themselves, the crowd would be transfixed, with a welter of different emotional responses from identification with the *galli* to terror and revulsion. The crowd as a whole would pour forth grief as the *galli* began to bleed and spatter their blood upon the image of the goddess. The crowd would be aware in that phase, however, of the awesome and terrifying power of the goddess.

In the denouement, as the music wound down and perhaps the rhythm became slower and softer or even stopped abruptly, when the *galli* and crowd alike began to regain their sense and minds, the *galli* would walk among the crowd with a begging bag. The crowd would respond with financial support perhaps out of fear but just as probably from loyalty to the goddess and to those who so visibly become extensions of her power. Just as when the cult was in place the people would provide support for the functioning of the temple, the goddess's devotees would support her itinerant representatives who continued to bring them evidence of her power.

In addition to the travelling blood-letting rituals, *galli* also performed death-defying feats. At Hierapolis, for example, a substantial number of *galli* were attached to the service of the *hieron* where they manifested special powers when they entered into the poisonous vapors of the Plutonium unharmed, an action which would prove

fatal to others.⁸³ A common theme in the votive epigrams of the *Greek Anthology* is also the *gallus* who stops to rest for the night on the road and saves himself from a lion by beating on his drum.⁸⁴ Both of these feats showed that they were safe in a kind of boundary territory between the human and divine, a territory dangerous to others.

⁸³Strabo 13.4.14 Hierapolis was also a city which had an Archigallus, who appears by the second century C.E. generally to have been one of the emperor's freedman. On this, Graillot (357, n. 3; 234-5, n. 2) cites the incscription found in CCCA I, no. 76, dated 200 CE, which begins, "The boule and the deme honor Marcus Aurelius Eutuchianus archigallus . . ."

⁸⁴*Gr. Anth.* 6.217, 218, 219, 220, and 237.

7.2 The Cultic and Social Role of the Galli

Apuleius' description of the *galli*'s blood-letting performance cited in the last section provides information not only about what such a performance would look like but also about the cultic and social role of the *galli*. Their position as itinerant practitioners is readily apparent. They can also be seen in their prophetic roles and in some sense as mediators of expiation. Additional evidence can amplify our understanding of all of these roles and show us additional aspects of their social function in Anatolia.

7.2.1 *The Galli in the Temples and On the Road: Missionaries and Beggars*

As has already been mentioned, the *galli* first appear on the Greco-Roman scene as μητραγῦραι, "the Mother's beggars," beggars like the band of *galli* we see in Apuleius.⁸⁵ The general image of the *galli* as a special form of beggar who beat on kettle-drums and played flutes to attract attention is confirmed in many ancient sources.⁸⁶

Other Anatolian deities also had representative missionary-beggars in other parts of the Empire. The Cappadocian goddess Mâ was also served by itinerants called *fanatici* or *bellonarii* who went from place to place performing wild dances and orgiastic rites which culminated in

⁸⁵See Graillot, 22-3, for sources on the appearance of the μητραγῦραι in Greece in the fifth century B.C.E.

⁸⁶See Graillot, 312-4.

prophecy.⁸⁷ Groups of *μηναγῦρται*, "beggars of Mên," are known in Greece as early as the late fourth century B.C.E., with a function similar to that of the *galli*.⁸⁸

The description of these beggars for a deity who take up a collection after they perform is consistent with an inscription from Syria in the Roman era. A certain Lucias dedicates a stele to the Hierapolitan Syrian Goddess and describes himself as her slave (δοῦλος), sent (πέμπθεις) by her as his female owner (κυρία).⁸⁹ On the occasion of having made twenty trips, he dedicates the altar and states that he has brought back seventy begging-bags (πήρα) full from each trip. The πήρα are, presumably, the bags that the *galli* pass to take up the collection after their orgiastic performances. From the description in Apuleius, we may assume that Lucias did not make solo journeys for these collections but was probably the leader of a group like the leader of the group who purchased Apuleius during his metamorphosis as a donkey.⁹⁰

⁸⁷Fishwick, "*Hastiferi*," 145. He also cite *ILS* 4180-4181b. See n. 27 for further citations.

⁸⁸On the question of the *μηναγῦρται* see Lane, "A Re- Study . . . III," 99.

⁸⁹The stele is inscribed on four faces: (a) Θεᾶ Συρίᾳ
Ἱερα[π]ολιτῶν Λούκι-ος δοῦλος αὐτ-ί[τῃ]ς τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκεν ἐλθὼν
(ε)ἵδοσ(α)κι, πλήσας πή[ρ]-ας μ'; (b) Λούκιος Ἀ[κρά]-ιβ(α)ιος
σῦσεβ[ή]ς ; καὶ πεμψθεὶς ; ὑπὸ τῆς κυρία[ς] ; [Ἀ]ταρ(χ)άτη[ς] ; (c) . .
. . . . [αν]-;εν[ῆω]σ[α]ν ἐν τ[ῷ] ; βωμ[ῷ] (ἐ)πιγραφὴν ἀνω-ιγὰς
κδ' αἰγε . . . ; (d) ἀ(π)οφόρησε ; ἐκάστη ἀνω-ιγὴ πήρας ο' ; . ἐνόνται.
See Ch. Fossey, "Inscriptions de Syrie," *BCH* 21 (1897) 59-61, no. 68.

⁹⁰Apul. *Met.* 8.26.

What this indicates is that the image we see in Apuleius could just as easily represent a group who made periodic missionary journeys from one of the temples as a wandering band of cult performers who lived permanently on the road. We do see *galli* gathered around several of the principal sanctuaries in Anatolia in what Graillot assumes to be veritable monasteries at Pessinus and Cyzicus.⁹¹ At Hierapolis in Phrygia their defiance of the poisonous vapors as one of the sights to be seen also suggests a permanent contingent.⁹²

In the first century C.E., we can assume that some of the *galli* were stationary at temple locations, and that some went out as itinerants on fund-raising and cultic performance tours, returning on a regular basis to deliver their collections to their home base. Other itinerant bands may have wandered simply supporting themselves by their cultic function as performers. In any case these mendicant bands traveled on roads in the same territories traversed by Paul.

The mendicant *galli* could be portrayed in quite an unfavorable light. Comparison to them might indicate a precipitous descent in status. For example, Lucian in the *Cronosolon* suggests that the rich who do not obey the holiday laws "just as those who would beg for the Mother with flute and kettle-drums will become *bakeloi*."⁹³ Aelianus also

⁹¹Graillot, 316 and 399.

⁹²Graillot (399) says that they formed a medical corps there, but provides no specific citation.

⁹³Lucian, *Cronosolon*, 12. ὡς ἀγείροιν τῇ μητρὶ σὺν αὐλοῖς καὶ τυμπάνοις βάκηλοι γερόμενοι.

relates the ultimate dishonored fate of an unrestrained ruler of Locrians who, once overthrown, winds up in abject poverty in Corinth as a *metragerytes*, who beats on the kettledrum and plays the flute, symbolic of the fact that his life has been completely overturned.⁹⁴ Dionysus of Halicarnassus also makes clear that begging is one of the "Phrygian" aspects of the cult in which true Romans would not lower themselves to participate.⁹⁵

A fragment from Antiphanes, a fourth century B.C.E. comic poet, also shows the low esteem in which the *metragerytes* were held in Greece at that time. Entitled "The Rogue-Hater ('Ο Μισοπονηρός)" the selection is a comic dialogue about the relative "slime factor" of various occupations.⁹⁶ The *μητραγύρτης* rates higher on the "scale of sleaze" than Scythians, wet-nurses, and midwives, out-ranked only by the fish-monger and the money-changer.

⁹⁴Ael. VH 9.8. 'Ο δὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ πολλαῖς χρησάμενος βίου μεταβολαῖς διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀπορίαν, τελευταῖον δὲ μητραγυρτῶν καὶ κρούων τύμπανα καὶ καταυλούμενος τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

⁹⁵Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.19. At Rome the begging was allowed but carefully confined to specific days in connection with annual festivals. According to Graillot (312), Augustus consecrated a day to beg every year following a nocturnal vision. By the end of the Empire, members of the Roman aristocracy begged for the Magna Mater as an act of penitence. Descriptions of the cult procession at Rome indicate a road strewn with riches. Lucretius (*De Rerum Natura* 2.624-8) in the first century B.C.E. describes a path strewn with precious metals and showered with flower-petals. Herodian (1.10.5) in the early third century C.E. evokes the same scene of an outpouring of wealth in the festival at Rome in honor of Cybele.

⁹⁶Edmonds, *The Fragments*, 239, no. 159.

μετά γε νῆ Δία
 τοὺς μητραγυρτοῦντας γε· πολὺ γὰρ αὖ γένος
 μιαιώτατον τοῦτ' ἔστιν.

After, by Zeus, the *metragyrtai*, of course. For this type is very much the most polluted (wicked) of all.⁹⁷

The *galli* could thus be objects of ridicule for their activity as beggars as well as for their gender ambiguity. The ridicule here also uses the vocabulary of "pollution."

If we recognize, however, that these performances received financial support from crowds of the Mother's devotees as well as derision from the satirists, we can see the activity of begging as part of a cultic function. This would be consistent with the image Dieter Georgi provides of the "missionary activity" of an expansion movement of various intellectual philosophies and religious cults. He suggests that begging, as part of this missionary activity, was not so much a "sign of widespread parasitism and widespread superstitious fear" as it was "a generally recognized religious phenomenon."⁹⁸

⁹⁷Edmonds translates, "Except of course, : The begging priest; he wins the rascals'-race."

⁹⁸Dieter Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) 152. Georgi's admitted reliance on Franz Cumont, and on Arthur Darby Nock (*Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1933]) must be taken into critical consideration before too readily relying any further on his conclusions about the nature of "missionary activity." A contrasting perspective is reportedly presented by Martin Goodman. See David Potter, review of *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire*, by Martin Goodman, In *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 1995. (URL = <ftp://ftp.lib.ncsu.edu/pub/stacks/bmcr/bmcr-9501-potter-mission>).

To call the begging activity of the *galli* "missionary activity" is probably inaccurate if this indicates doctrinal content or an invitation to an exclusive conversion.⁹⁹ In Anatolia, at least, we must assume that this activity assists those already devoted to the Mother of the Gods to maintain their devotion to her by supporting her representatives. To place a contribution in the begging sack as it circulated after the performance would be as much a part of cultic participation as vicarious emotional involvement in the bloody spectacle and the vibration of the drums. This same activity also attracted new participants in the cult outside Anatolia and among immigrants and colonists into Anatolia. This is evidenced by the cult's impressive spread to the limits of the Roman Empire and beyond and by the fervent devotion of invading groups, such as the Galatians, to the cult of the Mother of the Gods.

7.2.2 *The Galli as Healers and Prophets*

The travelling cultic performances of the *galli* provided a means for the Mother's worshippers to continue to experience her powers, her *δυνάμεις*. The goddess's acts of power were seen in the *galli* not only in the frenzy of their self-punishment but also in their role as healers and prophets.

⁹⁹Richard Oster attributes such a "missionary" emphasis to the cult of the Ephesian Artemis. It is difficult to determine, however, to what extent this tendency emerges in reaction to the exclusivist emphasis of Christianity. See Oster, "The Ephesian Artemis," 41.

The role of the *galli* as healers is suggested in a fragment from the comic poet Antiphanes' play 'Ο Μητραγύρτης, dated to the fourth century B.C.E.

τήν τε παῖδ' ἀλείμματα
παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ λαβοῦσαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας
ἐκέλευ' ἀλείφειν πρῶτον, εἶτα τὰ γόνατα.
ὥς θᾶπτον ἡ παῖς δ' ἥπατ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ποδῶν
ἔτριψέ τ', ἀνεπήδησεν.

He told the female slave to get oil from the Goddess and rub with it, first his feet, then his knees; and as soon as the female slave touched his feet and rubbed it in, the lame man leapt to his feet.¹⁰⁰

Other evidence indicates their healing role because of their knowledge of a wide variety of cures attributed to divine revelation. They also provided curative amulets,¹⁰¹ and their remedies extended to the livestock and fields.¹⁰²

The *galli* expressed the δυνάμεις of the Mother in various forms of prophecy as well. We have already seen their role as ecstatic prophets in the scene of the bloody ecstatic state portrayed in Apuleius. The *galli* themselves are equated with this ecstatic "corybantic" condition, which was described in detail at 6.4. The role of the ecstasies described there applies especially to the *galli* as occupants of the boundary territory between divine and human, "possessed" by the goddess and under the spell of divine rhythms and melodies. They too prophesy,

¹⁰⁰Edmonds (*The Fragments*, 237, no. 154) who provides a verse translation. The translator's note explains that this is "a miraculous cure staged by a begging priest."

¹⁰¹Grailliot, 310. See also Walter Addison Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925) 486.

¹⁰²See Grailliot, 311.

as mindless, "without νοῦς," ἀνόητοι. This will be significant for our consideration of Gal 3:1-5 at 9.3.2.2.

The identification of *galli* as ἀνόητοι is expressed in the lexicon of Hesychius in his entry for βάκηλος, a word also for a *gallus*.¹⁰³

βάκηλος· ὁ μέγας. ἢ ἀνόητος. ἢ ὁ ἀπόκοπτος, ὁ ὑπ' ἐνίων γάλλος. οἱ δὲ ἀνδρόγυνος. ἄλλοι παρειμένος, γυναικώδης, παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ Ὑμνίδι καὶ τὸ σύνηθες ἡμῖν.

bakelos: the big one, or the mindless, or the castrated, by some the *gallus*, sometimes "androgynous," other times "weakened" womanish, according to the Hymn of Menander and our usage.¹⁰⁴

The major image of the *galli* as prophets is certainly this ecstatic one, seen in the frenzy and in the "belly-talking" described by Apuleius as well as other indications of divine possession.¹⁰⁵ This can mean the rhythmically-induced ecstatic state from which the *galli* speaks as the direct mouthpiece of the goddess, but ancient authors also describe a more comprehensive connection inducing prophecy, in which the *galli*'s

¹⁰³See *LSJ*, s.v. "βάκηλος." For the first definition, "a eunuch in the service of Cybele, Gallus," *LSJ* cites two passages from Lucian. The first (*Lucian Eun.* 8) distinguishes the βακῆλοι from true eunuchs since they have come to manhood before castration. The second occurs in a threat to the rich that if they do not obey the laws of the Saturnalis they will be made eunuchs, becoming βάκηλοι who beg for the Mother with flutes and kettle-drums (*Lucian Sat.* 12.). The second definition "womanish" is also found in Hesychius.

¹⁰⁴Hesychius Alexandrinus, *Lexicon post Ioannem Albertum*, ed Maurice Schmidt, vol. 1, A-Δ (originally published, 1858; reprint, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965).

¹⁰⁵For a description of "belly-talkers" and another summary of the social function of prophecy in the mystery cults, and a basic description of the proportional relation between frenzy and prophetic credibility in that context, see also David Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1983) 36-43.

bodily reaction is an omen in itself. The first century C.E. author Lucan, for example, describes the frenzy of the *galli* among the omens which preceded the Roman civil war.

*tum, quos sectis Bellona lacertis
saeua mouet, cecinere deos, crinemque rotantes
sanguinem populis ulularunt tristia Galli.*

Then the worshippers savage Bellona goads to gash their arms hymned the Gods and, whirling their bloody topknots, the Galli gabbled to people about calamity.¹⁰⁶

The impression given is that the *galli*, who move as ones possessed by the goddess, become stirred up along with the devotees of Bellona and the disturbed forces of nature. Their action is part of a wave of omens which include monstrous births and the appearance of beasts of prey in the streets at the heart of Rome at a time when "the nation's gods wept and household gods sweated, attesting to the City's woe"¹⁰⁷ and when there were ominous oracles from the Sibyl at Cumae spreading as rumor. The prophetic words and convulsive actions of the *galli* are of a piece, and their prophetic role is indicated as much by the sign of the motion of their bodies as the words of their prophecy.

In addition to this ecstatic prophecy, both oral and bodily, the *galli* also engaged in prophecy as a craft. Graillot provides evidence for activities, sometimes categorized as "magical," such as spells, talismans, and magic potions for healing and other purposes, as well as

¹⁰⁶Luc. *Pharsalia* 1.565-7. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, trans. Jane Wilson Joyce (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993).

¹⁰⁷Luc. *Pharsalia* 1.556-8, trans. Joyce.

other forms of divination and astrological arts.¹⁰⁸ In the inscription stele raised by the *gallus* Soterides, mentioned above, we are also probably informed that he knows the unfortunate fate of his partner because the goddess has informed him by means of direct revelation in a dream.¹⁰⁹ Such revelation in dreams is also attested in other sources.¹¹⁰ In this variety of activity, the distinction between prophecy, healing, and magic becomes blurred, but the role of the *galli* is one which mediates both directly in the ecstatic state and in the divinely revealed technical arts.

Prophecy was also associated with the Mother of the Gods without the *galli* being her mouthpiece. Dio Chrysostom, who wandered many of the same routes as Paul, also supporting himself by the work of his hands and just one generation later, describes his encounter with a woman prophet during one of his rural wanderings in the western Peloponnese in Greece.¹¹¹ He describes this prophet as seated and "strong and tall though rather advanced in years" (ἰσχυρὰν καὶ μεγάλην, τῇ δὲ ἡλικίᾳ πρεσβυτέραν) with grey braids falling on her shoulders. The shrine itself, dedicated to Heracles, served a rural population. She explained that "the Mother of the Gods had given her the gift of divination and that all the herdsmen and farmers round about consulted

¹⁰⁸Graillot, 307-11.

¹⁰⁹CCCA I, no. 287, ll. 8-11. The word for dream (ἐνυπνιον) is a restoration but hardly an improbable one. See also 7.1.1.3.

¹¹⁰Graillot, 308, n. 2.

¹¹¹Dio Chrys. Or. 1.52-8.

her on the raising of their crops and cattle."¹¹² Commenting on the character of her prophecy Dio notes that unlike the frenzy of the ecstasies, she maintained self-control and moderation.¹¹³

The Sibyls can also be seen to have some strong ties to the cult of the Mother of the Gods. For example, it was because of a Sybilline oracle that the Mother of the Gods was taken to Rome in 204 B.C.E. There is also some geographic association between the Sibyls and the territory near Mount Ida. Pausanias, for example, quotes a poem of one who identifies herself,

εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ γεγαυῖα μέσον θνητοῦ τε θεᾶς τε,
 νύμφης ἐκ Ἀθανάτης, πατὴρ δ' ἐκ σιτοφάγοιο,
 μητρόθεν Ἰδογενής, πατρὶς δέ μοι ἔστιν ἔρυθρῇ¹¹⁴
 Μάρπησος, μητὴρ δ' ἱερή, ποταμός τ' Αἰδωνεύς.

'I am by birth half mortal and half divine,
 An immortal nymph was my mother, my father an eater of corn;
 On my mother's side of Idaean birth, but my fatherland was red
 Marpessus, sacred to the Mother, and the river Aïdoneus.'¹¹⁵

She can thus be associated with the Mother of the Gods on both sides.

What can be seen is that the *galli* are thus included in a broader category of prophets associated with the cult and do not occupy an exclusive role within it. The whole group and especially the itinerant prophets, however, become the object of some amount of derision and

¹¹²Dio Chrys. 1.54. (ἔχειν δὲ μαντικὴν ἐκ μητρὸς θεῶν δεδομένην, χρῆσθαι δὲ αὐτῇ τοὺς τε νομέας πάντας τοὺς πλησίον καὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς ὑπὲρ καρπῶν καὶ βοσκημάτων γενέσεως καὶ σωτηρίας.) Translated by J. W. Cohoon, LCL.

¹¹³Dio Chrys. Or. 1.56.

¹¹⁴Paus. 10.12.3.

¹¹⁵Translated by W. H. S. Jones, LCL.

ridicule. Plutarch, for example, blames the decline of the oracles at Delphi in part upon the "beggarly and traderlike" (τὸ ἀγυρτικὸν καὶ ἀγοραῖον) who lie in wait around the *metroons* and the *Serapeia*, (καὶ περὶ τὰ μητρῶα καὶ Σαραπεῖα βωμολοχοῦν) and the "wandering type" (πλανώμενον γένος), who make up prophecies for profit.¹¹⁶ Although the *galli* are not specified, and this group of prophetic beggars surely included other types -- even the Cynics were known to frequent the *metroon* at Athens -- unfavorable observers could easily include them in this category of "undesirables" who sold prophecies.

Viewed favorably by devotees of the cult willing to pay for their aid, however, the *galli* and the other prophets associated with the cult provided a means of sustaining the cult in diaspora conditions and continued to mediate the power of the goddess to her worshippers in whatever place they might find themselves.

7.2.3 *The Galli as Mediators of Expiation*

The blood-letting performance described by Apuleius reveals a further function of prophecy in this context. One of the *galli*, he says, became more wildly ecstatic than the others and began to speak in a different voice, the "belly-talking" which sometimes characterized divine possession. In this state he poured forth a stream of self-accusation,

*Infit vaticinatione clamosa conficto mendacio semet ipsum incessere
atque criminari, quasi contra fas sanctae religionis dissignasset*

¹¹⁶Plut. *Mor.*, *De Pyth. or.* 407C.

aliquid, et insuper iustas poenas noxii facinoris ipse de se suis manibus exposcere.

Prophesying noisily he began to attack and accuse himself with a manufactured lie about himself, how he had contrived something against the divine law of holy religion, and moreover to demand just punishment by his own hands for his guilty deed.¹¹⁷

This leads to the frenzy of self-laceration reminiscent of Ovid's description of Attis in the frenzy in which he castrates himself, saying, " 'I have deserved it! With my blood I pay the penalty that is my due.!' "¹¹⁸

From the perspective of the *gallus* in this scene, we must assume that the accusations are not a manufactured lie but some real experience of guilt worthy of punishment. We might also conjecture that observers of such a performance may also have experienced a vicarious identification with the guilt expressed and may thus have participated in the expiation accomplished by the *gallus*' self-punishment. They participated at least inasmuch as they placed a contribution in the beggar's bag at the end of the performance. In a context where divine punishments for guilt could be dire indeed, as was seen in Chapter 3, such vicarious expiation would be well worth the price of admission.

Expiation is one of the cultic functions offered by a *gallus* in one of Juvenal's satires. The *gallus* warns a woman to purify herself with a hundred eggs and to "give him some old dark-colored clothes so that whatever sudden and great crisis pursues her may be in the tunics and

¹¹⁷Apul. *Met.* 8.28.

¹¹⁸Ov. *Fast.* 4.239. ("*merui! meritas do sanguine poenas.*")

she may expiate (herself) for the whole year all at once."¹¹⁹ To the satirist this appears to be manipulation, but from the perspective of those who participated, the *gallus* made a prophetic diagnosis and suggested a remedy. The clothing, it may be noted, which was polluted and dangerous for the woman who held it, ceased to be a threat once passed into the domain of the *galli*. Their liminal status here provides a means of expiation from ritual pollution.

7.2.4 *The Galli as Intercessors with Rome*

The *galli*'s prophetic role also functioned in political relations. The links between the Sibylline oracles, consulted by the Roman government especially in times of crisis, and the Mother of the Gods have already been mentioned. The *galli* also played a direct intercessory role on several occasions recorded in the literary evidence.

In two recorded instances we see *galli* coming out of a city, adorned in their full regalia, to intercede with an approaching Roman army on behalf of the population. Versions of both are told by Polybius and Livy. The first occurred in the early second century B.C.E. at the siege of Sestus, which is on a narrow peninsula of Thrace facing Abydos in Mysia. As Polybius describes it, the population of the city was already agitated because they are running out of food. At this point, two *galli* came out from the city, wearing their characteristic pectorals

¹¹⁹ Juv. 6.518-21. (*nisi se centum lustraverit ovis : et xerampelinas veteres donaverit ipsi, : ut quidquid subiti et magni discriminis instat : in tunicas eat et totum semel expiet annum.*)

with images and "they pleaded nothing irreparable be planned against the city."¹²⁰ Livy's description is more elaborate,

When the soldiers were already approaching the walls, some fanatical *Galli* with their ritual dress (*sollemni habitu*) first met them before the gate; they said that by the order of the Mother of the Gods they (*iussu se matris deum*), the servants of the goddess (*famulos deae*), were coming to implore the Romans to spare the wall and the city. None of them was injured.¹²¹

This occurred a few years after the goddess had come to Rome with great fanfare and was credited with Rome's salvation in the second Punic War and only a year after her temple at Rome was built. As spokespersons for the Mother of the Gods, these *galli* would thus have some credibility with the Roman invasion force.¹²²

A few years later in 189 B.C.E., two *galli* took a similar role during Manlius Vulso's campaign to pacify the Galatians. While he and his forces were camped next to the Sangarius River, two *galli* came, dressed characteristically with the images and pectorals, "on behalf of the priests of the Mother of the Gods at Pessinus, Attis and Battaces, saying that the goddess had foretold Manlius' victory and ascendancy."¹²³ Not surprisingly they were welcomed. In Livy's description, the *galli*

¹²⁰Polyb. 21.6.7. (Ἐξελθόντες μὲν Γάλλοι δύο μετὰ τύπων καὶ προστηθηδίων ἐδέοντο μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῆς πόλεως.)

¹²¹Livy 37.9.9.

¹²²The action also appears to have been successful in convincing the civic authorities to surrender.

¹²³Polyb. 21.37.5-7. (. . . παραγίγνονται Γάλλοι παρ' Ἀττιδος καὶ Βαττάκου τῶν ἐκ Πεσσινοῦντος ἱερέων τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔχοντες προστηθίδια καὶ τύπους, φάσκοντες προσαγγέλειν τὴν θεὸν νίκην καὶ κράτος.)

delivered this prophecy in an ecstatic state, in fanatic oracular utterances (*vaticinantes fanatico carmine*), and the goddess not only foretold the Roman victory, she granted them victory over the region.¹²⁴

It would appear from these glimpses that the *galli* were pro-Roman or at least that they believed alliance and accomodation with the Romans to be the best solution for their people given the options in a rather unstable situation in the early second century B.C.E. In any case, they played a special communicative role with the invasion forces.

At the end of the same century, in 102 B.C.E., a high-ranking *gallus* named Battaces, a priest from Pessinus mentioned above in connection with his royal attire (7.1.1.2), journeyed to Rome to appeal for the protection of the temple of the Mother of the Gods at Pessinus.¹²⁵ According to Diodorus Siculus, he said that he had come by command (κατὰ πρόσταγμα) of the goddess and was given an audience with the Roman consuls and senate. There he stated that the temple of the goddess (τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς θεοῦ) had been polluted (μεμιᾶνθαι) and that it was necessary that public rites of purification be performed at Rome.¹²⁶ According to

¹²⁴Livy 38.37.9.

¹²⁵While there is no evidence of connection to the *galli*, the leader of the slave revolt in Sicily around 135 B.C.E. was a prophet of the Syrian goddess and was considered a king, complete with royal garb, by his followers. See Diod. Sic. 34.1-48 and L. Annaeus Florus 2.7.

¹²⁶Diod. Sic. 36.13.1. καὶ δεῖν αὐτῇ δημοσίᾳ καθαρμούς ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης συντελεσθῆναι. The word τὸ ἱερὸν is ambiguous since it can also indicate other sacred places or objects such as the cult stone which had been brought from Pessinus to Rome. (See LCL translation, 177, n. 1.) The implication, however, seems to be that Battaces has responded to something which has taken place at Pessinus.

Plutarch, Battaces' prophetic message was a proclamation similar to what the *galli* delivered to Manlius Vulso, that the Romans would be victorious in war, but Plutarch interprets his very appearance on the scene as a sign, similar to spears and shields seen moving in the heavens.¹²⁷

Correspondence, mentioned above, between the kings Eumenes II and Attalus II and the Attis, the priest of Cybele's temple at Pessinus, illustrates the political and societal importance of the cult leadership in the mid-second century B.C.E.¹²⁸ The letters show that the Attis was involved in the issues and action which concern kings more than priests: military activities to hold back the marauding Gauls and the concerns of the council at Pergamene for a diplomatic policy regarding Roman power.¹²⁹

The *galli* who continued the image of Attis have a significant role in the "foreign relations" between their home cities and external powers. Their role should not be envisioned, perhaps in a manner possible only in the modern era, as narrowly "religious" or cultic. The evidence suggests they had a more general leadership function.

¹²⁷Plut. *Vit. Mar.* 17.4-6.

¹²⁸C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (London: no publ., 1934; reprinted Chicago: Ares, 1974), nos. 55-61, 241-253. See 4.4.3.2.

¹²⁹Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 246-7. The Attis is specifically addressed as a priest (ἱερεύς) who carries out the function of a priests as one who performs sacrifices. The address is to Ἀττιδὶ ἱερεῖ in nos. 58, 59, and 61. The mention of sacrifice occurs in no. 59, ll. 5-6, (τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσσας ὑπὲρ] : τῆς ἡ[μ]μετέρας σωτηρίας.)

The galli's intercession with foreign powers, one aspect of their leadership function, is consistent with their interstitial position. However, our knowledge of their actions is more an accident of the data than any indication of their most important leadership functions, since our record of their activities comes almost exclusively from foreign observers. One inscriptional fragment from the sanctuary of Hecate at Lagina in Caria, however, refers to "the dignified eunuchs of the goddess."¹³⁰ The original publisher of the inscription, J. Hatzfeld interprets the role of these eunuchs as overseers of the sacred grove. Unfortunately, his interpretation, which is based on other inscriptions found at the site, is reasonable but not conclusive. In this inscription, however, we do have evidence that the eunuchs of the goddess could be held in high esteem in their own cultural context.¹³¹ This is consistent, as will be seen in the next section, with their position as the court eunuchs of the goddess.

¹³⁰ τῶν σεμνοτάτων τῆς θεᾶς εὐνούχων. J. Hatzfeld, "Inscriptions de Lagina en Carie," *BCH* 44 (1920) 84, no. 16.

¹³¹ Hatzfeld, "Inscriptions de Lagina," 80-81.

7.2.5 *The Galli as Slaves of the Goddess and as Her Court Eunuchs*

References to the status of the *galli* as slaves of the goddess have already been seen in passing. The *gallus* of the Syrian Goddess who inscribed a stele to commemorate his financially successful journeys on her behalf referred to the goddess as his κυρία, his "master" in the feminine form and himself as her slave (δοῦλος). The two *galli* who came out to meet the force preparing to invade Sestus also identify themselves as "*famulos deae*," servants of the goddess. These references are hardly unique.¹³²

What it means, however, to be a "slave of the deity," or a "slave of the goddess," is not entirely clear, nor is it necessarily identical with literal slave status.¹³³ Dale Martin shows that to be a slave of a

¹³²Graillot, 288-9, esp. n. 1. Graillot (286) also sees the *galli* as literally of slave status by birth, based on a poorly founded argument about them being named by only one name. His citation from Martial is hardly convincing since most of his epigrams refer to the object of ridicule by a single name. The evidence of the stele raised by Soterides for his absent soldier, CCCA I, no. 287, cited at 7.1.1.3, is not confirmed in other steles which include more extended names of *galli*, CCCA I, nos. 35a, 76, 745-8. All these are *archigalli*. A single name is indicated in CCCA I, nos. 57, 528, 755, and 801, for both *galli* and *archigalli*. Too many possible explanations for the single name occur, including the symbolism of enslavement to the goddess, to conclude that the *galli* were born in slave status.

¹³³A major issue in interpretation of inscriptions over the course of this century has revolved around what appear to be some form of sacral manumissions, many of which are related to the Mother of the Gods or Mā. These inscriptions do not, however, refer to *galli*. See A. Cameron, "Inscriptions Relating to Sacral Manumission;" F. Sokolowski, "The Real Meaning of Sacral Manumission," *HTR* 47 (1954) 172-81; Jeanne and Louis Robert, *BE in REG* 97 (1984) 451, no. 250; 489, no. 388; and 90 (1977) 267-70; Louis Robert, "Actes d'affranchissement en Macédoine," *Hellenica* 1 (1940) 70-7; and Philippe M. Petsas, "ΜΗΤΗΡ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΧΘΩΝ. Unpublished Manumission Inscriptions from Macedonia," in *Ancient Macedonia*, vol. 3, *Papers Read at the Third International Symposium Held at Thessaloniki, September 21-25, 1977* (Thessaloniki: Institute for

deity was an honored position, especially in "eastern" contexts.¹³⁴ In the case of the *galli*, however, identification as "slaves of the goddess" is a double-valent status, consistent with the liminal position of the *galli* and Attis on many levels. In this section, their role will be examined first as they are identified as slaves of the goddess and then as they function as a specific type of slave, as the court eunuchs of the goddess.

7.2.5.1 The *Galli* as Slaves

Orlando Patterson's work *Slavery and Social Death* offers some insight into the *galli*'s complex position.¹³⁵ Patterson's preliminary redefinition of slavery, "the permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonored persons,"¹³⁶ defines slavery in terms of social relationship. Thus, rather than being a matter of static status or economic function slavery is a "complex interactional process."¹³⁷

This definition summarizes his analysis of what he terms "social death." The phrase "permanent, violent domination" indicates, first of

Balkan Studies, 1983).

¹³⁴Dale B. Martin, *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990) 54-60.

¹³⁵Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1982).

¹³⁶Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 13.

¹³⁷Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 13.

all, that slave status generally originated at some level as a substitute for death, such as death in war, death by exposure as an infant or by starvation, or death as punishment for a capital offense.¹³⁸ The element of domination can be seen in three facets of the power relation. First, the social facet "involves the use or threat of violence in the control of one person by another." The psychological facet, secondly, involves "influence, the capacity to persuade another person to change the way he [or she] perceives his [or her] interests and . . . circumstances." Thirdly, the cultural facet is that of authority.¹³⁹

The enslavement of the *galli* to the goddess corresponds to all three aspects of domination identified by Patterson. While the "reprieve from death" may have some literal dimension if the *galli* were young men who otherwise had poor prospects, the "reprieve" is certainly an element of the myth and ritual through which the *galli* arrive at their position as slaves to the goddess. The *galli* who parade in processions and travel in mendicant bands are those who do not die as a result of their self-inflicted injuries. Attis's partial reprieve from

¹³⁸Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 5.

¹³⁹Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 1-2. Patterson derives his definition of authority from Rousseau's *Social Contract* as " 'the means of transforming force into right, and obedience into duty' which, according to Jean Jacques Rousseau, the powerful find necessary 'to ensure them continual mastership.'" (Cited from Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, ed. Charles Frankel (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1947), bk. 1, chap. 3, p. 8.) He continues with further analysis of this position in later sociologists.

death corresponds to their own state of "social death" as Cybele's slaves.

The element of violence upholding this relationship is clearly seen in the action of the *galli* upon themselves, both in their self-castration and in their later self-flagellation and laceration. While they perform these actions upon themselves, they are understood to be in a state of *mania* visited upon them by the goddess. It is the goddess who is understood to be violently controlling them. That they lash themselves as her slaves is made explicit by Plutarch. He mentions the scourge of knuckle-bones used by the *galli* and contrasts it to the scourge, or lash, of a freeman in a manner which indicates that the *galli*'s scourge is a sign of "unfree and uneducated" (ἀνελεύθερος καὶ ἀνάγωγος) status.¹⁴⁰ Their use of this instrument upon themselves extends directly to psychological influence as the *galli* become extensions of the goddess and are seen to speak for her in accusations against themselves. The aspect of violence comes full circle in the element of cultural authority as the *galli* are seen punishing themselves for transgression against their perceived "duty" to the goddess. Their relationship to her is the relation of slave to master, but they have

¹⁴⁰Plut. *Adv. Colotes* 33 (1127C). ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλεύθερος οὗτος (γέλωτος), ὃ Μητρόδωρε, ἐστὶν ἀλλ' ἀνελεύθερος καὶ ἀνάγωγος καὶ οὐδὲ μᾶστιγος ἐλευθέρας δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀστραγαλωτῆς ἐκείνης ἣ τοὺς Γάλλους πλημμελοῦντας ἐν τοῖς Μητρώοις κολάζουσιν. (As translated by Frank Cole Babbitt in LCL: "Such laughter is not that of a free man, Metrodorus, but servile and ill-bred, and it does not even call for a freeman's lash but for that loaded knout which punishes the Galli for their sins at the rites of the Great Mother.") Plutarch's polemic here is against Metrodorus's dismissal of the state and mockery of law and the values of Solon and Lycurgus, according to Babbitt's notes.

become such a direct extension of her, so fully possessed by her, that they are her instruments to punish their own bodies.

The second element of Patterson's description of "social death" is the aspect of "natal alienation," a further extension of the cultural aspect of power. Part of what it means to be a slave is to have no socially or legally sanctioned relationship with living blood relations, ancestors, or descendants, to be "truly a genealogical isolate."¹⁴¹ While there is some evidence of *galli* having family connections,¹⁴² castration literally cuts off their potential for descendants. What evidence we have of the social organization of the *galli*'s lives indicates that their "family," like any slave's "family," became the family of their *κυρία* or *κύριος*, not their biological family. At Rome, their castrated status also made them legal non-entities, unable to inherit, since they did not fit any established legal category.¹⁴³

"Social death" is expressed in a third element, that slaves were "generally dishonored." The dishonored state of slaves is founded generally in their "absence of any independent social existence," since

¹⁴¹Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 5. This does not say that slaves did not tenaciously assert family attachments in spite of any lack of societal and legal recognition of them.

¹⁴²See CCCA I, no. 35a, from Karahüyük near Ancyra, dated 218 C.E.

¹⁴³According to a case recorded by Valerius Maximus during the reign of Tiberius, a *gallus* named Genucius was not able to inherit since, due to his self-castration, he could be numbered neither among the men nor women. (*appelatus Mamercus a Surdino, cuius libertus Genucium heredem fecerat, praetoriam iurisdictionem abrogavit, quod diceret Genucium amputatis sui ipsius sponte genitalibus corporis partibus neque uirorum neque mulierum numero haberi debere.*) Val. Max. 7.7.6.

they were "without power except through another."¹⁴⁴ In the master-slave relationship, the slave's dishonor, founded in his or her lack of power, enhanced the honor of the master. This, according to Patterson's survey of slavery in all the cultures in which it is known to have existed, is the binding thread: "What was universal in the master-slave relationship was the strong sense of honor the experience of mastership generated, and conversely, the dishonoring of the slave condition."¹⁴⁵

The dishonored condition is outwardly expressed in the "so-called servile personality" which is a remarkably consistent attribute of the condition of slavery and oppressed peoples.¹⁴⁶ The "servile personality" includes outward expressions of self-blame which lead, more tragically, to the slave's expression of psychological violence against him or herself, "the outward show of self-hatred in the presence of the master, which was prompted by the pervasive indignity and the underlying physical violence of the relationship."¹⁴⁷

Here again we see the *galli*, who set up the image of their goddess and begin their ritual of self-punishment with declarations of their own guilt, followed by the letting of their own blood in shame in order to cover the goddess with the honor they believe she deserves. For them to

¹⁴⁴Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 10.

¹⁴⁵Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 11. In some cultures slaves were acquired for the sole purpose of acquiring honor.

¹⁴⁶Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 12.

¹⁴⁷Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 12.

be a "slave of the goddess" is not merely a matter of a title; it is a literal reality, written in their own blood.

7.2.5.2 The *Galli* as Court Eunuchs

The *galli*'s relationship with the goddess as her slaves is more complex, however, and not simply a condition of dishonor. Slavery in Greco-Roman antiquity is, after all, not so much an objective status or a status with a single meaning as it is a relationship, a status which takes its meaning from the kind of master or owner served and the specific relationship with that owner. To understand the role of the *galli* as the goddess's slaves thus requires attention to the goddess's monarchical identity and the fact that the *galli* themselves are not simply "slaves" but "castrated slaves." In this case the owner is a deity understood to be an all-powerful monarch and the slaves are eunuchs. The *galli* thus appear as the court eunuchs of the goddess, a mercurial position indeed, as we shall see.

I. M. Diakonoff's survey of the importance of eunuchs in the monarchical courts of the Ancient Near East provides a relevant background for understanding the importance of the eunuchs who served Cybele.¹⁴⁸ She says the demand for eunuchs grew during the first

¹⁴⁸Diakonoff, "On Cybele," 338-40. Diakonoff's main argument is that an important and relatively familiar sculpture from the city gate of Bogazköy (=CCCA I, no. 32) does not portray the goddess but rather one of her eunuchs. Determination of this question is not relevant for this investigation. The major items of evidence he cite for the importance of eunuchs in the monarchical courts of the east are inferences from Ctesia and other Greeks writing about Achaemenid kings of Persia, and the palace of the Urartian king Rusa II at his capital at Rusahinele, where and estimated 70% of the personnel were eunuchs.

millennium B.C.E. due to the growth of "the social stratum accustomed to use personal service."¹⁴⁹ Eunuchs were considered especially useful as palace slaves. This was due in part to their physical weakness compared to male slaves. They also posed less threat because their inability to establish their own family line, their "natal alienation," gave them less incentive to seek freedom for themselves. This same inability also made them invaluable as royal administrators since they could not establish their own dynastic line. A eunuch could be considered trustworthy as an agent or advisor to the monarch, and could thus hold a relatively advantageous social position.¹⁵⁰ Diakonoff sees the self-castration of the *galli* as a means of gaining such a prestigious position.¹⁵¹

The position of court eunuchs in relation to the Emperor in the later Empire helps to explain how their position was both despised and advantageous. It is frequently said that these court eunuchs held the real power, especially in the Eastern Empire, more than the emperor or

¹⁴⁹Diakonoff, "On Cybele," 339, n. 12, "An old Babylonian master would send his slave-boy with a letter to a cattle leech with the wish to castrate him; but in the 5th century B.C. Herodotus tells us of special workshops preparing *castrati* for sale, and Babylonia as well as some other satrapies sent yearly thousands of boys as tribute to Persia -- no doubt, to be castrated."

¹⁵⁰Diakonoff, "On Cybele," 339. For example, among the reforms carried out in 8th century B.C.E. Assyria, apparently by Tiglathpileser III, was a "more systematic employment of eunuchs (*šut-reši*) in the administration, especially in the capacity of provincial governors."

¹⁵¹Diakonoff, "On Cybele," 340.

his aristocrats.¹⁵² According to Keith Hopkins, while eunuchs exercised real power, they functioned as mediators and scapegoats for an emperor who was increasingly isolated by becoming increasingly divinized.

Their position is strategic from two vantage points. They derive power from their proximity to the emperor because they are extensions of his imperial-divine power and frequently function on his behalf. Yet in a structure which concentrates power in the emperor and isolates him by deification, court eunuchs fill a strategic position from the vantage point of the monarch who must rely upon them for "human information and contact."¹⁵³ The power of their strategic position thus depended on their intermediary position between the "sacred" emperor and his "human" subjects, "about whom the emperor wanted information or who wanted favors from the emperor."¹⁵⁴ Their position is strategic, furthermore, because of "the tension between the autocratic emperor and the other power elements in the state whose exercise of power threatened the emperor's supremacy."¹⁵⁵ The eunuchs were a group within the court who could be trusted to execute the emperor's commands without forming an independent power base, as the aristocracy did. Thus an increasingly

¹⁵²Keith Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, Sociological Studies in Roman History, no. 1 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 172.

¹⁵³Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, 187.

¹⁵⁴Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, 188.

¹⁵⁵Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, 188.

powerful and isolated emperor became increasingly reliant upon the court eunuchs.

This picture of the court eunuchs surrounding the deified, all-powerful and isolated emperor is analogous to the position of the Anatolian Mother, towering and isolated on her mountain heights as the power of the earth itself to give life and take it away, guarded by lions, one of the monarchical deities of Anatolia threatening at any moment to wield the scepter of her power to execute her commands.¹⁵⁶ The *galli* surrounding her are the appropriate servants to mediate between the goddess and her human subjects. This all-powerful monarchical goddess must be served, not by an aristocratic "polis-based" and "avocational" priesthood with the capacity for an independent base of power which might rival hers, but by eunuchs whose absolute loyalty is not questioned because their absolute dependence upon her is sealed by the fact of their self-castration, the ultimate "vocational" priesthood.¹⁵⁷ In the social conditions of the cult in the first century, the goddess relied on her *galli* not so much for the human information and contact necessary for a human emperor as for maintenance

¹⁵⁶It would be reasonable to assume that they filled the same function in relation to the priest-king when the cult was "in place," and emerge in the Hellenistic period in a more direct relation to the goddess as they themselves move into a position of greater importance in the cult.

¹⁵⁷If this analogy is correct, the addition of a civic priesthood and festivals at Rome, and perhaps in Anatolia as Roman influence there progressed, would serve to subordinate the power of the goddess to the interests of Rome. This is not at all inconsistent with the history of interplay between Cybele and the Roman state.

of contact with her subject devotees wherever they might find themselves. They continued her power by maintaining her contact with her human subjects.

The correspondence between the position of the court eunuchs in the later Empire and that of the *galli* in relation to Cybele can also be seen in the titles used for the highest rank of the court eunuchs. Their position of proximity to the emperor was quite literally an association with his private person. The eunuch of highest rank was the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, the Grand Chamberlain, or more literally, the "Commander of the Sacred Bedchamber." Just below him in rank were the "Superintendent" (*primicerius*) of the Sacred Bedchamber and the Chief Steward of the Sacred Palace (*castrensis sacri palatii*).

Surrounded by his attending eunuchs, the emperor in the late Empire occupied the same position as the goddess in the cult of Cybele and Attis in the time period which concerns us. For example, Achrylis, one of the *galli* whose epigrams are included in the *Greek Anthology*, refers to himself as the goddess's Phrygian θαλαμηπόλος or "eunuch of the bed-chamber."¹⁵⁸ Assuming that the *galli* take a position in relation to the monarchical deity analogous to the position of court eunuchs in relation to deified monarchs, the subservient position to the deity expressed in the word θαλαμηπόλος would be a position of power and status in relation to the goddess's human subjects. Just as the court eunuchs hold power because of their strategic mediatorial position

¹⁵⁸Gr. Anth. 6.173.1.

between emperor and subjects, the power and prestige of the *galli* would derive from their strategic position as mediators between the powerful goddess and her devotees.

A further implication of the mediatorial role, which served the purpose of maintaining a structure of power based on the emperor's divinity, was what Hopkins describes as the "scapegoat" role, as unpopular figures useful partly for their very ability to absorb "criticisms which might otherwise have fallen upon the emperor."¹⁵⁹ The analogous role of the *galli* cannot, perhaps, readily be seen as absorption of criticisms which the goddess might otherwise have to bear. They do, however, fulfill a kind of "scapegoat" role seen in their self-accusations associated with their ritual blood-letting frenzies. The absorption, however, appears to move the other direction. The *galli* appear to absorb and enact the anger of the goddess toward them, rather than absorbing the anger of the people toward the goddess. Yet in the volatile emotional state involved in the ritual orgy of grief in which the *galli* absorb the anger physically in self-punishment, a clear source and direction of movement is difficult to determine. In their expiatory role they appear to absorb the goddess's anger with them and with her people and as her directly possessed slave agents to administer her punishment, as has been seen.

What can be seen from this analogy, then, is that the *galli* as the "court eunuchs of the goddess" would have power and status as a result

¹⁵⁹Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, 173-4.

of their position in relation to the goddess, their "interstitial" position. Like court eunuchs they had no power of their own and, like them, they were still, in fact, slaves. Like the court eunuchs, their power won them both respect and derision due to the very mediatorial nature of their position. They embody the dishonor of their status as slaves to the goddess and yet at the same time, their slave status makes them extensions of her and so they receive for her the honor due her.

Their interstitial position gives rise to this double-valent view. Orlando Patterson shows how this is the case in his discussion of court eunuchs as slaves. The court eunuchs of Byzantium and the *familia Caesaris*, along with such elite slaves in other empires, become a test case or limit situation for his argument.¹⁶⁰ The question for his analysis is how these members of powerful elites can properly be termed "slaves."

According to Patterson the category of slaves here labeled "court eunuchs" was almost universal in slave systems where masters exercised absolute power. There is, he says, "a high correlation between the presence of slave eunuchs and sacral absolutism," absolute monarchs who rule with divine authority or as gods themselves.¹⁶¹ Taking Hopkins' analysis as his point of departure, Patterson emphasizes the "genealogical isolation" of the court eunuchs as the key aspect which makes them useful as a bureaucratic class in service to the divine

¹⁶⁰Orlando Patterson, "The Ultimate Slave," chap. in *Slavery and Social Death*.

¹⁶¹Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 31.

emperor.¹⁶² This is consistent with Diakonoff's analysis of the role of court eunuchs in the absolute monarchies which preceded Roman domination of Anatolia, seen above.

Patterson further probes the paradox of the power and status of the eunuchs in association with the absolute divine monarch, on the one hand, and the "low esteem in which eunuchs were held and their [well-nigh universal] association with obscenity and dirt," on the other.¹⁶³ Partly this low esteem results from their position as "an anomalous kind of third sex."¹⁶⁴ This view is well-expressed in a passage from Basil cited by Hopkins:¹⁶⁵

. . . lizards and toads [which are unclean beasts (θηρία , . . . ἀκάθαρτα)] . . . the dishonest race of detestable eunuchs (εὐνούχων γένος ἄτιμον καὶ πανώλεθρον, neither men nor women (ἄθελυ, ἀνανδρον), but made with lust for women (γυναικομανές), jealous, corruptible, quick-tempered, effeminate, slaves of the belly, avaricious, cruel, fastidious, temperamental, niggardly, grasping, insatiable, savage and envious. What else can I say? Born to the knife, how can their judgment be straight when their legs are crooked? They do not pay for their chastity; the knife has done it. Without a hope of fulfillment they are made with desires which spring from a natural dirtiness.¹⁶⁶

The paradox, restated is thus,

how could persons who were considered such foul, miserable specimens have been allowed to associate with monarchs who were not just absolute but in many cases considered semidivine, heaven's proxies

¹⁶²Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 319-20.

¹⁶³Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 320.

¹⁶⁴Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 321.

¹⁶⁵Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, 195; quoted by Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 321.

¹⁶⁶Basil, Letter 115.

on earth? How could an emperor who sat daily beside an empty throne held to be occupied by the living spirit of Jesus be served solely by creatures considered to be such obscene perverts?¹⁶⁷

The same question might be raised about the *galli*. How could such a goddess be surrounded by such revolting servants?

The terms of the paradox must be probed in order to find the answer. For this, Patterson turns also to Mary Douglas's analysis of dirt and pollution,¹⁶⁸ in which she shows that "dirt, the most extreme symbol of defilement and pollution, is intimately related to the nature of the sacred and to the representation of the most fundamental conflicts in the social order."¹⁶⁹ It is this very defilement, Patterson argues, that explain eunuchs as a "ritual necessity for any absolutist monarch who either rules with semidivine powers or who interprets his rule as a holy mission" because of the "wholly creative way" that "dirt . . . figures in . . . the affirmation of what is pure and sacred."¹⁷⁰ Dirt and pollution, as we have seen above, are defined by what does not fit into culturally-defined categories, and there is both power and danger in whatever or whoever crosses the limitations of those categories. The danger and power are controlled in part by the

¹⁶⁷Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 322.

¹⁶⁸Douglas, *Purity and Danger*.

¹⁶⁹Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 322.

¹⁷⁰Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 322.

isolation of people in a marginal state who, "are treated as dangerous outcasts and are expected to behave outrageously."¹⁷¹

Patterson notes two more of Douglas's findings which have relevance to an understanding of court eunuchs as slaves. One is the role of the human body as "a major source of symbolism for notions of pollution" and as "a symbol of the entire social order." The other is the insoluble problem of the search for purity already discussed at 6.3.1.

Eunuchs surrounding the deified emperor form this anomalous middle ground and their "body and status together create a powerful binary symbol and the ideal mediating symbol" to cross the "unbridgeable gulf between the semidivine emperor and his subjects."¹⁷² As intermediaries their role becomes not just that of representatives of the emperor but of surrogates. Like the relationship of a man and his shadow, separation was impossible.¹⁷³ The eunuch, as the emperor's shadow, was seen as evil and polluted while the emperor remained blameless and pure.¹⁷⁴

Their intermediary position is also the "anomalous third sex" already mentioned. They mediate not only by virtue of a social position

¹⁷¹Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 322.

¹⁷²Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 324, 327. This also applies to absolute monarchs who rule in close association with the deity.

¹⁷³Here Patterson (*Slavery and Social Death*, 324-5) is citing the example of the Chinese imperial court as described by Taisuke Mitamura, *Chinese Eunuchs: The Structure of Intimate Politics* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1970).

¹⁷⁴Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 325.

of proximity, as the "shadow" of the deified emperor, but also by becoming, bodily, a mediating symbol as "the closest approximation in the human species to an androgynous being."¹⁷⁵ They form an interstitial position between divine and human because they also form, bodily, an interstitial position between the categories of male and female. This intermediary position makes them grotesque and polluted even as it invests them with sacred power.¹⁷⁶

This position also makes them, as slaves, despised. No honor accrues to them which is not an extension of the emperor's, their master's, honor.

Indeed, to the degree that elite slaves used their masters' power in relation to others, to that degree were they despised. It was precisely because they were without honor that they had risen to their positions in the first place. And though honored, and no doubt craving honor, none of them were ever able to bestow honor or to confirm it, at least not to anyone who mattered. To the aristocrats who controlled the rules of the honor game, elite slaves were always contemptible and unassimilable isolates and outsiders. True honor is possible only where one is fully accepted and included, where one is considered by one's potential peers as wholly belonging. This the elite slave never achieved -- even, astonishingly, when he himself was a monarch.¹⁷⁷

These descriptions of the eunuchs who surround the divinized emperor are also applicable to the *galli* who attend the Mother of the Gods. They are luminous shadows, invested with the *δυνάμεις* of the goddess but shadows nevertheless, and extensions who move with her motion, live with her life, and are honored with her honor but shamed

¹⁷⁵Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 326.

¹⁷⁶Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 327.

¹⁷⁷Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 331-2.

and mocked for their own *galli*-identity. Their position is analogous to the court eunuchs except that they serve a deity rather than a divinized human being, and that deity rules both specific territories and a dispersed and invaded population of devotees. Like the court eunuchs, their position is interstitial.

7.2.6. *The Interstitial Position of the Galli*

As a consequence of their interstitial position, the *galli* were, as we have seen, subject to ridicule. They were mocked for their gender ambiguity not only because of their castration but also because of the feminine appearance of their attire. They were mocked for their dishonored position in the hierarchy of sexual practice, as half-men who submitted to other men. They were mocked also for their role as beggars and their association with undesirables such as prophets who sold oracles. They were also considered polluted and dishonored for all the same reasons that court eunuchs were, because of their interstitial position.

Like court eunuchs, they may be seen as "unassimilable isolates and outsiders," provided the nature of the margin is properly understood.¹⁷⁸ They are not at the same obscured margin as unnoticed beggars starving in the streets or field slaves chained into their barracks at night or villagers eking out their existence. They are not at the outer edges of the prosperity and social organization of "civilized society," but at a margin which is, paradoxically, at the center. The *galli* are

¹⁷⁸See also Graillot, 287-8. He emphasizes their servile origins.

flamboyantly at the margin of societal categories as a focal point of attention. More directly than the court eunuchs, they occupy that interstitial position between divine and human, as well as between male and female. They are likewise invested with the pollution, danger, and power of their boundary-crossing position. This places them outside of everyday human society and family life but also makes them able to wander freely and to intercede between human subjects and their monarchical goddess as well as between their people and the imperial power of Rome.¹⁷⁹

The *galli* formed a permanent liminal position, an interstitial position from which it was possible to maintain the cult of the Mother of the Gods during enormous changes in the social context over the course of centuries. In their homeland as part of a temple-state hierarchy, they formed a central mediating position around goddess and priest-king, expressing in ritual form the awesome power at the very center of community order. In the changed conditions of the Hellenistic period they appeared also on the road, where they embodied the continuing power of the Mother of the Gods for those who continued to be devoted to her.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹For an analysis of how they function similarly at Rome itself, see Beard, "The Roman and the Foreign," 164-90.

¹⁸⁰Later in the imperial period, beyond the time which concerns us here, they became for some expressions of sexual purity, representatives of Attis as hero who escaped enslavement to the flesh in this earthly life.

The *galli* were court eunuchs not of a divinized and transitory emperor subject to dynastic termination which carried the court eunuchs down too, but of a deity to whom devotion continued in Anatolia in spite of invasions and immigrations from every direction and through the rise and fall of numerous empires. Their honor derived not from attachment to a divinized emperor but from a divinity, the Mother of the Gods. They came into this derivative honor by an action in which they dishonored themselves, self-castration, not by an action taken upon them for the convenience or profit of their owner. They came to their interstitial position by a voluntary act of religious devotion which made them eunuchs in a divine court. They dramatically chose to become slaves of the goddess in an action from which there was no turning back, to place themselves in an interstitial position fraught with opportunities to be ridiculed and despised. Such a voluntary action requires some attempt at explanation, even though at this point we must resort to speculation.

7.3 Motivations for Becoming a Gallus

In common parlance today, if a young man were to rush to the center of a temple plaza, grab a sword and castrate himself, it would not be unreasonable to ask, "What possessed you to do such a thing?" The simplest explanation for the motivation of a young man to become a *gallus* is that the goddess herself impelled him. That is probably the answer such a young man would give, "The goddess made me do it." That this is no longer a common practice would thus be explained by the fact that devotion to the Mother of the Gods has waned in the recent millennium, and she no longer has power to possess young men that she once had. Her powers are thus not displayed in such a manner.

We are not left with an "up close and personal" interview with even one actual *gallus* from the ancient world which could give us evidence of how the *galli* themselves would explain their action. We can only propose speculations for their behavior on the basis of the evidence that we do have. In the context of the cult of the Mother of the Gods in the Greco-Roman era, we can assume that the statement of a *gallus* that the goddess had possessed him and thus he acted would be likely to be something he would declare with pride, claiming the honor he derives from such an unequivocal symbol of his possession by the Mother of the Gods. It is hardly improbable that a *gallus* would seriously claim that he had made no decision at all but that the Mother

of the Gods had claimed him, that his body had moved against itself by her command.

Nonetheless we must assume that the action was not prompted solely by the goddess's volition. Some young men surely allowed themselves to be overtaken by her mania more readily than others. We must assume other motivations, yet no single one can adequately explain such an action. What we must assume in our speculations here is a context with a complex set of interrelated motivations. An examination of these motivations will provide a background for understanding why Paul's Galatian audience might have been attracted to the relatively inexplicable practice of adult circumcision. From what we have seen, then, what can we gather would be some of the attractions of self-castration in this context?

7.3.1 *Fashion and Passion at Club Limen: A Social Location for Demonstrative Gender Ambiguity*

Before imputing lofty religious motivations to the *galli*'s actions, the possibility of relatively mundane motivations should be acknowledged. The simple lure of fashion, for example, the privilege of wearing attractive clothing which draws attention, should hardly be discounted as a factor of an adolescent boy's motivation. Ancient authors considered their unusual eye-catching attire worthy of description. Clothing and identity also functioned as contiguous realities so that an initial aspect of motivation may be identified

simply as the desire to be one of those people in the radiant clothing and so embody a certain radiance oneself.¹⁸¹

Along with the flamboyant costumes, there is an undeniable theatricality to the descriptions of the *galli*'s actions. The ancient authors do not speak much of their actions as private or secret devotions but as public displays, cultic performance pieces. They enter the poisonous vapors at Hierapolis as a display for the tourists. They do not draw blood in a solemn act inside an enclosed sacred place as a personal votive offering to the goddess, so far as we know, but in a noisy and chaotic visual display with flashing blades for which they intentionally gather a crowd. Even the castrations are described as risky public displays, not as careful private operations.

Part of the motivation that a young man might have had to become a *gallus* is quite simply this need to be the center of attention, to wear clothes that attract the eye and to be in the flashiest part of the parade pounding the loudest drums and playing the shrillest flutes, to perform actions which would shock and amaze and cause comment. The impulse, particularly among adolescent males, to say, "See me!" to the world is hardly unusual.¹⁸² In the social context which includes the

¹⁸¹Such a motivation is suggested by the boys who obtained an *erastes* in the ritual at Crete and hence became honored as *κλεινός* ("famous") with the right to wear appropriate distinctive clothing. See 6.2.2.

¹⁸²The many images of Attis which show him as a young boy with his clothing open to expose his genitals seem to express this impulse for attention-attracting behavior.

galli this position in the cult would provide a social location for young men with this intense theatrical impulse.

The "gender-bending" which characterizes descriptions of the *galli* itself also attracts attention. Their clothing, jewelry, makeup, and hair styles cause comment not only because they are a colorful fashion statement but also because they look like some type of female attire worn by some type of male. The social-visual puzzle draws attention as the allure of the liminal.

The theatrical impulse hardly need be confined to a group which also expresses gender ambiguity, even in the context of this cult, and self-castration was not the only means of expression for theatrically-inclined young people. Other places in the procession were available, so we must assume that the choice to be a *gallus* was motivated by more than theatrical factors.

We have seen a number of indications that the choice for permanent gender ambiguity may have had not only a cultic or performance function but also a personal relational one, that an adolescent may well have become a *gallus* for "passion" as well as "fashion." Earlier in this chapter, we saw in the discussion of the sexual practices of the *galli* pieces of evidence which indicate established relationships between *galli* and men. The inscription from Cyzicus concerning Soterides and his soldier *σύμβιος* shows a relationship between a *gallus* and a man who is not a cultic functionary but a Roman soldier.¹⁸³ The initiate who

¹⁸³Such alliances between *galli* and Roman soldiers may have enhanced their ability to function in an intercessory capacity between

becomes a *gallus* for the sake of his φίλος Iolaus in the text preserved on the papyrus fragment participates in a relationship of mutual allegiance and friendship among co-initiates. Whether all are lifetime *galli* or not is unclear, but it would appear that Iolaus is taught by the "true *gallus*," and is not one himself yet or ever.¹⁸⁴ If the interpretation of the myth of Agdistis and Attis as a rite of passage, given in at 6.2, is correct, it would also indicate that the strength of relationship with an individual who represents Agdistis and dotes on the potential *gallus* during a time of separation in the wilderness could become a powerful motivational factor. Loyalty and passion for a mentor who has fawned over the adolescent could, within the larger context of meaning in the cult, "inspire" the frenzy of passion described in the myth, which leads to the young Attis' or *gallus*' self-castration.

What this would suggest is that the status of *gallus* provides a social location for gender-ambiguous males, a gender which is socially constructed not as a mere concept or interpretation, but quite literally and physically. There was a gender fully intelligible only in the social context which produced it, yet it is possible to understand that motivations for a dramatic assumption of this *gallus*-gender were hardly lacking. For some young men, to become a *gallus* would mean entry into a social grouping where he would have peers, entry into an association of friends (φίλοι) who would understand him, membership in a kind of "Club

the populations of their cities and the Roman army.

¹⁸⁴ See 7.1.1.3.

Limen" in which the gender boundaries held firm in the rest of society could be freely transgressed.

In assuming this gender, however, a young *gallus* also assumed a cultic role and location with particular religious meaning in his social and cultic context. As a first step in understanding the motivations which stemmed from the cultic role, we need to return to the theatrical aspect, to the context of the action itself within a ritual performance.

7.3.2 *Ritual Performance: Bodily Knowing in the Limen*

A primary focus of the *galli*'s cultic activity is clearly performance in which they act upon their bodies. A resource for understanding their motivation as performers may be found by viewing their ritual performance as a mode of "bodily knowing" or "ritual embodiment." The motivation for becoming a *gallus* and participating in the repeated self-brutalization of their rituals emerges from the particular form of knowledge available within the liminal context of the ritual itself. It is the experience itself which beckons them.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵This is consistent with Burkert's analysis of the essential motivation of participants in the mystery initiations. See Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 89-114. This complex of motivations is suggested by a preliminary application of some of the methods under development in the area of ritual studies which examine the notion of action upon the body as a means of knowing and revealing some aspect of reality. A useful methodological framework for this can be found in a 1992 article by Björn Krondorfer which "suggests turning to ritual studies to develop new conceptual frameworks capable of describing the knowing that occurs when participating in embodied ritual actions." Björn Krondorfer, "Bodily Knowing, Ritual Embodiment, and Experimental Drama: From Regression to Transgression." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6 (1992) 27-38. As the title suggests, Krondorfer primarily treats the notion of regression and transgression in various experiments in performance art, an issue which will not be addressed here. A thoroughgoing treatment

Self-castration represents an embodiment of the liminal position to which the *galli* are drawn, a *limen* in which they explore their bodily exploration of limits and boundaries in the context of the limits and boundaries of their cultural context. They begin to know this liminal state first by ritual repetition. Probably as observers of the *galli*'s actions they learned to recognize the characteristic rhythm of their drumbeat and to respond as observers with active expressions of grief. Through this repetition as observers, they begin to know and to participate in the experience expressed in their cult.

By the repetitious experience of participation as an observer, the potential *gallus* also can begin to imagine himself as "one of those," to know himself on the path of this transformation. In studies of the cult of Cybele and Attis, the *galli* are frequently identified as those who undergo the highest form of initiation.¹⁸⁶ This suggests that the driving impulse may be the lure to comprehend, to retrieve a different and more complete understanding of the significant story of their culture. They move to the center of the story, into the liminal state and position, in order to understand the story comprehensively. In other words, they become like Attis not so much to assimilate to a deity or to die and rise with him so that they may be "saved" but because they can understand themselves from his position in the story which organizes the fabric of their community's life. Some young men gravitate to the

from this vantage point would appear to be promising, but is beyond the scope of this project.

¹⁸⁶See Sfameni Gasparro, *Soteriology*, 70; and Graillot, 293.

center where they can know themselves at the heart of the "zone" in which they live. This knowledge is available in their context only by bodily transformation.

This bodily transformation is, as Näsström points out, an experience of humiliation, described poignantly by Catullus. characteristic of the metamorphosis of mystery initiations.¹⁸⁷ This is to say that their action upon their bodily limits also moves them against social limits into a despised condition which is part of their transformation. As recipients of the highest form of initiation, they must sink the lowest.

Nevertheless the presence of power in this knowledge must also be acknowledged. In the ritual *limen*, the period of transition, testing and re-examination of a culture, individual, or perception of reality can happen. In the process of ritual repetition, which becomes, inevitably, developing variations on a theme, boundaries and definitions become open for transformation. By placing themselves at the heart of the ritual expression, the *galli* are in a position both to know and to transform the cultural experience of their people to adapt to their changing context over the course of centuries.

For example, perhaps once attached to a temple and perhaps wandering narrowly within the territory of the temple state, they appear in the Hellenistic era wandering as the "Mother's beggars" in Greece. Their cultic performances there begin to take on the meanings that the

¹⁸⁷See Näsström, *The Abhorrence*, 51.

observing participants experience, and they begin to understand themselves in new ways as they are reinterpreted in new contexts. There is a certain dynamic power in the *galli*'s position in the *limen* which renews and creates culture over the course of centuries and in which the *gallus* comes to know himself.

For the *galli*, the creative and dynamic power is not only in the transitional period of ritual but also in their permanent transformation. They become the test, the re-examination of the boundaries in their culture, or in their Anatolian and Greco-Roman multiculture. Bodily by their self-castration they transgress the boundary of male and female, and by their self-punishment they fuse the identity of slave and master.¹⁸⁸ Again and again by the risk of their actions they meet the limit between life and death. They stand at the boundary between divine and human, chaos and order. The turbulence and wildness of their behavior is seen as the active power of the mountain goddess who emanates community order. The voice of the deity is heard by their human community when they speak to prophesy. As prophets we see them function in the diplomatic boundary between their people and the Roman Empire, and socially they can manage to be the Roman Emperor's

¹⁸⁸In the image of the self-castration, the fusion of priest and sacrificial victim might also be seen. This would be consistent with some descriptions of the action taking place as the youth straddled the altar. Patterson's cross-cultural analysis of slavery also shows a close relationship between slaves and sacrificial victims, but not necessarily in these particular slave systems. The difficulty in this case is that while the data provides sufficient allusions to support the male-female and slave-master fusions, I have not found allusions to the image of the priest and sacrificial victim.

next door neighbors at the very heart of the Empire and yet foreign as foreign can be.

This is the lure of the liminal to which some young men were drawn. Yet it was not because they said to themselves one day, "I think the liminal has creative potential and I want to be a creator and transformer of culture so I think I will let myself get worked into a manic frenzy at the next ritual opportunity and castrate myself so I can live in the liminal position." In their conceptual framework, the Mother of the Gods is this power and they know their own desire and motivation as her action in and upon them.

As a form of bodily knowing, then, the action of castration is the point at which the *galli* know themselves to be transformed persons who have been claimed by the Great Mother of the Gods. In the bodily actions both of self-castration and subsequent repetitive self-punishment, they would experience bodily unification of the awesome power of the goddess with their hand taking the action and would thus experience her power to transform them. They begin in their self-castration a bodily transformation which continues as they are trained to wear the female attire of their transformed identity and, apparently in a different form of bodily knowing in their sexual relationships. In all of this they become what is for them in their context, consecrated beings.

7.3.3 *Consecration: Eunuchs in a Divine Court*

To say that the *galli* are consecrated means that they not only know themselves to be claimed by the Mother of the Gods but also that they

are known as such by her other devotees.¹⁸⁹ Their "initiation" provides a personal experience, which has been described here in terms of bodily knowing but is not limited to that, as has been suggested is the case for initiation in other "mystery cults." They are initiated and consecrated into a publicly acknowledged and vocational cultic function which is still basically temple-based, even if their temple is a cart containing the image of the goddess on their appointed rounds.

Their consecration is indicated by their castration and their change of clothes. Their consecration ritual has what Nancy Jay calls an "indexing" function, a designation from an insight of Charles Peirce into the varied nature of signs. Not all signs are symbols, according to Peirce, who

identified three kinds of sign: a *symbol* is related to its object by convention; an *icon*, such as a diagram or map, actually exhibits its object; an *index*, such as an act of pointing, is in existential relation to its object, 'connected with it as a matter of fact,' ... Because the relation of sign to signified is not conventional, indices can be understood across cultural and linguistic boundaries. They *indicate* their object rather than represent it.¹⁹⁰

For Jay this third "indexing" type is illustrated in the kind of sacrifice in which the victim's flesh is shared, since it both signifies

¹⁸⁹See Grailliot, 293, n. 1 for citations, mostly late and Latin which refer to the *galli* with words implying ordination and consecration.

¹⁹⁰Nancy Jay, *Throughout Your Generations Forever: Sacrifice, Religion, and Paternity*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 6. The work cited is Charles Peirce, *Collected Papers*, ed. C. Hartshorne and P. Weiss, vol. 4, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1960) 447. Jay also points out that this is what Thomas Aquinas would call an "effective sign" (*Summa Theologica*, III. Q62:1)

and causes membership in the group who partakes. It thus "indexes" a social group.¹⁹¹ In the case of the *galli* the indexing function of the ritual is even more inherent in the action since the existential relation of the symbol of castration is indeed inseparable from the object indicated, the consecrated *gallus*.

Membership in a social group is caused not only directly but also irrevocably by the ritual action. It not only changes the ritual participant's social location but also his physical being. We have seen above how this ritual action provides the young *gallus* with entry into a social location as an association of friends (φίλοι) in a complex of motivations which are most closely associated with what in the modern context would be identified as "male homosexual" and "transvestite" orientation. We have also seen that this social location functions in the cultic context, so that the motivations cannot be understood narrowly in terms of "sexual orientation." The indexing function of the castration is thus not only an irrevocable sign of membership in a social group but also a sign of membership in a divine one. These are not simply men dressed as women who engage in sexual relations with other men, but castrated men dressed in cultic attire who function in a cultic context as representatives and extensions of the Mother of the Gods.

¹⁹¹A significant portion of Jay's analysis focuses on the function of such indexing ritual sacrifice in the maintenance of patrilineal inheritance.

The fact of their castration and change of clothing is an indexing sign that the Mother of the Gods has claimed them for life, that they speak for her and reveal her power. Yet they do not as a consequence simply gain her glory and honor. Their castration indexes them not just for membership in human community or even for an elevated cultic position in which they administer the goddess's power as her agents. Their castration indexes them as a particular human-divine grouping, as eunuchs of the divine court. That grouping, as we have seen above, forms the interstitial position around the absolutely powerful monarchical deity and embodies her honor by emanation from her while also being objects of derision and shame. Like the *devadasis* who understood themselves to be reflections of the courtesans of the divine court of the gods, the *galli* are the eunuchs of the divine court, extensions of the divine priest-king Attis.

As members of divine court, court eunuchs who manifest the awesome power of the Mother of the Gods, they order their lives in alignment with her power even when their possession by her is manifestly disorderly. Like the eunuchs in the courts of the divinized emperors, they form a dynamic human fence around the absolute power of the monarch. They both maintain that power and mediate it for the administration of order within the monarch's realm. For this they are at once held in awe and despised for their "polluted" position in the divine-human *limen*.

7.4 Chapter Summary: The Double-Valent View of the Galli --
Respect and Revulsion

From this review of evidence about the *galli*, considered especially in the Anatolian context, it can be seen that they can hardly be treated simplistically. While they may have been the objects of ridicule from the point of view of Rome and Greece, they were also objects of respect in their homeland, at least as extensions of the Anatolian Mother of the Gods. They occupy an interstitial position between the monarchical divine power of the Mother and her subject devotees and hence move in a boundary area with immense creative power but also fraught with "pollution" and danger. As occupants of their society's interstitial position, they transgress its boundaries of male and female in their ambiguous gender. Likewise they are slaves, but slaves of the master-goddess and hence extensions of her mastering power. They dwell in the ambiguous territory between divine and human which transgresses the other fundamental boundaries by which their society is structured.

PART C

PAUL PERSUADES HIS ANATOLIAN AUDIENCE TO OPPOSE CIRCUMCISION

INTRODUCTION

We have been on a long detour since the question of the rhetorical situation of Paul's letter to the Galatians was posed in Chapter 1. Now with visions of first century Anatolia dancing or drumming in our heads, we can return to these questions and to the text of Paul's letter in order to examine the rhetorical situation with a deeper understanding.

In this part of the dissertation, I will propose an alternative construction of some of the key elements in the interpretation of Galatians. This alternative construction is based on some of the answers to the puzzles discussed in Chapter 2 which readily emerge from the Anatolian background. The basic factor is the identification of the Law with the Mountain Mother. Once this identification is seen, however, a new understanding of the structure of Paul's overall strategy in the letter emerges. Much of the interpretation found in this part of this dissertation should be read, then, as a proposal for what was discussed in Chapter 1 as the "subsurface coherence" of Galatians. I propose a means of reading Galatians as structured by a coherent rhetorical strategy in relation to the Anatolian context along with an explanation of how various problematic aspects of the letter in light of the overall structure. It should be kept in mind that while pivotal

elements of this overall structure are independently defensible, an independent case cannot be made for each and every element, at least not within the limitations of this investigation. Some of the structures and patterns proposed have been discerned in a verse-by-verse analysis of the oppositional structure and the structure of time as they operate in the letter. What is included here is substantially confined to the results of that analysis rather than a verse-by-verse presentation, particularly in Chapter 10.

Part C thus contains five chapters. Chapter 8 will revisit the rhetorical situation and address the issue of circumcision as a background for the chapters which follow. In Chapter 9, we will return to the questions regarding Gal 4:21-5:1 which were examined in Chapter 2. Implications of the basic insight, that Paul portrays the Law as an Anatolian Mountain Mother, will be discussed as they can be seen in the basic oppositional structure of the letter. Chapter 10 will return to the discussion of Gal 3:19-4:11 from Chapter 2 and show how the basic oppositional structure relates to what will be discussed as Paul's moral structure of time. In Chapter 11, we will revisit issues from Gal 3:10-14 discussed in Chapter 2. An interpretation of these verses will be proposed in light of the Anatolian context and the structure of the rhetorical strategy discerned in the letter. Finally, Chapter 12 will provide a reconstruction of the rhetorical strategy in the order in which it is presented in the letter and a concluding summary of the dissertation.

CHAPTER 8

THE RHETORICAL SITUATION OF GALATIANS REVISITED

Part A, it will be recalled, raised the question of the rhetorical situation of Galatians. There Lloyd Bitzer's analysis of the rhetorical situation was discussed as it reveals three constituent elements: the exigence, the audience, and the constraints. We saw in the first chapter that all three require an understanding of the context of the audience. The audience, as the people to be influenced to take or halt a course of action, has been latently the subject of our entire tour in Part B. While we have not been able to see them directly or to identify them precisely, we have had some opportunity to see what they probably saw.

With the context and the audience in mind, this chapter will be devoted to further examination of the more immediate rhetorical situation of the letter. Then the remaining chapters will return to the problems in the letter elaborated in Chapter 2 to shed more light on Paul's rhetorical strategy in this specific situation. In this and the following chapters, then, we will see the interplay of the elements of the rhetorical situation as Bitzer defines them. The exigence revolves around the question of circumcision. In this chapter we will examine what that means given the context which has been described. We have taken a broad view of the context of the audience in Part B. Given

that context and the content of the letter, this chapter will attempt to provide a plausible reconstruction of the more immediate context of the audience, their potential motivations for accepting circumcision, and Paul's reasons for opposition to circumcision given their situation. We will begin to describe the constraints Paul uses, given this situation and context.

The rhetorical situation may be briefly stated, then, as follows, in aspects to be elaborated further in this chapter:

In spite of relatively negative views of circumcision in the "Greco-Roman zone," someone has been urging the Galatian Christians to be circumcised, probably based on motivations related to the "Jewish zone." The Galatians are positively considering being circumcised, probably for mixed and not necessarily fully conscious or articulated reasons related both to the "Jewish zone" and the "Anatolian zone." Paul vehemently opposes their circumcision. He sees circumcision as a ritual with dangerous potential for them and as a regression. Paul's rhetorical strategy is based on his view of circumcision in this context. He makes explicit for them that their attraction to circumcision is based on subliminal and vestigial influences of the "Anatolian zone," as a ritual with a functional similarity to castration. He tries to show them that circumcision would mean a return to the religious "enslavement" they had left. To succeed, he must both reveal the regression he sees and diminish the power of the vestigial influences he has diagnosed. In his opposition we see a "Christian zone" emerge in contrast, as Paul equates the "Jewish zone" and the "pagan Anatolian zone."

In this chapter, then, we will first examine the meaning of circumcision in the three "zones" which would impinge upon the lives of the Galatian audience: the Greco-Roman, Jewish, and Anatolian zones (8.1). Then the meaning of circumcision for the Galatian audience will be examined insofar as it can be detected in the letter (8.2). Finally, we will turn to examine what circumcision means for Paul's gospel, and how Paul structures his rhetorical strategy in response (8.3).

8.1 The Meaning of Circumcision in the Zones Intersecting in the Audience

At least three of the zones defined in Chapter 1 impinged upon the lives of the Galatian audience of Paul's letter.¹ The meaning of circumcision which can be gathered from evidence from each of these zones will be relevant for understanding how Paul's Galatian audience would respond to the prospect of being circumcised and why someone might advocate circumcision to them.

8.1.1 *Circumcision in the Greco-Roman Zone*

In the non-Jewish Greco-Roman world, circumcision was not highly regarded. Philo provides a defense of circumcision which indicates that it is "something ridiculed" (τοῦ γελομένου) by many people.² Examples of disparagement of circumcision can be found in the satirists, although it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between ridicule of Jews and ridicule of circumcision itself.³ The Latin satirist Persius, one of Paul's contemporaries, associates the "circumcised" and the *galli*, mocking both with other representatives of religious superstitions of

¹The "Mediterranean zone" offers no specific information about possible attitudes toward circumcision distinct from the other zones and will not be discussed for the reasons given in Chapter 1.

²Philo *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.2.

³See Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.67-70, which refers to *curtis Iudaeis*; Juv. 14:96-106, which takes circumcision as a sign of rejection of the laws of Rome in favor of Jewish law; Mart. 7.30.5, on the "lecherries of the circumcised Jews," (*recutitorum . . . inguina Iudaeorum*); 7.35.4, which refers to the large size of Jewish male genitals; 7.82, which describes a Jew who wears a sheath while exercising to hide the fact that he is circumcised; 11.94, which accuses a Jew addressed as a "circumcised man" (*verpe*) of unwanted sexual attentions toward the poet's boy.

eastern origin.⁴ The Romans' negative attitude toward circumcision can also be detected in second century papyri, which indicate Roman restriction of the Egyptian practice of circumcision, practice which primarily had religious significance.⁵ Other Greek and Roman literary sources view circumcision as a form of mystery initiation, without the assumption of ridicule or association with castration or the castrated.⁶

Circumcision and castration are associated elsewhere, primarily in later Roman imperial legislation. Evidence for this which predates Christian influence is not particularly strong, however, and remains disputed.⁷ An interdiction against circumcision was imposed during Hadrian's reign (117-138 C.E.) at the time of the Bar-Kokhba revolt.⁸

⁴Pers. 5.176-188. The central object of ridicule in this case is the seeker of public office who is not his own master but enslaved to the superstitions of the population.

⁵ERE, s.v. "Circumcision (Egyptian)," by George Foucart. On the early debate about this papyrological evidence see Zdzislaw Zmigryder-Konopka, "Les Romains et la circoncision des Juifs," *Eos* 33 (1930/1) 336-7.

⁶See citations in Zmigryder-Konopka, "Les Romains," 334-50.

⁷See Mary Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian*, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, ed. Jacob Neusner, 20 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976) 429-31; "The Legislation of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius against Circumcision," *Latomus* 18 (1959) 334-7; "The Legislation of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius against Circumcision: Addendum," *Latomus* 20 (1961) 93-6; and Amnon Linder, *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation* (Detroit and Jerusalem: Wayne State University Press and The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1987) 58, 67-8, 81, 99-102, 117-20, 138-44, 279, 291, and 293.

⁸The relation of the imperial interdiction to the revolt is in dispute, whether it was imposed as punishment or whether it was a causal factor prior to the revolt. See citations in previous note, and TDNT,

Antoninus Pius, in a rescript of that interdiction which gave permission to Jews to circumcise their own sons, states that the penalty for one who circumcises non-Jews is the same punishment as for a castrator.⁹ An important piece of evidence is found in the letter to the Galatians itself (5:12) where Paul mockingly suggests that the advocates of circumcision should castrate themselves.¹⁰

Even if circumcision was not widely ridiculed, however, it meant exclusion from the *gymnasium*, participation in which was essential for social advancement in Greco-Roman society. Whether the circumcised were excluded because they were perceived as mutilated by Greco-Roman standards or because their circumcision marked them as Jews, this exclusion appears to have provided sufficient incentive for Jewish men to undergo what was known as an "epispasm," a surgical procedure to "correct" a circumcision.¹¹

In the context of Greco-Roman society, then, a decision to be circumcised would be something a gentile man would not take lightly. In

s.v. "περιτέμνω," by Rudolf Meyer.

⁹Linder, *The Jews in Roman*, 100, cites Modestin, *The Rules*, Book VI. See also 101, n. 8 for comment on the "assimilation of circumcision to castration" as "a common theme in antisemitic literature." His citation do not demonstrate the point as clearly as he indicates.

¹⁰On the meaning of ἀποκόψονται in this verse as castration and various interpretations which have attempted to avoid this meaning, see Pierre Debouxhay, "Le sens de ἀποκοπτομαι (Gal. V. 12)," *REG* 39 (1925) 323-6.

¹¹The procedure and various other alternative measures for concealing circumcision are discussed by Robert G. Hall, "Epispasm: Circumcision in Reverse," *Biblical Review* 8 (August, 1992) 52-7.

addition to the obvious direct deterrent effect of the prospect of undergoing the procedure itself as an adult, the social implications would be serious for a man with any opportunity for social advancement in the Greco-Roman zone.

8.1.2 *Circumcision in the Jewish Zone*

The foremost meaning of circumcision for Jews in the first century C.E. was the role it played as an identity marker for the Jewish people. While it meant exclusion from full participation in the Greco-Roman zone, full inclusion in the Jewish zone depended on it. The use of words for "circumcised" by the Latin satirists as synonymous with "Jewish" indicates the strength of this identification.¹² This appears to have been the case even though the practice was widely known among other nationalities, particularly the Egyptians to whom the origin of the practice was sometimes attributed.¹³

Jews saw circumcision as a sign of God's covenant with their ancestor Abraham, based on Genesis 17. Circumcision of all the males in the household, slave and free, is commanded as a sign of the covenant, those born in the household being circumcised as infants eight days old.

¹²Additional citations can be found in John J. Collins, "A Symbol of Otherness: Circumcision and Salvation in the First Century," in *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity*, eds. Jacob Neusner, Ernest S. Frerichs, and Caroline McCracken-Flesher, Scholars Press Studies in the Humanities (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1985) 163.

¹³For further citations see Jack M. Sasson, "Circumcision in the Ancient Near East," *JBL* 85 (1966) 473-6; Zmigryder-Konopka, "Les Romains," 334-5; *ERE*, s.v. "Circumcision - Egyptian," by G. Foucart; and *RAC*, s.v. "Beschneidung," by F. Stummer.

In some cases the words for "covenant" and "circumcision" even become interchangeable.¹⁴ As a sign of the covenant with Abraham, circumcision functioned as a demarcation of a people, but it should not be reduced to a mark merely of national or ethnic identity. Circumcision also served as "a mark of faith and piety" which "symbolized not merely separation from other nations, but an ethically superior monotheism."¹⁵ The combination of ethnic and religious identity marker can be seen in most aspects of the meaning of circumcision in the "Jewish zone," which is, after all, both an ethnic and religious "zone."

Sacrificial and apotropaic¹⁶ implications can also be found in the tradition of circumcision traced to Exod 4:24-6, which tells about Zipporah's circumcision of her son in order to protect Moses from the Lord, or in the LXX, the "angel of the Lord" (ἄγγελος κυρίου), who sought to kill him. In the LXX version, Zipporah accomplished this action with a stone (ψῆφον), then "fell at his (the angel's?) feet" (καὶ προσέπεσεν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας) and declared "The blood of the circumcision

¹⁴See Pseudo-Philo 9:15, in which Pharoah's daughter looks at the baby Moses in the basket fetched from the river and "while she was looking upon the covenant (that is, the covenant of the flesh) she said, 'It is one of the Hebrew children.'" OTP II, 316, n. o: "That is, the sign of his circumcision. In post-biblical Heb., 'covenant' had become a technical term for circumcision."

¹⁵The phrases are quoted from Mark A. Seifrid, "Blind Alleys in the Controversy over the Paul of History," *Tyndale Bulletin* 45 (1994) 79. Seifrid provides some useful corrective to what could become a reductionist interpretation of the perspective on E. P. Sanders and J. D. G. Dunn of ἔξ ἔργων νόμου as community boundary markers. Seifrid's main purpose, however, is a defense of Luther's theology of the cross and "justification by faith not works."

¹⁶"Apotropaic" refers to the ability to ward off evil.

of my son is staunch" ("Ἐστη τὸ αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς τοῦ παιδίου μου).¹⁷ Geza Vermes shows that in Jewish exegesis, the blood of circumcision here has sacrificial and apotropaic implications.¹⁸ This text provides a layer of religious meaning for circumcision beyond its function as an identity marker.

The sign of circumcision gained greater significance as an identity marker under the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV because it was one of the distinctive Jewish religious practices he brutally suppressed (1 Macc 1:60-1). It became a sign of faithfulness to the covenant as a mark of resistance to this suppression, even to the point of martyrdom.¹⁹ After the victory of the Maccabees, it functioned in reverse as a means to impose Jewish law upon whole populations (Idumaeans and Itureans), with coerced circumcision as the mark of forcible inclusion.²⁰ Circumcision thus became a means for populations subject to governance under the Maccabaeen version of Jewish law to save themselves from literal

¹⁷For this translation see Geza Vermes, "Baptism and Jewish Exegesis: A New Light from Ancient Sources," *NTS* 4 (1957/8) 310. The LXX varies significantly from the MT: "At a lodging place on the way the LORD met him and sought to kill him. Then Zippo'rah took a flint and cut off her son's foreskin, and touched Moses' feet with it, and said, 'Surely you are a bridegroom of blood to me!' So he let him alone. Then it was that she said, 'You are a bridegroom of blood,' because of the circumcision." (RSV)

¹⁸This is modified after the Bar Kokhba rebellion, according to Vermes, toward a greater emphasis on the observance of the law of circumcision, rather than the sacrificial blood of circumcision. See Vermes, "Baptism and Jewish Exegesis," 318.

¹⁹See also *TDNT*, s.v. "περιτεμνω," by Rudolf Meyer.

²⁰See Joseph. *AJ* 13.25,319; and *BJ* 2.454. On previous enforced circumcisions see Gen 33:15-24, *T. Levi* 6:1-8, and 2 Bar 66:1-5.

destruction. This literal destruction was reflected in the apocalyptic view of Jubilees (15:5-32) as well, where circumcision becomes a mark which saves the circumcised from the final destruction envisioned.

More benign meanings and voluntary motivations were also derived from circumcision as the mark of God's covenant with Abraham, especially in the case of converts. At a very practical level, it was a condition for marriage to a Jewish woman.²¹ Circumcision was also a sign of living according to Jewish laws, both in the case of coerced circumcision of populations of cities already mentioned, as well as by individual decision.²²

For proselytes to Judaism, it appears to have functioned, at least in some cases, as an entry ritual which signified incorporation into life according to Jewish laws, although this was in no way a universal Jewish expectation of Gentiles.²³ The requirement of circumcision of converts may have been open to some debate within the Jewish communities in the first century C.E., and there was a range of degrees of attachment that gentiles had to Jewish communities.²⁴ Nevertheless, for

²¹See Gen 34:13-27; *Jub.* 30:1-18; and Joseph. *AJ* 16.220-5; 20.139, 145.

²²See *Juv.* 14.96-106.

²³The issue of circumcision of proselytes is part of a larger question of Jewish attitudes toward gentiles, "conversion," etc. On this see Collins, "A Symbol of Otherness."

²⁴See Collins, "A Symbol of Otherness," 170-9, who comments particularly on the implications of the differences surrounding the circumcision of the convert King Izates. For representatives of the debate on this issue in current scholarship see Neil J. McEleney, "Conversion, Circumcision, and the Law," *NTS* 20 (1974) 319-41; John

some it functioned as an initiation ritual understood in the context of other such rituals of the various "mystery cults."²⁵

Jewish apologists, consistent with the universalizing tendency of Hellenistic Judaism, presented circumcision as a good in itself. In this sense, circumcision was presented not only as a sign of commitment to the Jewish law or inclusion in an ethnic subsidiary zone but also as a sign of the "body of perfection." For example, angels, according to Jubilees (15:27), were born circumcised as was the exemplary Moses, according to Pseudo-Philo (9:13).²⁶

Rather than a mutilation, according to Greco-Roman standards of physical beauty, apologists like Philo presented circumcision as an expression of perfection. In *De Specialibus Legibus* he elaborates upon several aspects of this theme.²⁷ Significantly, Philo makes no mention

Nolland, "Uncircumcised Proselytes?" *JSJ* 12 (1981) 173-94. McEleney defends the view that some Jews accepted converts without requiring circumcision. Nolland argues that the evidence McEleney cites cannot be read so conclusively to establish the existence of such a perspective in actual practice. A related debate on the role of proselyte baptism in Judaism prior to 70 C.E. is also relevant. All sides assume the importance of circumcision. See T. F. Torrance, "Proselyte Baptism," *NTS* 1 (1954) 150-4; T. M. Taylor, "The Beginnings of Jewish Proselyte Baptism," *NTS* 2 (1955) 193-8; and Vermes, "Baptism and Jewish Exegesis," 308-19. Vermes argues that circumcision provides a stronger parallel to Christian baptism than Jewish baptism.

²⁵For citations, see Zmigryder-Konopka, "Les Romains," 337-41.

²⁶This is cited by Jubilees as evidence that the uncircumcised are destined to destruction (*OTP* II, 87). On Pseudo-Philo see *OTP* II, 316, n. n. which indicates that the tradition that Moses was born circumcised is also found in b.Sot 12a and ExR 1:24.

²⁷On the identification of this treatise as an apologetic work and other previous identifications of genre see Richard D. Hecht, "The Exegetical Contexts of Philo's Interpretation of Circumcision," in

of the covenant in connection with circumcision in this treatise.²⁸

Circumcision is extolled instead as hygienic at a physical and material level since it prevents a specific incurable disease which he describes and more general bodily cleanliness appropriate to consecrated order.²⁹

On an allegorical level, then, it "assimilates the circumcised member to the heart" and thus purifies the thoughts generated by the heart.³⁰ The most important reason, he says, is that circumcision promotes fertility because it prevents detours of the semen.³¹ To these interpretations, which he identifies as those which have been handed down from previous exegesis, he adds two of his own based on allegorical application of excision to the mind and soul. Circumcision is helpful, then, for "the excision of pleasures which lead the mind astray" and a similar excision of conceit from the soul which closes the person's eyes to God.³²

Nourished with Peace: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel, ed. Frederick E. Greenspahn, Earle Hilgert, and Burton L. Mack, Scholars Press Homage Series (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1984) 51-79.

²⁸Hecht points this out, "The Exegetical," 63, 67-8. See also *TDNT*, "περιτέμνω," by Rudolf Meyer.

²⁹Philo *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.4-5.

³⁰Philo *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.6. Peder Borgen cites a similar perspective from Qumran documents ("Paul Preaches Circumcision," 39.)

³¹Philo *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.7.

³²Philo *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.9-10. Similar allegorical interpretations of circumcision are also found in elsewhere in Philo: *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 3.46-52; *De Migratione Abraham* 89-105; and *De Somnis* 2.25. The last citation, significantly for interpretation of Gal 6:7-9, associates circumcision and reaping.

There is some evidence that in some sectors of Judaism, the rite itself was being downplayed as "mere physical" compliance. Philo, for example, emphasizes the symbolic meaning of circumcision as we have seen, but distinguishes himself from other allegorists who dispense with physical compliance.³³ Josephus describes a similar position articulated by Ananias in the case of the king Izates, that circumcision itself is not necessary so long as he was committed to devoted adherence to Jewish customs (τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων).³⁴

In the rhetorical situation of Galatians in the emerging "Jewish-Christian zone,"³⁵ the advocates of circumcision would have represented one of the views which upheld the importance of circumcision, for some combination of the meanings we have listed here. Circumcision meant inclusion in the Jewish community, and in turn affirmation of its laws and customs. This would not have been simply an "ethnic" inclusion but also an entry ritual with inherent religious significance. That religious significance could include the commitment to the divinely-given law as well as the kinds of allegorical meanings applied to circumcision as exemplified by Philo, to achieve some form of the "body of perfection."

³³Philo, *De Migratione Abraham* 92.

³⁴Joseph. *AJ* 20.41-3.

³⁵The "Jewish-Christian zone" is in formation at this point in history at the intersection of the other zones which have been described. It eludes independent definition.

8.1.2 *Circumcision and Castration in the Anatolian Zone*

Circumcision may have been associated with castration in the Greco-Roman zone, in order to disparage it. Whether or not this was the case, however, inherent associations exist. Both are indelible physical actions on the male genitals in which blood is spilled and flesh is removed. As such, both are "indexing signs" *par excellence*.³⁶ Not only do both rites inherently define who is included by them, they both do so by a permanent bodily change. Given the inherent associations, the Anatolian zone provides another layer of potential meanings for circumcision from the perspective of the Galatian gentile audience since it was a context where ritual castration was actually practiced by prominent cultic functionaries. This zone, as we have seen, provides positive as well as negative motivations.

In Part B we discussed an array of possible positive motivations for a young man to undergo ritual castration by his own hand and become one of the *galli* created by it. To be a *gallus*, as we saw, was to be a cultic figure in an important and recognized interstitial position, a position with benefits as well as liabilities. Possible motivations were outlined in order to illustrate that motivations in such a context are likely to be complex and not easily reduced to any one factor. These can be seen to inform our understanding of possible motivations for circumcision. These will be seen again under three headings: aspects of the cultic and social role of the "consecrated," the personal

³⁶On "indexing signs," see 7.3.3.

religious experience of "consecration," and the personal and relational dimensions of the social location of the *galli*.

Motivations can be seen in connection with aspects of the cultic and social role of the *galli*, a role based upon the indisputable claim that the Mother of the Gods has made upon the *gallus* by the fact of his self-castration. While the role he assumes subsequently might be described by such despised and shameful positions as "slave" and "beggar" and "eunuch," by being so claimed by the Mother of the Gods he also becomes an extension of her honor. His prophecy carries authority and his actions mediate expiation for his community, because the goddess claims him. The expiatory function is also apotropaic. In a context where, as we have seen in Part B and especially Chapter 3, the all-powerful deity "seeks out" offenders, the community requires some "interstitial protection" from the eye of the goddess. The apotropaic aspect of the *galli* as comely youths who "catch the eye" of the goddess and by becoming the object of her affection, like Attis, also receive her mania. Their expiatory function and interstitial position as divine court eunuchs absorbs the danger of the awesome divine power and mediates it to the community. Moving in the interstitial position that the *galli* form, a *gallus* may also play an important intercessory role between his community and dominating temporal powers, such as that of Rome. The cultic and social role also involved wearing fine clothing and being at the center of attention in cultic performances, a position which would have attractions for some young men. This can be summarized in the notion that castration provided consecration to a recognized

cultic and social position as "eunuchs in a divine court," mediators between divine and human.

This consecration to a cultic and social location was probably inseparable from personal religious experience. The actions of self-castration and subsequent blood-letting also display the power of the goddess to whom the *gallus* is devoted, manifesting not only that the goddess has claimed him but also that the goddess who claims him is powerful. The explanation of the *galli*'s self-castration as an offering of *vires* to the goddess as a sacrifice should also be viewed in this context. As a sacrifice to which the goddess lays direct claim by manic possession of the one who sacrifices and provides the sacrifice from his own body, this differs from an animal sacrifice carried out upon the altar by a priest according to the prescribed ritual. The newly-formed *gallus* so overtaken knows the power of the goddess directly in his own hand and afterwards becomes a lifetime reminder of her power in his own body. This is the motivation of "bodily knowing" discussed in the last chapter as the experiential dimension of self-castration as the "highest form of initiation." In his own self-castration, the youth in the midst of becoming a *gallus* has the fullest experience of the power of the Mother of the Gods.

More personal and relational dimensions may also have formed a part of the motivation as well. That this bodily transformation creates a gender-ambiguous state or another gender in this social context suggested another motivation, as a social location for gender-ambiguous males, particularly those with a predilection toward eye-catching

clothing and behavior. We saw that some evidence suggests that some part was played by personal-relational motivations associated with what would be described in modern terms as homosexual relations. This is a possibility, however, which must be acknowledged with care so as not to reduce their motivations, especially in a manner which is excessively reliant upon modern constructions of gender, transvestitism, or homosexuality. The role of the *galli* remains primarily cultic although it is also a social location.

Some of these motivations might also inspire a decision for circumcision.³⁷ While there is no suggestion that circumcision would be a self-inflicted action, and especially not one undertaken in an ecstatic state of divine possession, it would be an indelible indexing sign. The two are thus ritually analogous. The man circumcised would have a lifetime mark of being claimed by the Jewish God whose power he now acknowledged as the one God. To whatever extent Jews were the object of ridicule, the mark of circumcision could provide a countervailing mark of honor as the extension of the Jewish God. Just as castration would provide the evidence for the *gallus* that he was an extension of the goddess's honor even though he was also her "slave" and "eunuch," so circumcision would be a sign of being consecrated as one of God's chosen people. In this context, circumcision could mean not only a mark of Jewish identity but could also indicate mediation between the

³⁷ As in the case of castration, speculations are offered to indicate the probable complexity of motivations and to avoid reductionism.

divine and the human. The man circumcised would thus be incorporated not only into a community but also as an extension of the deity who rules that community. In this sense, circumcision would also be a form of consecration, as Philo's language suggests.³⁸ In addition, the rite of circumcision itself also included some sacrificial and apotropaic implications which would provide such mediation, perhaps for the community as well as for the individual in a manner analogous to the sacrificial and apotropaic aspects of castration.

As a personal religious experience, circumcision could also be understood as the "highest form of initiation" analogous to castration. In a less ecstatic form, this could still represent for the one undergoing it the claim of the power of the Jewish God, as the only God, upon him. He would become a "true Jew" as a changed body. While the changed experience of his bodily self would not be as different as the *gallus* who had castrated himself, the action upon his body would still be a real and undeniable change, a constant reminder of the power of the God who now claims his full allegiance. As such it would also hold out an appealing promise of perfection.³⁹

³⁸Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.5. τὴν δι' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος καθαριότητα πρὸς τῷ ἀρμόττον τάξει ἱερωμένη. ("It promotes the cleanliness of the whole body as befits the consecrated order.") The translation is from F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, LCL. The extent to which Jews understood themselves as a "consecrated order," like the Egyptian priesthood to which Philo refers here, would be worth investigation in this connection, as part of subsequent research, as would the extent to which such a conception of "consecration" had further implications for a cultic and social role.

³⁹On this aspect in a few citations from Jewish literature and in connection to the "mystery religions," see Robert Jewett, "The Agitators

The procedure itself would involve some bleeding as well, and the removal of flesh. These could have at least implicit sacrificial and potential apotropaic aspects for the individual as well as the community, as is indicated in the interpretation of the narrative in Exod 4:24-6 mentioned above. These functions would correspond to similar possible sacrificial aspects of castration mentioned.

While the personal and relational dimensions seen for the *galli* as a social location for gender ambiguity do not apply to circumcision, the relational aspect must be acknowledged as a motivation for inclusion in a community. Existing members of the Jewish community would most probably be mentors and guides for proselytes, much as *galli* appear to have been for those who would later join their ranks. An array of motivations for circumcision would logically be associated with such relationships, including the desire to emulate the mentors and to please them. Receiving positive attention from these mentors for the decision to be circumcised would be likely to figure in the proselytes' motivations as well.

Given this context, the meaning of circumcision for Anatolian Jews would also not necessarily be identical to what has been described for the "Jewish zone." Although consideration of this question in any detail would require further speculation, the possibility should not be overlooked that an Anatolianized form of Judaism interpreted the significance of circumcision in light of this context. This would be

and the Galatian Congregation," *NTS* 17 (1970-1) 207.

likely to lead to a more pronounced emphasis on circumcision as an initiation ritual for proselytes and a focus on circumcision as a symbol of loyalty to the Jewish God, cast in the role of an Anatolian enforcer deity. The significance of the blood shed and the flesh removed in the procedure could also be heightened, especially for adult circumcision. In such a context, the religious significance and status associated with circumcision might also be more pronounced, especially in Jewish communities where a considerable number of proselytes may have been present. Rather than being simply a mark of Jewish identity, circumcision could also function as a mark of special cultic identity. The possibilities we have discussed here suggest the subliminal and vestigial influences of the Anatolian zone which may have had some role in the attraction of circumcision, as mentioned in the statement of the rhetorical situation given at the beginning of this chapter. With these in mind, we now turn to the text of Galatians for evidence it offers of the Galatian audience's motivations.

8.2 The Meaning of Circumcision for the Galatian Audience Implied by the Text

We have seen a number of possible implications of the Anatolian context for the meaning of circumcision for the Galatian audience. These suggestions are admittedly speculative, and are intended to add to the range of possibilities provided by other scholars' speculations about Paul's audience and opponents in the rhetorical situation. While no less or no more speculative than others' theories, they are informed by a body of evidence which has not usually been taken into account. It

remains to be seen how these hypotheses correspond to the hints of the Galatians' motivations given in the letter. In this section, we will list the implied motivations as they are found in the letter and relate them to those discussed and to the elements of Anatolian popular religiosity seen in Part B.

8.2.1 *The Audience's Motivations for Circumcision as Indicated in the Letter*

One reason hinted for the Galatians to allow themselves to be circumcised is that the leadership of the church says so. Paul appears to use the example of Titus, who was not required to be circumcised, as evidence against such a contention (2:1-3). As Anatolians, Paul's audience may well have been accustomed to responding to directives communicated by messengers from religious authorities at a relative distance. Paul counters this partly by claiming direct divine authority himself which diminishes that of the Jerusalem church as "merely human" by comparison.⁴⁰

Whatever meanings are included in the word usually translated as "justified," this also provides some clue to the motivation for circumcision. In some manner, "justification" is expected (2:15-21). Such "justification" or "righteousness" is associated with life and with what has the "power to make alive" (3:21). In this sense, circumcision could provide some form of expiation similar to that hoped for in the

⁴⁰On Paul's adaptation to the Anatolian context by such a claim of divine authority as an *ethos* appeal see Elliott, "Paul and His Gentile Audiences."

bloody performances of the *galli* or some form of release from a sin or a curse like the release accomplished by the confession inscriptions.⁴¹

Related to "justification" is reception of the Spirit and the "deeds of power" (δυνάμεις) the Spirit gives (3:2-5; 5:5). Such "deeds of power" were as important in the Anatolian context. We have seen such δυνάμεις honored in the confession inscriptions and witnessed in the punishing actions of the deities. The self-castration of the *galli* under the *mania* of the goddess also graphically manifests her power. The subsequent actions of the *galli*, such as healing and being protected from lions and noxious vapors, also show her δυνάμεις. Paul implies that the Galatians hope to receive such δυνάμεις by being circumcised when he emphasizes that the Spirit has already manifested such power without "works of the law" (3:5). That such δυνάμεις are seen as part of an initiation process is indicated by Paul's use of the language of initiation at 3:3, to be discussed at 9.3.2.2.

There also appears to be some attraction in being "sons of Abraham" (υἱοὶ Ἀβραάμ, 3:7). Such lineage could have cultic importance, as is indicated in the hints in the evidence which suggests that the *galli* were seen as sons of the goddess. There may be some attraction associated with such a relationship to a founder figure of a cult that is characteristic of Anatolia or of the pattern of the various cult

⁴¹The meaning of "justification" in connection with circumcision is a larger question which will receive further attention in the following chapters. Here the intention is only to suggest the connection.

formations more generally in the Greco-Roman world.⁴² Being "sons of God" may be something Paul offers as even more attractive than being "sons of Abraham, or it may also be an identity which the Galatians hope to acquire by circumcision (3:26). The former appears more probable since status as Abraham's offspring is a consequence also of "putting on Christ" (3:29). Such sonship is a major theme which merits further consideration in the following chapters, although a full treatment will not be possible here.

Paul's language suggests that the Galatians expected that being sons of Abraham would mean being blessed with him, rather than cursed (3:9-10). The importance of cursing and blessing in Anatolian popular religiosity has been discussed at length. From what we have seen in Part B, to be under a curse would be a very serious threat to the audience. If circumcision had the effect of incorporating the circumcised in some form of blessing or protection from a curse, it

⁴²See, for example, James C. Hanges, "The Greek Foundation-Legend: Its Form and Relation to History," *SBL Seminar Papers* 34 (1995) 494-520. Intriguing in this light is an inscription from Anaboura of Pisidia, on the route between Iconium and Pisidian Antioch, which identifies those who erected the stele as descendants of a certain Manes Ourammos, and inscriptions from Ancyra which also claim descent from ancient kings as a mark of honor. On this see William Mitchell Ramsay, "Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor," *MDAI(A)* n.v. (1883) 71-3, no. 1. For the Ancyra inscriptions he cites *CIG* 4030, 4034, and 4058. On the unfortunate unfounded development of Ramsay's opinion on the Anaboura inscription over the years, see Lane, "A Re-Study . . . III," 84-91. See also William Mitchell Ramsay, "The Utilization of Old Epigraphic Copies," *JHS* 38 (1918) 146; and "Studies in the Roman Province of Galatia," *JRS* 16 (1926) 104. For an indication of mystery cults providing genealogical identity, see Diod. Sic. 3.55.8-9, which indicates that the Samothracian mystery includes the Corybantes handing down the information of who the *mystes'* father is.

would be a powerful incentive. Castration was seen to have a protective function in some cases, and the audience may have had some hope that circumcision would function similarly through the blessing given to Abraham.

A further implied attraction lies in "being made much of" (4:17), a desire related to the individuals promoting circumcision, whom Paul accuses of prideful motivations (6:12-13). This would correspond to some of the personal relational motivations analogous to those of the existing and potential *galli*, as a desire for mentor figures' attentions.

Paul also hints that circumcision may in some manner function as a means to "gratify the desires of the flesh" (5:16-21), although the Galatians' own motivations for circumcision would seem to have more to do with the benefits of the Spirit he lists by contrast (5:22-23). By circumcision they may have been seeking a form of "crucifixion of the flesh" (5:24). From what we have seen, evidence suggests that castration may have served either to gratify or to "crucify" the desires of the flesh. Gnostic and neo-Platonist idealization of Attis and the *galli* in the later Empire points toward castration as "crucifixion of the flesh," on the one hand. Some scholars, as we have seen, assume that this "sexual purity" was a motivation earlier in the cult as well. On the other hand, some evidence also suggests that an aspect of the *galli*'s identity was their sexual activity and that this may in some

cases have motivated their self-castration.⁴³ While this cannot be determined, Paul's comments appear to address precisely this ambiguity of motivation.

A desire to be "under the law" also seems to inform their consideration of circumcision (4:21). We have seen, in Chapter 3, how life in Anatolia was lived "under" the omnipotent observation of the enforcer deities, who functioned very much as "the law" in the communities they ruled. We have also seen the strong associations between the Mother of the Gods and Law in Chapter 4. To dwell under the watchful eyes of such deities meant not only to be threatened by them in the case of some offense but also to be protected and sustained by them. To desire to live "under the Law" by virtue of having been circumcised would thus function as a desire to live under the law's protection.⁴⁴ This again would be a case of motivations influenced by the Galatians' past religious experience which Paul brings to their attention, as will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 10.

8.2.1 *Correspondence of the Motivations for Circumcision as Indicated in the Letter to Those Indicated by the Context*

Each of these motivations can be seen to reflect some aspect of Anatolian popular religiosity. Some correspondence to the motivations hypothesized for circumcision as it was related to potential motivations

⁴³See 7.1.1.3.

⁴⁴Paul offers a different interpretation by identifying such protection as enslavement, but the audience's motivation would not be unreasonable in their context.

for castration can also be seen. Both are inherently "indexing signs" as has been mentioned. This is indicated in the audience's positive motivations as they are seen in the letter in the connection of circumcision with the desire to be "under the law." Circumcision inherently brings one "under the law." Paul turns this same aspect of circumcision as an "indexing sign" to his argument against it, as well (5:2-5).

The desire to be "sons of Abraham" suggests a motivation for circumcision as a form of publicly recognized consecration to a cultic and social role. We can readily surmise that some form of honor or status is connected to this identity, although such content for identity as a "son of Abraham" is not made explicit. To the extent that the circumcised authorities at Jerusalem appear to be understood by the audience of the letter to be giving directives, however, circumcision may be perceived to be a mark of association and incorporation with those in charge. Paul accuses his opponents of desiring a "good showing in the flesh" and the opportunity to "glory in the flesh" of circumcised Galatians (6:12-13). Such references suggest that the quantity of circumcisions would provide the community with manifestations of the power of the Jewish God (δυνάμεις) similar to the manifestations provided by the *galli's* self-castrations. In this sense, circumcision can be seen as a form of consecration which mediates divine power.

The letter also suggests that the audience sees circumcision as the "highest form of initiation," as consecration at the level of personal experience. Paul's emphasis on "justification" and "righteousness"

reflects this and indicates an expiatory function for circumcision, as was mentioned. So also does the priority on "deeds of power" reflect the desire for a personal experience of consecration. The search for the "body of perfection" at the personal level by means of circumcision is also suggested in Paul's reference to "crucifixion of the flesh" (5:24). Relational motivations have also been seen in the mention of "being made much of" (4:17).

Not all of these motivations are ones that the Galatians themselves may have stated as their reasons for choosing to be circumcised. Some result from Paul's rhetorical strategy which, as we shall see in more detail, makes explicit for the Galatians that their desire for circumcision comes from the ways that they purport to have left behind them. For this we must begin to examine Paul's point of view.

In this connection, mention must also be made of the motivation of "freedom," which Paul repeats throughout the letter. It is difficult to determine whether the Galatians hoped for some form of "freedom" by means of circumcision or whether Paul introduces the contrast of freedom and slavery as part of his rhetorical strategy of dissuasion. Freedom cannot be dissociated from "sonship," as has been discussed in Chapter 2. To the extent that circumcision offers a form of "sonship" and ancestral lineage, it also offers "freedom." This will merit further discussion in the following chapters. The rest of this chapter will be devoted to Paul's view of circumcision and those who advocate it, in the "Anatolian zone" of his audience. This analysis will point toward the issue of the "zone" Paul himself founds with his "gospel."

8.3 The Meaning of Circumcision in the Zone of Paul's Gospel

Paul's view of circumcision in this context can be seen, from the evidence of the letter itself, under two headings. First we will examine Paul's portrayal of the circumcision advocates to see how this portrayal relates to the context. Then we will turn to the major equation Paul makes in the letter between the Jewish past and the "pagan" past (i.e. the Jewish zone and the Anatolian zone). The negation of both, as will be sketched here and elaborated in the remaining chapters, is connected with the emergence in Paul's articulation of his gospel of Christ as a new "zone," a zone which he envisions not as a subsidiary zone but as the central zone.

8.3.1 *Advocates of Circumcision as Negative Figures (as Galli?)*

In the letter, Paul provides a glimpse of the circumcision advocates through the heavily filtered lens of his own efforts to discredit them. Part of his strategy can be seen to allude to an unfavorable portrayal of the *galli*.

In his first direct reference to the circumcision advocates, Paul portrays them as agitators, "those who are confusing you" (οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς) who want to "turn the gospel of Christ upside down" (θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 1:7).⁴⁵ This portrayal is also echoed in implied references to the opponents as those who

⁴⁵On the political implications of this language, see Betz, *Galatians*, 49-50.

hinder the Galatian audience from obedience to the truth (5:7-8) and to them as the cause of dissension (5:15,26).

They, or their counterparts in Jerusalem, are also portrayed as people who seek to enslave gentile Christians (2:4) as contrasted to the injunction to the Galatians that they be "servants of one another" (5:13). Such enslavement by means of circumcision could suggest the *galli*'s enslavement by means of castration. In the remaining chapters, we will see that such a suggestion is consistent with the overall structure of Paul's strategy in relation to the cult of the Mother of the Gods. Portrayals of the circumcision advocates as "making much of" the Galatian audience (4:17) and that they "want to make a good showing in the flesh" (6:12-13) are also possible allusions to the *galli*. Association with a "bewitching force" or "evil eye" will also be seen to be consistent with allusion to the *galli* (3:1). While this is an association with a "cursing force," the opponents are also seen as cursed themselves, first by Paul's own curse (1:8-9) and then among those cursed under the law. (3:10).

Paul's own self-portrayal suggests some implicit negative portrayals of his opponents, especially where he describes what he does not or did not do. These implicit contrasts, however, also apply to Peter and the Jerusalem leadership as well, so the picture is blurred. Peter is portrayed as wavering and inconsistent (2:14), in contrast to whom Paul does not submit (2:5) or seek favor (1:10). Presumably those who would submit or seek favor would be submitting to and seeking favor from the circumcision advocates. These represent allegiance to "human

origins and obedience to "human commands," in contrast to which Paul's gospel is not of human origins (1:11) and he moves not by human command but by revelation (2:2). The opponents are thus portrayed as some form of enslaving figures who seek submission.

To the extent that the negative portrayals of the opponents cast them in the light of the *galli*, this would indicate that Paul is revealing a subliminal appeal that the opponents have for the Galatians which he hopes will repel them once they recognize it.

8.3.2 *Circumcision Not Only as Turning Away But Also as Turning Back*

In Chapter 2 we saw the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου as enslaving figures on a cosmic level, metaphorically equated with the Law as a figure towering over childhood as a time of enslavement. Here it will be helpful to examine how Paul equates the implications of circumcision with a return by the Galatians to their former religious beliefs and practices. By equating the "Anatolian zone" with the "Jewish zone," Paul also begins to articulate another "zone," which is his "gospel."

The problem of the Galatians turning away is the issue stated in the verse after the greeting (1:6). Where an expression of thanksgiving would be expected, a rebuke formula is found instead as the beginning of an exordium which introduces the themes of the letter. Paul expresses astonishment that the Galatians are so quickly changing sides or "apostasizing" (μετατίθημι) to another gospel. In the verses which follow, the apostasy from the gospel Paul brought is identified both as a distortion or overthrow (μεταστρέφω) of that gospel (1:7) and as a different gospel, meaning any other gospel (1:7-9), which Paul curses.

This sets the context of the equation. Aspects of the Anatolian zone and the Jewish zone are outside Paul's gospel as a new "zone," and hence are equally cursed.

After this, in an extended autobiographical statement (1:12-2:14), Paul mentions his own conversion in his former life in Judaism, when he "kept persecuting the church of God vigorously, and kept trying to destroy it" (1:13) and was excelling in Judaism in his age group because he was "even more zealous for the traditions (παράδοσις) which come from the ancestors (fathers)." (1:14). As a consequence of his conversion by means of a revelation of Jesus Christ (1:16), Paul says that he has turned away from the Law. Emphatically stated, he "through (the) Law died to (the) Law." (2:19) Later when he requests that the Galatians "become as I am" it is partly this conversion that he presumably wants them to emulate (4:12).

When he turns in Galatians 3 to address the Galatians' experience and action, he expresses their potential action as a reversion at 3:3, that having begun in the Spirit, they are now finishing in the flesh, a reversal of the order Paul would assume. Then in the succession of developmental metaphors in 3:21-4:11, he identifies the action of circumcision and acceptance of the Jewish Law that his gentile audience is about to take as a backward step in development, discussed at length in Chapter 2. They would, it will be remembered, go back to childhood under the discipline of a pedagogue (3:23-26) and thus become the equivalent of slaves, in the status of male heirs before they reach the age of majority (4:1-2).

Their former existence is identified at 4:3 as the status of slavery under the "στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου," forces of former enslavement to which the Galatians would not want to return. At 4:8-10, Paul specifies that the Galatians' former condition of "not knowing God" was enslavement to "beings which are not gods." The anticipated action would explicitly be turning back, as Paul confronts them with the rhetorical question, "How can you turn back (ἐπιστρέφω) again to the weak and poor *stoicheia*, to whom you want to be enslaved over again once more (πάλιν ἄνωθεν)?" Not just enslavement but re-enslavement would be the outcome, according to Paul, were the Galatians to pursue the course of action indicated by circumcision. This is echoed again in his injunction at 5:1b, "Stand firm, therefore, and do not again submit to the yoke of slavery." (στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε.)

This theme of turning back makes most explicit Paul's strategy of revealing the similarities between what the Galatians are considering and the past practices from which they have ostensibly been converted.

8.3.3 *No Circumcision, No Castration, and the New "Zone" in Christ*

What is at stake for Paul and his gospel in the possibility of circumcision, then, is not only apostasy from Paul's gospel to another message but a reversion to a previous condition from which, in Paul's understanding, Christ had rescued them through Paul's evangelization. That previous condition he consistently portrays as slavery. By contrast, the "zone" established in Christ is "freedom."

Identification of what Paul means by that new "zone" is the major task of interpretation of Paul and his letter to the Galatians. "Gospel" is a code for the message that he shared with the audience, and elements of that message are mentioned in terms that also appear as code words for a larger meaning that Paul can assume his audience will understand but which for us remain opaque. At the end of the letter, Paul uses the language of "new creation" or "new foundation" (καὶνὴ κτίσις) to refer to this "zone" which is not defined by circumcision. It is also identified by a kind of code-word as the "Jerusalem above" (4:21-5:1) which is free. Access is by means of the enigmatic phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ, meaning "faith in Christ" or the "faith of Christ," which has been the subject of much recent scholarly discussion. This gospel which Paul defends is not a human gospel (1:11-12) and relies on reception of the Spirit (3:2,5). Perhaps the fullest expression of the content of this gospel as story, or the story which provides access to this new zone, is found in 1:1-5. There the story is summarized in which the actions of Jesus Christ in his gift of himself "for our sins," and of God as "our father" in raising him from the dead are seen as means of escape or rescue from the current age or "zone." In this another "zone" is founded to which Paul wants his audience's full allegiance.

8.4 Summary: The Rhetorical Situation of Galatians

In this chapter, we have seen that the context of central Anatolia provides information about the rhetorical situation of Paul's letter to the Galatians, revolving as it does around the question of circumcision.

Potential meanings and motivations for circumcision in a context where ritual self-castration was practiced were discussed and some of these motivations were seen as indicated in the letter. This provided a look at how the context of the audience relates to the exigence. The exigence is also produced by Paul's point of view, rooted as it is in his gospel as a new "zone." As we will see in the following chapters, a major constraint that Paul uses to dissuade them from circumcision is their experience of having already exited at least some aspects of the "Anatolian zone" into the "new zone." By showing them that circumcision would send them back to "enslavement" like their previous condition, Paul hopes to keep them from allowing themselves to be circumcised. Paul's strategy of constraint and his point of view, which produces the exigence, are thus inextricably linked.

CHAPTER 9

HAGAR, THE MOUNTAIN MOTHER, AND THE LAW: A NEW LOOK AT GALATIANS 4:21-5:1

Chapter 2 cited a number of difficulties in Gal 4:21-5:1 which previous scholarly efforts have not adequately explained. Here the Anatolian popular religious context will provide readily apparent solutions to several of these difficulties. By way of reminder, the major problem was a rather strange set of links made in an allegorical or analogical chain which Paul presents as if they could be assumed to be self-evident: Hagar as the slave-concubine, Mount Sinai, the Law, slavery, present Jerusalem, and Hagar's son. Likewise the items linked in the opposing list provide no self-evident equation: the legitimate wife, the promise, freedom, Jerusalem above, and Isaac. These alignments have puzzled many scholars, as was demonstrated in Chapter 2. We left a series of questions about this pericope unanswered there to which we can now return, beginning again from Gal 4:24-6 (9.1). After that, attention will be given in the second section of this chapter to how the proposed solution to the problem of Gal 4:24-6 fits into the strategy of the letter. For this, elements of a form called the "Two Ways" will be used as a heuristic device to elucidate the structure of Paul's strategy and how the Law functions as a personal concept within it (9.2). This will be followed in the third section by further attention to the remainder Gal 4:21-5:1 as it relates to several other

parts of the letter (9.3). This will involve a further examination of circumcision, castration, and baptism as ritual means of incorporation with the "Two Ways" of flesh and spirit and with the Law and Christ as the guides of these respective ways.

9.1 Galatians 4:24-6 Revisited: Hagar, the Meter Sinaiene

When we read Gal 4:24-6 against the Anatolian background described in Part B, an identification of the Law with the Mother of the Gods emerges. Paul's portrays Hagar according to the pattern of the Anatolian Mountain Mothers. She emerges, in effect, as the "Meter Sinaienê." As the Sinai covenant, Hagar is also the Law. The Law is thus a Mountain Mother. This pattern explains the concatenation of images associated with Hagar in Gal 4:24-6 and why Paul apparently assumes that the reason for the combination will be self-evident to his audience. It also reveals the reason for the shocking realignment of such associations in a profoundly negative portrayal of the Law as part of Paul's rhetorical strategy. This structure suggests that in Gal 4:21-5:1 Paul intends to summarize the decision before the Galatians in graphic and unmistakable terms. He does so in an image which will make it clear to them that their desire to be circumcised is a regression to their old ways and that Paul's gospel, to which they had already converted, is superior.

9.1.1 *Hagar as the Meter Sinaiene*

9.1.1.1 The Pattern of Guardian Goddesses

To understand how Gal 4:24-26 would be readily apparent to an Anatolian audience, we should begin by recalling the pattern of the guardian goddesses introduced in Chapter 4. There we saw that the Mother of the Gods was frequently identified with a mountain overlooking the city or villages she ruled and protected. Her worshipers often addressed her by the name of the mountain, as the Meter Dindymenê or the Meter Zizimmenê, or any of a variety of other mountain names. She was also called by her own name, most commonly Agdistis in Anatolia. Agdistis was also identified as a mountain, sometimes called Mount Agdistis.¹ We also saw that a number of cities ruled by the Mother of the Gods and other Anatolian enforcer deities were temple states where many of the residents were referred to as "sacred slaves" (ἱεροδουλοι), and all residents would be her "children."²

The center of the worship of the Mother of the Gods, located in Galatia, provides a pattern. Mount Dindymus overlooking the city, as the Meter Dindymenê, was identified with Agdistis, the Mother of the Gods. The city of Pessinus was a temple state populated by sacred slaves. Pessinus was ruled by a priest-king "Attis" who represented the

¹See Paus. 1.4.5, mentioned at 4.4.2.

²See the discussion of this point for general references to guardian goddesses and cities referred to as "mothers" in Chapter 2.

object of the goddess's affection and by a hierarchical temple administration. This is represented in fig. 2.

We also saw in Chapter 4 that the Mother of the Gods was frequently associated with law. Her temples housed the written record in a number of instances. She also functioned as an Anatolian enforcer deity, as, in effect, the law. In one instance, she was singled out in a list of deities as the guardian and enforcer of a cult rule. She was also the tamer of children and beasts and uncultivated land.

9.1.1.2 The Concatenation of Associations with Hagar and the Pattern of Anatolian Mountain Mothers

With this pattern in mind, the city of sacred slaves overseen by the omniscient and powerful Mountain Mother known as Agdistis, the concatenation of images in Gal 4:24-5 can be clarified. As Gal 4:24c-e states, the covenant from Mount Sinai, who gives birth into slavery, is Hagar (μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ, εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ). This corresponds to Agdistis, from Mount Dindymus who also "bears" into slavery. As we have seen, it would hardly seem out of "character" to identify her also with the Law, given the associations of the Mother of the Gods with law that we have seen. The combination of images is further explained in 4:25 (τὸ δὲ Ἀγάρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, δουλεύει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς) because, no matter how it is translated, Hagar is identified as a mountain called Sinai which corresponds to the Jewish temple-state of Jerusalem. The inhabitants of Jerusalem are children, in effect, of the "Meter Sinaïenê," Hagar, and are enslaved in her temple state, just as

the inhabitants of Pessinus, for example, are enslaved in the temple state of the Meter Dindymenê, Agdistis. This is shown in fig. 2.

Mother of the
Gods

Law

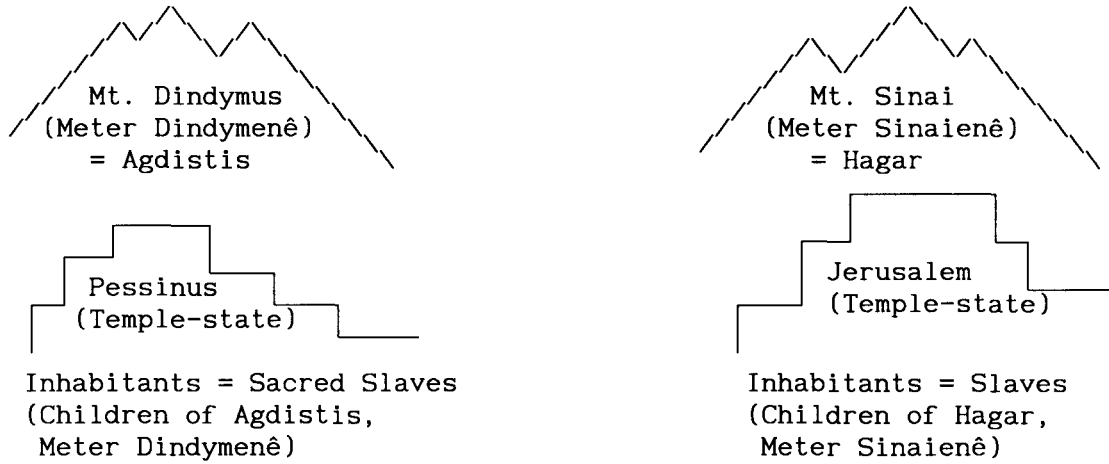


Fig. 2. Portrayal of Hagar, the Sinai Covenant as a Mountain Mother in Gal 4:24-6.

Given the Anatolian context, Paul would be unable to concatenate these images in such a manner without them having this implication. This is decisively indicated in the following verse, which describes the opposing column of images: "but the Jerusalem above is a legitimate wife, and she is our mother" (ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν, 4:26). This makes Hagar-Sinai the "Mother" of the present-day city of Jerusalem, a link Paul could not make in the Anatolian context without simultaneously identifying Hagar and the Law with the Mother of the Gods. This explains, then, the puzzle not only

of how the configuration of images was associated with Hagar but also how Paul could present them in a manner which assumes that it would be self-evident to the audience. With this basic pattern from Anatolia in view, long and convoluted explanations like those discussed in Chapter 2 become unnecessary.

9.1.1.3 The Questions "Why the Mountain?" and "Why in Arabia?"

Given the correspondence of the concatenation of images associated with Hagar as the Law, we can also see that the identification of her as a mountain is hardly incidental and that the key to understanding these verses is not the geographic location of Mount Sinai but the simple image of Hagar as a mountain. Thus the question "Why the mountain?" is not hard to answer in the context we have seen. To an Anatolian audience, the image of Hagar as a mountain, in a territory they have heard of but probably never visited, would evoke the familiar image of a Mountain Mother. She is, as has been stated, the Meter Sinaienê.

The question also remains about why Paul mentions that the mountain is "in Arabia?" For this question, the Anatolian context does not provide as readily apparent an answer as it does for the other difficulties in Gal 4:24-6. We have seen, however, that the geographic specification is not required to explain the rest of the concatenation of images. Especially unnecessary are various pieces of information scholars have used to attempt an explanation, information that the audience would be unlikely to know, as we saw in Chapter 2. A shift of focus from Mount Sinai as a geographic location to Mount Sinai as a mountain provides a more readily apparent explanation.

Given the context where Mountain Mothers could receive devotion from cities and villages from all sides, Paul may intend the audience to understand that Hagar is the name of Meter Sinaienê "on the Arab side" of the mountain. In this case Paul may have had in mind the Arabic word for "rock," as scholars cited in Chapter 2 have suggested.³ He may also have understood the geographic location of Mount Sinai to be in Arabia. In this case he would simply be giving the location and stating that this mountain corresponds to Jerusalem as its guardian. The reference in Greek to τὸ Ἀγὰρ Σινᾶ ὄρος, in the strange word order already discussed could be an Arabic expression for the mountain that Paul had heard, the "*hadjar* Sinai." As a place, Arabia would logically signify for the audience "somewhere off there near Jerusalem" and may imply nothing more. While these are plausible possibilities, a determination of why Paul includes this detail cannot be made with the data we have.

9.1.1.4 The Reason for the Shocking Alignment of Associations

In addition to the difficulty pointed out in Chapter 2 which has just been resolved, i.e. how Paul could configure this set of images around Hagar and present them as self-evident, we must also consider that the configuration had appeared not only as peculiar but as shocking. This is one part of the letter which exhibits a profoundly negative portrayal of the Law, a portrayal which is hard to imagine any

³This association is strengthened also if we consider the myth as told by Timotheus, found in Arnobius (6.1.2.1) which narrates the origin of Agdistis in Agdus, a "rock of an unheard-of desolation." The link to the Arabic word for "rock" which was similarly applied to mountains would be fairly straightforward.

Jew in the first century C.E. conceptualizing beginning strictly from a consideration of the Law itself. As we see Paul align his own experience in Christ with the experience of his gentile audience, however, the Law moves into focus for him as a negative force which dominated his past as he identifies it with the Mother of the Gods who has dominated the past of his audience. This will become clearer as we unfold the structure of Paul's rhetorical strategy based on this essential equation.

9.1.2 *The Purpose of 4:21-5:1 as an Equation and Contrast (The "Triple Analogy")*

Over the course of this and the following chapter, we will chart how Paul builds his strategy on what we will refer to as a "triple analogy." Given the strategy based on the analogy, the pivotal position of Gal 4:21-5:1 in the letter makes sense because it sets forth the triple analogy for the Galatians in order to make the decision before them graphically clear. In Chapter 2, we saw that the position of this pericope is otherwise puzzling and it is difficult to understand Paul's purpose. We will see that this pericope is not misplaced where the "clincher" would be expected as some scholars have suggested, but does, in fact, clinch the case.

9.1.2.1 Structure of the Triple Analogy

In Gal 4:24-26, several elements become clear against the background of the Anatolian context. Fig. 3 charts these, using the configuration at Pessinus as the model for the Anatolian context in the first column on the equation side.

<u>Equation (Negative)</u>			<u>Contrast (Positive)</u>
Agdistis	=	Hagar	vs. (unnamed)
Meter Dindymenê	=	Meter Sinaienê	vs. Mother Jerusalem Above
Mount Dindymus	=	Mount Sinai	vs. (no mountain) (place over mountains)
Pessinus	=	Present Jerusalem	vs. Jerusalem Above
Slave City / Temple State	=	Slave City /. Temple State	vs. Free City
Guardian of Law, Enforcer of Curses and Written Documents	=	Sinai Covenant as Law	vs. (other covenant) (Promise)
(Slave-concubine)	=	Slave-concubine	vs. Legitimate wife

Fig. 3. Triple analogy in Gal 4:24-6.

In the allegory of Hagar, Paul, in effect, identifies the Law as another such manifestation of the Mother of the Gods, the one associated with the city of Jerusalem. This also fits the pattern of guardian mother goddesses in the sense that while a particular Mountain Mother might rule and guard the territory and the city or cities she surveyed, devotion to her was not confined to that territory, at least not during and after the Hellenistic era. Thus the allegorical Hagar as the "Meter Sinaienê" who ruled the temple city at Jerusalem could seek devotees across the Empire, as did the Meter Dindymenê or the Idaean Mother or Atargatis. The Law as the Meter Sinaienê could also claim adherents across the Empire.

9.1.2.2 Triple Analogy as the Structure of the Decision

In the triple analogy, Paul clarifies his assessment of the rhetorical situation, as was described at the beginning of Chapter 8. This places the decision about circumcision before the Galatians as a choice for a religious "enslavement" like the one they have left. While the exigence of the rhetorical situation emerges around the similarity of circumcision and castration, the structure of the decision presents the deeper implications of that decision as a choice of alignments with the old kind of "Mother," or the "Mother above." The choice is not only a choice of masters but also a choice of relationships, as Paul describes it, a choice between slavery and freedom. The second and third sections of this chapter (9.2 and 9.3) will further elaborate how the oppositional structure which operates throughout the letter is based upon the equation and contrast in this triple analogy. Further attention to aspects within 4:21-5:1 will be helpful first, however.

9.1.2.3 The Necessity of Undermining the Power of the Mother of the Gods and the Source of the Negative View of the Law

For Paul's persuasive strategy to succeed he must not only identify the Law with the Mountain Mother but also undermine the power of the Mother of the Gods in her other various manifestations. Tarnishing the image of the Mother of the Gods is essential because as the guardian goddess who watched over the towns and countryside of central Anatolia she presented an imposing monarchical and omnipotent figure in the life of her subjects, as we have seen in Part B.

To be the slave of such a deity would, as we have seen, hold real attractions. To associate present Jerusalem and circumcision with

slavery, especially sacred slavery would not constitute a sufficient negative constraint in and of itself since such slavery could have some positive appeal. We have seen this in Paul's own proud reference to himself as a "slave of Christ" (Χριστοῦ δοῦλος) at 1:10. The function of the *galli* as court eunuchs which we saw in Chapter 7 would have many appeals despite its liabilities. The slave of a deity or divine figure receives, as the deity's extension, the honor due the deity. Such a slave also speaks for the deity, and in the interstitial location between divine and human, occupies a position with creative power and excitement along with the shame and pollution there. Thus Paul cannot base his strategy only on the appeal to the Galatians that they do not want to be slaves.

The choice is not only between slavery and freedom (sonship), it is also a choice between the divine figures to whom one might be enslaved. To be enslaved to a divine figure who is herself enslaved would be an unattractive option. Thus it serves Paul's purposes to portray Hagar, both as the Law and as a manifestation of the Mother of the Gods, as a *παῖδίσκη*, a slave concubine. Such an identification for a Mother Goddess is not entirely unknown, even with the many epithets of power with which they are identified. We saw in Chapter 4 that the goddess *Mâ* of neighboring Cappadocia, was known as *Bellona* at Rome. There she was referred to with the Latin cognate as *Dia Pedisequa* because she was in a subordinate position under the protection of the Great Mother of the Gods.⁴ By use of the allegory of Hagar, Paul can bring the Mother of

⁴See 4.3.2.

the Gods in all her manifestations down to the level of slave-concubine. As a mother of slaves she is thus exhibited in terms not of her monarchical power but rather of her slave status. In this portrayal, Paul, with one single rhetorical-allegorical swipe knocks both the Law and the Mountain Mothers down from positions of power into pathetic dishonor. No derived honor would be available as the slave or slave-son of such a figure, whether as the Law or as the Mountain Mother.

This is consistent with what was noted above at 9.1.1.4, that the negative view of the Law in Galatians can be seen to derive not so much from the Law itself as from the association Paul makes between the Law and the Mother of the Gods. The lingering subliminal power of the Mother of the Gods, as Paul perceives it, threatens to re-emerge in the Galatians' lives by means of circumcision. Since the Law threatens to take her place, both the Law and the Mother of the Gods must be disempowered. An undeniably negative portrayal of the Law results.

9.1.3 *The Legitimate Wife as the Contrast*

While the associations of images configured around Hagar provide an equation between the Law and the Anatolian Mountain Mothers on the negative side of the structure of decision (fig. 3), a positive option is proposed in the "Jerusalem above" who is "our mother" and the "legitimate wife" or "free woman" (ἐλευθέρα). Several of the questions posed in Chapter 2 about the column under the legitimate wife, the unnamed Sarah, can now be answered in relation to the structure of Paul's rhetorical strategy.

9.1.3.1 Strategic Blanks: No Mountain, No Name

One question posed in Chapter 2 was the absence of key elements in the "positive" column. The blanks and implied equations in the chart are significant for Paul's rhetorical strategy in the triple analogy. The positive column in fig. 3 shows that Paul also leaves strategic blanks in the chain on the positive side of his analogical comparison.⁵

The name of "our" mother is not specified, even though it is tempting to fill in the blank with "Sarah." This allows for a variety of identifications of the "legitimate wife" who bears children by means of the promise and the spirit (4:28-9). Such identifications include the vaguely-defined city above, Paul himself (cf. 4:19), and the "Spirit of God's Son" who bears by baptism and reception of the spirit (4:6).⁶

Likewise, no mountain is named. To name a mountain would, of course, defeat the purpose of the triple analogy by making "our mother" just another Mountain Mother. The location of "our mother," as a city above, without naming a mountain, defines her as superior to the mountains who represent the Mother of the Gods.⁷

⁵The "other covenant" indicated as blank in parentheses in fig. 3 can probably be understood as "the promise" by inference at 4:28.

⁶This last is a complex birth analogy which will require further discussion of the ritual references.

⁷Some scholars have suggested that "Jerusalem is Our Mother" may have been a slogan of the advocates of circumcision. The context would also explain this since they would offer an alternative "Mother" to those in the immediate vicinity. This, however, layers speculation upon previous speculations. Another curious detail was also noted in Chapter 2, that on the positive side "Jerusalem above" is described spatially while on the negative side it is "present-day Jerusalem," described chronologically. While this issue does merit extensive discussion here, it can be seen that it serves Paul's purposes to emphasize the spatial aspect of what would appear to be equivalent concepts for Paul, the

9.1.3.2 Link of Jerusalem Above to the Legitimate Wife

Just as the basis of the connections of the images which Paul associates with Hagar has posed a problem for scholars, so also has the link of "Jerusalem Above" to the "legitimate wife," as was indicated in Chapter 2. From what we have seen so far, this link is a result of the portrayal of Hagar and the Law as a Mountain Mother, and not the basis for Paul's allegorical interpretation of the Genesis narrative. The interpretation is structured by the concatenation of images based on the prevalent Anatolian pattern of Mountain-Goddess-City.

Once Paul has placed that whole pattern on the negative side, however, a corresponding positive portrayal is offered in the figure of the legitimate free wife, the mother of Isaac. The essential opposition in the story from Genesis is that between the slave-concubine and the legitimate wife. Once Paul had constructed a configuration of negative images based on a portrayal of Hagar as the Mountain Mother, corresponding positive associations for the legitimate wife complete the picture. This prompts the image of "Jerusalem above," implicitly above all mountains, as the "free city" counterposed to the cities which lie enslaved below the Mountain Mothers.

It is not incidental that while there could be several slave-concubines in the family systems in question, there could be only one legitimate wife. This fits with the picture of the many slave-concubine Mountain Mothers, including the "Meter Sinaienê," as opposed to the

Jerusalem to come and the Jerusalem above.

singular "Jerusalem above." In addition, it provides the basis for offering the Galatians status as rightful heirs, to be discussed further below (9.3.3).

9.1.3.3 Isaiah 54:1 as Supportive of the Triple Analogy

One question about this pericope from Chapter 2 remains to be addressed: How does the quotation from Isa 54:1 explain that Jerusalem above is free and is our mother? This can be explained if the imagery from the passage is added to the contrasts and equations in fig. 3, as seen in fig. 4 in which the first and second columns are merged.

<u>Equation (Negative)</u>	<u>Contrast (Positive)</u>
Agdistis = Hagar	vs. (unnamed)
(mourning and lamenting)	vs. "Rejoice!" "Break forth and cry out!" (εὐφράνθητι, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον)
(mother of many) (giving birth in travail)	vs. Barren one (στεῖρα οὐ τίκτουσα, ἥ οὐκ ᾠδίνουσα, τῆς ἐρήμου)
Less children	vs. More children
She who has the man (τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα)	vs. (She who has no man)

Fig. 4. Contrast indicated in Gal 4:27, as a continuation of the equation and contrast in the triple analogy seen in fig. 3.

In the citation from Isa 54:1, implicit contrasts to the Mountain Mother appear. In Part B we saw descriptions of Cybele in wild lament and grief that her "children" poured out along with her in the rituals

of her cult, accompanied by the blood of her most prominent devotees. While not specifically the labor of childbirth (ᾠδίνουσα), such activity evokes the image of the physical travail and blood of birth.⁸ Implicitly, then, their Mother grieves and mourns but our Mother rejoices. Their mother bears by means of travail in childbirth but our mother has many children while being seemingly sterile. Likewise their Mother also "has the man" as the beautiful but now-sterile Attis and has the many gods and inhabitants of Anatolia as her children.⁹ Yet the barren "Jerusalem above" has "no man" in this sense but ultimately has many more children, the Galatian gentiles among them. While the allusion is to the barrenness of Sarah, the contrast is less to Hagar in the Genesis narrative than to the lamenting Mother of the Gods and many children in the Anatolian context.

9.1.4 *Summary*

Thus we have seen that the context of Anatolian popular religiosity supplies explanations for the major difficulties in this pericope that were listed in Chapter 2. At this point in the letter, Paul clinches the identification of the Law and the dominant figure of the Galatians' previous religious experience, the Mother of the Gods. He sets the implications of circumcision before them as a clear choice between

⁸See below for further discussion of these implications in the ritual referents (i.e. circumcision, castration, and baptism.)

⁹This phrase, τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα, also means "she who has the husband." In connection with the story of Sarah and Hagar from Genesis, this is a reversal. Sarah has a husband as the legitimate wife, but Hagar as the concubine does not.

return to slavery with and under her, on the negative side, or continuation in the freedom and sonship they have been given in Paul's gospel, on the positive side. A clearer explanation can also be found in the Anatolian context for the meaning of the contrast of the "means of birth," by flesh or by spirit, also discussed in Chapter 2. This and the remainder of the pericope will be better understood, however, if the relations of the polar oppositions in this passage are seen in connection with their operation in the rest of the letter. The triple analogy described is not confined to Gal 4:21-5:1 but undergirds Paul's rhetorical strategy throughout the letter.

9.2 Flesh and Spirit and the Two Ways

The polar oppositions that Paul sets forth in the contrasting images in Gal 4:21-5:1 are meant to "clinch" the issue graphically for the audience so that they will choose for what Paul identifies as the side of the Spirit, freedom, and Christ and against what he identifies as the Flesh, slavery and the Law. This relies on the oppositional structure which operates throughout the letter. In order to describe this oppositional structure, it will be helpful to use a form identifiable in many documents from antiquity, a form known as the "Two Ways" form. The choice of this form as a heuristic device is hardly arbitrary since all but one of its elements appear in Paul's opposition of the ways of Flesh and Spirit in Galatians 5-6. A case is not being made here that the letter to the Galatians is structured on the basis of the Two Ways as a literary form, but that description of how elements of

the form operate throughout the letter can further our understanding of how the triple analogy works in Paul's rhetorical strategy.

This use of the Two Ways form is intended to show how the oppositions in the letter interrelate and how the oppositions reflect alignments with personalized concepts known as "guides" of the respective "ways." The Law as a personal concept, identified as a Mountain Mother and as a "pedagogue," functions as a guide of the negative way, while Christ guides the positive way. The elements of the Two Ways form can help us to see how this operates throughout the letter. What it is thus intended to illuminate is what was described in Chapter 1 as "subsurface coherence," not literary form. A brief description of the form will be helpful for this purpose.

9.2.1 *Purpose and Elements of the Two Ways Form*

Margaret M. McKenna has analyzed the Two Ways form and compared it to the covenant formulary analyzed by Klaus Baltzer.¹⁰ Before

¹⁰Margaret Mary McKenna, "The Two Ways' in Jewish and Christian Writings of the Greco-Roman Period: A Study of the Form of Repentance Parenthesis" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1981). McKenna's dissertation treats issues of origins and transmission of the form as well as defining the form. Her definition of the form is persuasive and is what will be of use here. The issue of origins and transmission is not of primary concern here, but it is worth noting that the form is not confined to the Jewish and early Christian sources on which she focuses most of her attention (Testament of Asher, 1QS, *Didache*, Ep. Barn, and others) but is also found in texts from cultures which had major influence in central Anatolia, particularly Persian and Greek sources. The Hittite background is also seen in connection with the covenant formulary which appears to be some type of precursor to the Two Ways formulation. The covenant formulary has been analyzed in Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary*. Elements of the covenant formulary can be seen in Galatians as well as the Two Ways form. Further analysis of these would merit further attention in another research project.

enumerating the elements of the form, the usual purpose for it that McKenna discerns is worth noting.¹¹ McKenna distinguishes nine life contexts in her survey, all of which "are appropriate to and expressive of the common function of repentance parenthesis," which is one of the basic functions of such texts, a function "sociologically correlated with group unity."¹² Paul's purpose in the letter can easily be seen in terms of repentance and reestablishment or maintenance of group unity. As we saw above in the discussion of the exigence of the letter, Paul understands the decision for circumcision as a decision to turn away from him and his gospel and back to conditions comparable to those before the Galatians' original repentance. A call to repent, return, and reunify with the group established by Paul's gospel is entirely consistent with the purposes of a Two Ways parenthesis and with the covenant formulary as covenant renewal.

The elements that McKenna elucidates in the Two Ways form are five pairs of antitheses, usually in the same order. First is the statement of the ways metaphor as a positive and negative choice, the "way imagery." For example the *Didache* states, "There are two ways, one of life and one of death, and great is the difference between the two ways."¹³ This is extended, secondly, with a statement or description of

¹¹The word "form" is used here, but "genre" may be more applicable. This is a question addressed by McKenna, but does not make a significant difference for the purposes of this project. See McKenna, "The Two Ways," 282-99. It should also be noted that Two Ways texts appear in many different genres and literary frameworks, 277.

¹²McKenna, "The Two Ways," 277.

¹³*Did.* 1:1, 'Οδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου,

the "guides" of the ways, which may be in the form of ethical principles or of fundamental virtues or of spirits or angels. In the Community Rule from Qumran, for example, the guides are the Prince of Light and the Angel of Darkness, while in Greek references the representative figures tend to be female.¹⁴ A third element is the "ethical content," antithetical lists of ethical stipulations, indicating the deeds and attitudes of each way. Then the "ends," actual or eschatological, of each way are stated, as a fourth element, followed by a fifth element, the "turns," as an exhortation to turn away from the negative way and toward the positive one.¹⁵

διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν.

¹⁴1QS 3:20-4:26. Greek sources, which are not of the genre of "rules for community life," echo the same theme without containing all of the elements of the form. See, for example, Hes. *Op.* 1.213-297, which first poses the choice between Justice (Δίκη) as a female figure and Violence (Ἕβρις) in a race which Justice will assuredly win, and later between the smooth road of Badness (τοὶ κακότητες) and the steep and laborious road of Goodness (ἡ ἀρετή). Xenophon cites this contrast and expands upon it as a choice between the overtures of the two female figures of Vice (Κακίαν) and Virtue (Ἀρετή), with extended descriptions (*Xen. Mem.* 2.1.20-34). See also *Pl. Leg.* 4.715Eff). See McKenna, Ch. 10. An example from the Persian material is a "Gatha of the Choice" is also found in some of the most ancient of the materials of the Zoroastrian Avesta, in Yasna 30, which counterposes twin spirits of the better and the evil. See McKenna, "The Two Ways," 323-6, for this and others. McKenna's comparison of the Greek and Persian patterns of dualism would bear consideration in relation to the oppositional structure of Galatians, but such analysis is outside the scope of this project.

¹⁵These five elements can be seen to correspond to the covenant formulary and to the antecedent treaty formularies represented especially in Hittite documents. The Two Ways form could be analyzed as a Hellenistic and universalized or "de-historicized" version of the treaty or covenants formularies. In Galatians both aspects can be seen, but a full analysis is not possible within the confines of this project.

9.2.2. *The Two Ways Form in Galatians 5-6*

In Galatians 5-6, these elements are seen, with the exception of the explicit statement of the ways metaphor.¹⁶ The guides are summarized at this point in the letter as Spirit and Flesh. Antithetical ethical stipulations are listed for the Flesh (5:19-21) and the Spirit (5:22-3). Further ethical stipulations are also added in 6:1-5. Antithetical Ends are stated as well. As the end of the "works of the flesh" (τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, 5:19) for those who "fulfill" (τελέω) the "desires of the flesh" (ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκός, 5:16), they "will not inherit the kingdom of God" (5:21). Their end is elaborated further as the result of "sowing to the flesh" and hence "reaping corruption." (ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός θερίσει φθοράν, 6:8) On the other hand, those who walk (περιπατέω) in the Spirit (5:16) belong to Christ (οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ) and "have crucified the passions and desires of the flesh" (5:24). By "sowing to the spirit" they "reap eternal life" (θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον, 6:8). The negative side of the Antithetical Intense Parenthesis is stated at 5:26, while the positive side is found at 6:9-10.

9.2.3. *Elements of the Two Ways Form and Other Oppositions in the Letter*

The Two Ways expressed as the contrast of Flesh and Spirit with the expected formal elements in Galatians 5-6 are also found under the rubric of other contrasts previously made in the letter. We have seen the concatenation of contrasts in Gal 4:21-5:1, not only as flesh and

¹⁶Gal 5:1-26 is included in McKenna's extensive list of Two Ways texts of the Greco-Roman period, noting that all the formal elements are included except the specification of the way metaphor. See McKenna, "The Two Ways," 266.

spirit but also as flesh and promise, slavery and freedom, persecutor and persecuted, the one who inherits and the one who is cast out. These reflect ongoing contrasts Paul makes throughout the letter to clarify the choice that the Galatians have before them. Especially important is the contrast of human behavior attributed to loyalty to "guides" portrayed as personal concepts: the Law and Christ. These and other oppositional pairs can also be seen to correspond to the five elements of the Two Ways form.

9.2.3.1 Antithetical Ways Metaphors

At the beginning the letter implies an antithetical ways metaphor which contrasts divine and human, as if to say, after the pattern of the contrast of life and death in the *Didache*, "There are two ways, the Divine way and the Human way, and great is the difference between the two ways." The contrast is first stated as opposing ways to be an apostle (1:1), where Paul contrasts his own "divine means" with "human means" later attributed implicitly to the apostles he opposes (1:10-12), as well as to his own previous behavior (1:13-17). This contrast also appears as the "true gospel" and as opposed to another, presumably "false," gospel (1:6-9). The false gospel is the one proclaimed by "false brothers" (2:4), not by Paul as the Galatians' true kin (4:12-19).

The related contrast of freedom vs. enslavement can also be seen as an antithetical way metaphor which expresses Paul's understanding of the Divine way and the Human way. Seen as definitions of status, free (or master) and slave are metaphors which have inherent connection to the

contrast of divine and human in the Anatolian context. Where temple states formed a major pattern of relationship of people with their deities, an initial metaphorical association of divine with free or master status and human with slave status would be reasonable. As we have seen, however, this is part of the pattern of relationship that Paul is attempting to displace with one founded in Christ. To understand this, it is important to rely on an analysis of freedom and slavery not so much in terms of status but of social relationship.

Slavery as a social relationship corresponds not so much to "freedom" as an abstract category as to "mastery" as the essential aspect of the identity of the other significant position in the relationship. Slavery means to be a slave in relation to a master, while freedom means in its fullest sense to be a master in relation to slaves, on the one hand, and a full participant in the society of masters and heads of household, on the other. The contrast of inheriting and not inheriting are extensions of this metaphor, as are the contrasted behaviors of submitting and not submitting.

For masters and future masters, slavery and freedom are also phases of development, as was discussed in Chapter 2 and will be examined further in Chapter 10. Different modes of relationship prevail in each phase. The slavery phase is one of being dominated and controlled by others who may be slaves themselves. The phase of freedom means a mode of relationship characterized by more mutual trust. It is this contrast of modes of relationship which forms one of the major oppositional pairs in Galatians as the way of "freedom" and the way of "slavery." These are also associated with the phrases πίστις Χριστοῦ and ἔξ ἔργων νόμου,

to be discussed further. Thus there is a concatenation of contrasting "ways metaphors" in Galatians: human vs. divine, flesh vs. spirit, false vs. true, slavery vs. freedom, "faith" (πίστις) vs. "works" (ἔργα), guided by Christ and the Law.

9.2.3.2 Antithetical Guides

The figures who guide the variously stated Two Ways are primarily Christ and the Law. The Law, as we have begun to see, is understood more as "figure" than as a text, analogous to a Mountain Mother who guarded and enforced the written records. The Law is also a figure as a pedagogue, seen as one of the *stoicheia* considered as guides for the negative "human" way of slavery, to be discussed further in Chapter 10. As an internal experience, the substitution of Christ for the former self makes Christ and the former "I" also counterposed guides. The former self in Paul's case may be expressed as the one which internally expressed the Law.

The two covenants as the two mothers also appear as another version of the same antithetical pair of guides. "Their" Mother as the Law or Mountain-Mother is the negative guide while "our" Mother is the guide for the positive way. Paul leaves the metaphorical connection vague on the positive side, as has been seen. Jerusalem above as the "mother" of a spiritualized location (4:26) and Paul (4:19) both function as the "mother" on this side, but Christ is most clearly understood as the guide figure opposed to the Law. While the birth metaphor is confused, Christ, as the seed of Abraham through whom legitimate sons can be

allegorically born to Abraham and to God, is in the position of the "Mother."

The role of the Law as a guide and personal concept will be discussed below in this chapter. The role of Christ will be discussed in Chapters 10 and 11.

9.2.3.3 Antithetical Ethical Content

Antithetical ethical content is seen in the contrasts Paul makes between the modes of relationship and human behavior mentioned in connection with the antithetical metaphor of slavery and freedom, understood in terms of social relationship. We have already seen the contrast of freedom and enslavement as the interrelated contrast of the social relationships in the society of adult male heads of household and those of children and slaves.¹⁷

An example of these modes of relationship in active form is seen at Gal 2:1-10 where Paul attributes intent to "enslave" the gentiles to the "false brothers" and their spying activities. To this enslaving behavior Paul contrasts his own freedom, exemplified by his unwavering resistance to the "false brothers." Here the truth of the gospel appears not to be opposed to "falsehood" so much as to subordination to "false brothers." The contrast of standing firm or submitting, seen as well in the pivotal command at 5:1 and in Paul's contrast of his own

¹⁷Women are not really considered in this contrast nor is there any clear indication that there are women in the audience addressed. Women appear metaphorically as "mothers" who determine slave or free status of the sons but are not metaphorically among those who "inherit" nor among those who participate in the society of the heads of household.

behavior to Cephas's vacillation (2:1-10), represents the behavior of freedom vv. the behavior of slavery.

"Freedom," however, is also a mode of community relationship expressed as "enslavement to one another" in love (5:13). Slavery is associated with a misuse of "freedom" expressed as a mutually destructive mode of community relationship, "biting and devouring one another" (5:15).

The contrast is made in the rhetorical situation between "how we act" and "how they act." They accuse or persecute us (2:4,12; 4:29; 5:11-12) while we are accused but stand firm (2:5,11,14; 5:1). The positive way expresses loyalty and attachment to Christ as a guide by means of the Spirit, while the negative way shows attachment to the Law by means of the Flesh. This also shows in the behavior summarized in Chapter 8, where it was suggested Paul may be insinuating a comparison to the *galli* in several of his characterizations of the circumcision advocates. We can see now that this would fit with the overall pattern established in the triple analogy, as is shown in fig. 6 in the next section where the comparison to the *galli* will be discussed further. In any case, the community is the arena in which the contrasting behaviors confront one another in real people.

What are fundamentally opposed, then, especially in the scenes in Galatians 2, are not so much two teachings, one true and one false, but two modes of relationship which represent the divine-human contrast. On the divine side is the mode of relationship in Christ, described now as "freedom," while on the other is a mode of human relationship which seeks enslavement of others. By not submitting, Paul defends the truth

of the gospel as this mode of relationship in Christ, for the sake of the Galatian audience.

These are applied metaphorically in relationships with divine figures. The mode of relationship represented as πίστις can bear fruit through the person and is identified with love (5:13-14,22-26; 6:2-5). The mode represented, by contrast, as disciplinary control by the divine figures, bears "works" upon the person and is identified with Law. These modes of relationship will be discussed further below.

Above it was emphasized that the metaphor of freedom and slavery was not a choice between statuses so much as a choice of masters. The choice, however, determines a qualitatively different relationship.¹⁸ The antithetical ethical content shows that it is not simply a matter of a choice between or among "guides" as a matter of loyalty in a plurality of options for identification with divine figures. The choice is not simply one of who commands the Galatians' loyalty. It is a choice not only of which divine figure but how to relate to the figure and how the figure relates to the follower. At a ritual level, the antithetical ethical content is expressed also in the means of identification with the respective figures: with the Law by circumcision or with Christ by baptism and reception of the Spirit. These will be discussed as "means of birth" in the next section of this chapter.

¹⁸This results, of course, in different statuses since the content of the relationship is inseparable from status-definition.

9.2.3.4 Antithetical Ends

The two ways lead to antithetical ends described as blessing and curse, to be examined further in Chapter 11. The desired end of "justification" (δικαιοσύνη) represents the outcome under God's blessing, as opposed to what must be understood as "punishment" in the Anatolian divine judicial context. The myriad layers for the meaning of "punishment" are part of the threatened end of "obligation to the whole Law," to be discussed more extensively in Chapter 11. Opposed to this is the positive end of ἀγάπη (love) and δικαιοσύνη ("justification"). Perhaps the most appropriate way to understand this contrast is as inclusion within or exclusion from an orderly and blessed community experiencing the beneficence of the deity. Individual exclusion from such a community could also mean the experience of punishment for offenses against unknown written "curses." A "cursed" community could also experience the deity's malevolence as community discord. The human behavior which results from following the negative guide produces the threatened negative end.

The implications of the particular aspect of the Law that is at issue here are also seen as antithetical ends inherent in the contrast of means. The fruit (καρπὸς, 5:22) of the Spirit is life, as something which works through and with the person in the context of the type of relationship that free fathers and sons can have among themselves, which includes the mutual trust expressed as πίστις. The works (ἔργα, 5:19) of the Flesh lead to death and corruption, as something which works upon a person in the context of a slave-master relationship with the deity in which the deity's power is manifested in the person's self-punishment.

This is intelligible also as the contrast of freedom and slavery as ends if we consider slavery defined in terms of social relations as "social death."¹⁹ To inherit the Kingdom of God is to be included in the social life of the deity. Not to inherit is to be among the slaves not only with no life as an acknowledged member of society in the present but also with neither acknowledged ancestry nor descendants.

The image of life is also found in the contrast to the Law as a categorizing force. Πίστις working through ἀγάπη is a "New Creation" or a "New Foundation" (καὶνὴ κτίσις) as opposed to categorization by foreskin. The cluster of images around Christ as the guide, and the position of Christ as an event in time, as will be discussed further below and in Chapters 10 and 11, express the creative power of his liminal position. The drive to complete categorization as purity pursued to its logical conclusion is, however, ultimately sterile.²⁰

9.2.3.5 Antithetical Intense Paraneis

The purpose of the Two Ways form is to promote the positive way. It functions as an exhortation to turn away from the negative and toward the positive. This is seen in the pivotal command at 5:1 to "Stand firm, therefore, and do not submit again." It is stated in other ways which may be summarized as "Inherit with 'us' but throw 'them' out," or "Live by the Spirit, and crucify the Flesh." The concrete issue would be expressed as "Stay with Christ, and do not be circumcised."

¹⁹See the discussion of Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, in Chapter 7.

²⁰See the discussion of Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, in Chapter 6.

These exhortations all imply the element of time in the sense that turning toward the negative side is considered turning back, to be discussed further in Chapter 10. This is not exhortation to an audience to invite them to a new experience on the positive side but to call them back to where they once were. In this the positive and negative sides are not simply typologies but are complexified by the notion of a course of development, to be discussed in Chapter 10.

9.2.4 *Summary*

The elements of the Two Ways form discerned throughout Paul's letter to the Galatians provide a means for understanding how the concatenation of polar oppositions function together in the letter. The opposition is expressed metaphorically in several ways: Spirit vs. Flesh, Freedom vs. Slavery, True Gospel vs. False Gospel, Divine vs. Human, and "faith" vs. "works." These metaphors describe the two "ways" which are respectively guided by the contrasting figures of the Law as Mountain Mother and Christ.

Expressed in human behavior, two qualitatively different modes of relationship are manifested which lead, in turn, to two distinctly different ends. These "Two Ways" describe the context for the essential choice which is at issue in the rhetorical situation of the letter: to be circumcised or not to be circumcised. The choice is not simply between rituals but between the guide figures with whom one becomes incorporated by the ritual action. As we return to this as the issue, we can see that what Paul understands to be at stake in the question is an irrevocable ritual incorporation with the "wrong" way. The contrast

of "means of birth" or of "ritual incorporation" as it expresses an aspect of the antithetical ethical content, then, becomes an ultimate decision. As the architecture of Paul's rhetorical strategy, this is seen as a triple analogy in its most basic form in fig. 5.

<u>Equation (Negative)</u>			<u>Contrast (Positive)</u>
Mother of the Gods (slave-concubine)	=	The Law (slave-concubine)	vs. Father-Master God Christ, Spirit (and Abraham)
Enslavement to [↑]	=	Enslavement to [↑]	vs. Adoption by [↑] and "Redemption as Free Sons of [↑] in Christ
By Castration	=	By Circumcision	vs. By Baptism and Reception of the Spirit

Fig. 5. The basic three-tiered analogy upon which Paul bases his rhetorical strategy in Galatians.

9.3 Flesh and Spirit as Means of Birth and Ritual Incorporation

A contrast in ethical content is seen in the means of identification with the guides, expressed in Gal 4:21-5:1 as contrasting means of birth, by flesh or by spirit (or promise). As we have seen, the metaphorical opposition between slavery and freedom is equivalent in this passage to a contrast between "flesh" (σάρξ), on the one hand, and promise or proclamation (ἐπαγγελία) and spirit (πνεῦμα), on the other. The question, as discussed initially in Chapter 2, was one of contrasting means of birth. The free son is born through or by means of (διὰ) promise or proclamation (4:23, 28) or spirit (4:29) as opposed to the slave son who is born according to (κατά) flesh.

9.3.1 *Ritual Means of Birth*

At the level of the story of the sons of Abraham, "according to the flesh" would refer to the normal process of conception and birth, while the "promise" could refer to the miracle of Sarah conceiving and giving birth to Isaac in old age. When metaphorically applied to the issue at hand, however, birth "according to the flesh" refers to the ritual of circumcision. The persuasive case that J. Louis Martyn makes on this point was discussed in Chapter 2.²¹ Martyn, it will be recalled, sees the contrasted birthing processes as referring to two different "missions" within formative Christianity rather than the more concrete ritual reference which is proposed here. While he sees this specific

²¹See 2.1.3. Martyn's case for the importance of means of birth is helpful, although his perspective on "according to the flesh" as indicative of circumcision is hardly unique.

ritual reference in the case of circumcision as "birth according to the flesh," he proposes something more generally related to the gospel in the case of "birth according to the spirit (or promise)." The corresponding ritual referent in the letter to the Galatians, however, is more specifically baptism and reception of the Spirit. The means of birth contrasted in Gal 4:21-5:1, then, correspond to circumcision and baptism in a manner which is, as will be seen, consistent with the structure of Paul's rhetorical strategy in the triple analogy.

9.3.1.1 Circumcision and Castration as "Birth According to the Flesh"

"Birth according to the flesh," then, connotes not only "by natural means" but also "by means of circumcision." In Chapter 8, we saw some of the inherent associations between circumcision and castration, an association which Paul makes explicit at 5:12. We also discussed various potential meanings which circumcision would have in light of the background of castration as the highest form of initiation.

Initiation rituals are readily identified metaphorically with birth.²² In the case of both circumcision and self-castration, the bloody transition to a new physical and social state provides symbolic consistency with birth as well.²³ Some hints have also been seen that

²²See, for example, Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 95-6. See also the citation of Pl. *Phdr.* 265A-B at 6.4.5.

²³Birth symbolism in initiation rituals in the cult of Cybele and Attis is also known in the form of the *taurobolium* and *criobolium*, in which the initiate entered a pit and was showered with the blood of the bull or ram sacrificed above. There is no evidence for this ritual as early as the first century C.E., however.

the *galli* became "true sons" of the Mother of the Gods by castration as identification with Attis.²⁴ The ambiguity of slave and son is contained as well in the notion of the Attis-*gallus* as a "*puer* forever" and in the entire issue of incomplete development which has been discussed in Chapter 6 and will receive further attention in Chapter 10. By analogy, circumcision would make "sons of the Law-Mother according to the flesh," like *galli*.²⁵

Here the hint of Paul's allusion to the *galli* in some of his descriptions of the circumcision advocates can be seen as consistent with the triple analogy on which his rhetorical strategy relies. They seek not only to "enslave" the Galatian gentiles but do so by "making much of" them (4:17). In this description Paul repeats the word ζηλώω, translated as "to make much of" in the NRSV. The meaning suggested by *LSJ*, "to pay zealous court to" encompasses the senses of emulation and jealousy in other definitions.²⁶ It can also be rendered as "to court," which reflects the original context of the word as part of "the erotic vocabulary describing the stratagems of the lover to gain control over the beloved."²⁷ Their underlying purpose is expressed in the verb ἐκκλείω, either to "shut out or exclude," or to "hinder or prevent."²⁸

²⁴See 5.3.2.

²⁵Located in Jerusalem, these sons can also be seen as the "flesh and blood" with whom Paul did not consult (1:16).

²⁶*LSJ*, s.v. "ζηλώω."

²⁷Betz, *Galatians*, 229.

²⁸*LSJ*, s.v. "ἐκκλείω."

An allusion to the behavior of the *galli* would also be consistent with the structure of Paul's strategy. In Chapters 6 and 7, it was seen that the pattern of initiation at Crete as an expression of the myth of Zeus's abduction of Ganymede was similar to that of the castrated hermaphrodite Agdistis who fawned over the young Attis with gifts and attention in order to win his favor. The young adolescents in the role of Attis would be "excluded" from the inner circle of the *galli*, however, until their own self-castration and change of clothing. What is suggested is that Paul portrays his opponents negatively by suggesting that they desire a similar relationship and perhaps appealing to a fear of the *galli*'s motivations. In Paul's portrayal, the opponents fawn over the Galatians but make circumcision a boundary to cross for full inclusion, so that they as the already circumcised will receive the Galatians' fawning attention.

To this mode of relationship, Paul contrasts his own parental care for the Galatians. At Gal 4:18, immediately preceding Gal 4:21-5:1 where the contrast of means of birth is made explicit, Paul appears to recognize that he also has "courted" them, but asserts his good intentions. Then he addresses them immediately as "my children" (τέκνα μου) for whom he "suffers birth pangs until Christ is formed" in them. (4:19) By contrast to the deceptive and self-serving attentions of the opponents, he presents himself as the Galatians' mother, or more

precisely as the mother of their experience of Christ as the "son of God" in them.²⁹

At an intimate human level, then, Paul presents a contrast of the mode of relationship associated with slavery and that associated with freedom and sonship. The contrast is also associated with metaphorical birth. If Paul is alluding to the *galli* in 4:17-18, the connection of this passage to the ongoing contrast between slavery and sonship would make some sense. The opponents' fawning ultimately seeks "no good purpose," the enslavement of the Galatians by circumcision, just as the *galli* become slaves of the goddess by castration.

9.3.1.2 Baptism and Reception of the Spirit as "Birth According to the Spirit"

In contrast to circumcision and castration as "birth according to the flesh," baptism and the reception of the spirit in it offer "birth according to the Spirit" and "birth according to the promise."

References to baptism and the reception of the Spirit are seen at several points in the letter, and clues are offered for the ritual referent here although precision is not possible in describing it.

Baptism includes, in some sense, "putting on Christ" (Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε, 3:27) and, in the process, becoming heirs of Abraham according to the promise (3:29). The reception of the Spirit is probably indicated as part of the baptismal ritual in the cry Ἀββὰ ὁ

²⁹This allusion may be a good deal more complex if we consider that the older *galli* may also function as surrogates of the goddess as Mother in relation to her younger devotees. Paul may be attempting to appropriate their mothering function.

πατήρ (4:6), although it may have been part of the Galatians' worship experience in settings other than baptism as well. The centrality of this experience is also seen at Gal 3:2, where Paul poses the source of their experience of the reception of the Spirit as the key issue.

Building on the basic triple analogy, the contrast of the means of birth can thus be seen in fig. 6.

<u>Equation (Negative)</u>			<u>Contrast (Positive)</u>
Mother of the Gods	=	The Law	vs. Father-Master God, Christ, Spirit (and Abraham)
Enslavement to [↑]	=	Enslavement to [↑]	vs. Adoption by [↑] and "Redemption as Free Sons of [↑] in Christ
		"Birth" by the FLESH	vs. "Birth" by the SPIRIT
By Castration	=	By Circumcision	vs. By Baptism and Reception of the Spirit
Promoted by Galli, "Fawners" like Agdistis (For a "Good Showing in the Flesh")	=	Promoted by Circumcision Advocates, "Fawners"	vs. Promoted by Paul, as a Parent Concerned for Spiritual Birth

Fig. 6. The triple analogy and means of birth.

Significantly here, no comparison is made on the basis of the gender ambiguity of the *galli*. Such boundary transgression appears instead as a positive aspect of incorporation into Christ in baptism

(3:28). This, and the aspect of incorporation into Christ's crucifixion, will be discussed further below and in Chapters 10 and 11.

9.3.2 *Ritual Incorporation with the Law or with Christ*

By means of circumcision or castration, a follower is born or incorporated ritually with the Law or Mother as a guide over the way of the Flesh. By means of baptism and reception of the Spirit, on the other hand, a follower is incorporated into Christ as the "guide" over the way of the Spirit. Paul refers to the means of attachment to these respective figures in phrases that have proved enigmatic for the interpretation of Galatians: ἔξ ἔργων νόμου and ἐκ πίστις Χριστοῦ with the related phrase, ἔξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως.

9.3.2.1 Ἔργα νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ

The enigma of these phrases in Galatians is interrelated.³⁰ One aspect of the puzzle is a major grammatical difficulty for the translation of both phrases which revolves around two possible interpretations of the genitives, the question of whether they are

³⁰Consistent with the methodological position I take for a developmental view of Paul, as articulated at 1.1.1, the focus here is on how these phrases operate in Galatians in light of the Anatolian popular religious context. While ultimately confining the issue to Galatians would not be methodologically sound, it is appropriate to focus on the meaning of these phrases in Galatians first, rather than interpreting them with assumptions based on previous interpretations of Romans. Subsequent work will need to test this rendering for Romans and for the vocabulary of Paul's other letters. What the phrases mean in a later letter, however, does not necessarily determine his use of them in Galatians. This interpretation of Galatians requires reassessment of usual translations of Romans and further study of shifts of meaning in relation to the rhetorical contexts of Galatians and Romans.

subjective or objective. The phrase ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, then, rendered as an objective genitive results in the usual translation, "faith in Christ." In this case the means of attachment is seen in the follower's action towards the guide. As a subjective genitive, on the other hand, the phrase would be translated, "Christ's faith" or "the faith of Christ" so that it is the guide's action, in this case the action of Christ toward God. In Gal 2:16-21, πίστεως Χριστοῦ is contrasted to ἔργα νόμου. The question of the subjective or objective genitive can also be applied to this phrase: "works of Law" as done by the follower or "works of Law" as done by the Law to the follower.

This question has been the subject of a great deal of scholarly discussion in recent years about the phrase πίστεως Χριστοῦ, much of which pays little attention to the ritual context of the issue.³¹ This will be discussed further in Chapter 10, but the issue merits some further consideration here, even though it is not possible to address the volume of scholarship on this issue adequately within the limits of this dissertation. The proposed reinterpretation offered here is based on a reading which is consistent with the ritual context of the phrases and the overall pattern of the triple analogy. It accounts for Paul's presentation of the Law as a "personal concept."

The choice of subjective or objective genitive, it should be noted, emphasizes the verbal quality of the substantives πίστεως and ἔργα. Without a detour into extensive grammatical discussion and the various

³¹Citations are found in notes at 10.2.1.

proposals of other scholars on the issue of the genitives or the words πίστις and ἔργα, I would suggest that a reconceptualization of these nouns in a more substantive than verbal direction might provide an interpretation more consistent with the context described here.

In Galatians, then, we first see πίστις as a noun at 1:23, "[the churchs of Judaea] only heard 'the one who once was persecuting us now proclaims/evangelizes the πίστις which once he kept trying to destroy.'" This context indicates that the πίστις is something proclaimed or promoted. Certainly some form of "message" is involved, but the notion of "message" as a set of beliefs does not encompass all of what is indicated by πίστις as the object of the repressive measures indicated. To try to destroy the πίστις, efforts are directed at the people and the churches (organizations) connected to it. What this suggests is that the concept of πίστις includes both the message or story and the churches who have been formed by it and entrusted with it, consistent also with the use of the word at 6:10. This is consistent with the meanings of πίστις, which generally cluster around the English word "trust."³² As "the trust," πίστις is the message with which the churches have been entrusted. This is seen in the reversal of the verbal and substantive forms of the words at 2:7, "I had been entrusted with the message," (πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον). Paul evangelizes the *pistis* and has been *pisteued* (entrusted) with the *evangelion* (message or gospel). He, along with the others in the churches, has been put in πίστις as a

³²Cf. LSJ, s.v. "πίστις," and the notes on the classical and Stoic usage in TDNT, s.v. "πιστεύω," by Rudolf Bultmann.

"position of trust," as a kind of "trusteeship" in which πίστις as the message functions both as "that which is entrusted" and as "that which gives confidence."

What I would propose is that the πίστις in πίστις Χριστοῦ be reconceptualized as the message which is the story of events which establish this relationship of trust and guarantee the relationship. To be "justified" through πίστις Χριστοῦ would then mean to become part of this relationship of trust.

To emphasize the substantive aspect of ἔργα means to translate it with the basic meaning of ἔργον as "that which is wrought or made," the results of the action as well as the action itself.³³ Circumcision as the particular ἔργον under consideration in the letter fits this definition as the permanent result of an action.

When the nouns πίστις and ἔργα are thus conceptualized more as substantives than as verbal nouns, the genitives which accompany them can then be understood more as genitives of origin or relationship or possession and belonging.³⁴ The phrases could thus be translated, "trust-relationship and message which conveys and is conveyed by it which originates in Christ," and "results of actions which originate in Law." Alternatively they might be, "trust-relationship... which belongs to or forms relationship to Christ," and "results of actions which belong to or form relationship to Law." Considering the layers of

³³LSJ, s.v. "ἔργον."

³⁴See BDF §162 and Smyth, especially nos. 1298 and 1301.

meaning suggested for πίστις, the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ connotes something entrusted by Christ and a guarantee given by Christ as well as the trusteeship formed by Christ.

Reconsidering the verbal quality of these nouns with this complex of meanings in mind, it can be seen that an ambiguity of subject and object can be retained. The action of the believer in trusting cannot be separated from that which has been entrusted or from the action of Christ in both entrusting and guaranteeing the trust. Likewise obedience to the Law is the work of the one who obeys but the source of the actions in obedience is in the Law itself. The results thus originate in and belong to the Law while simultaneously relying upon the action of the one who carries out the Law.³⁵

³⁵This ambiguity includes what have been cited as Hebrew equivalents, "works of the Torah" or "works of the commandments," but does not limit it to a simple equation with this phrase. The Hebrew equivalents do not incorporate the notion of the Law as a personal concept found in Galatians. This Hebrew equivalent "works of the commandments" is assumed in *TDNT* (s.v. "ἔργον," by Georg Bertram), relying primarily on rabbinical sources collected by Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck (*Kommentar zum neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* [Munich: C. H. Beck, 1969]). The probable later date of these citations is problematic for determining Paul's meaning, as is the use of a Hebrew phrase which is similar but not identical to interpret a phrase in Greek. At least one earlier use of the specific Hebrew phrase "works of the Torah" is found in the Qumran documents, in 4QMMT at l. 113. It is possibly found also in 4Q *Florilegium*, but the text is unclear. On this see Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, "Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Galaterbriefes aus dem Münchener Projekt: Qumran und das neue Testament," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992*, eds. George J. Brooke and Florentino García Martínez, *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*, eds. F. García Martínez and A. S. Van der Woude, no. 15 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994) 173-5 and 202-13. Kuhn concludes that the meaning of the phrase in 4QMMT is "probably different from the meaning intended by Paul in Gal 2:16, that in 4QMMT it means "precepts of the

When the ritual context is also considered in light of the operation of Law and Christ as guide figures, the actions implied in these nouns as ritual means of attachment accentuate the inherent ambiguity since both follower and guide are involved simultaneously in the ritually attaching action. This can be seen in the case of the Ways of Flesh and Spirit in Galatians 5-6, discussed above. The ἔργα of the "Flesh" as a guiding metaphor of the Way of the Flesh are ὁπposed to the "fruit" (καρπὸς) of the Spirit. The ἔργα there are the results when a person follows the desires of the Flesh (5:16), but just who or what is acting to produce these results is unclear. The same ambiguity applies to the "fruits of the Spirit." The Law as a guide is an entity more clearly distinguished from the follower than "Flesh," and the question of the subject of the action is likewise ambiguous in the enigmatic phrases under consideration here. In the remainder of this chapter, the way this operates in the case of ἔργα νόμου will be the primary focus, while the question of πίστις Χριστοῦ will receive further attention in the next chapter.

Torah" (173). The context in 4QMMT is what is known as the "Halakhic letter," which provides detailed instructions for cultic purity. It appears in a closing reminder, "And also we have written to you some of the works of the Torah which we think are good for you and for your people, for in you [we saw] intellect and knowledge of the Torah." (Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, 2nd ed., trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson [Leiden and Grand Rapids, Michigan: E. J. Brill and William B. Eerdmans, 1992] 79). This informs the meaning in Galatians inasmuch as the "works of the Law" are specifically associated with the maintenance of cultic boundaries and contamination from gentiles.

Ἔργα (works) and πίστις (faith) can be seen, then, as contrasted means of attachment of followers and guides. In Gal 2:16-21, this contrast is expressed as alternative means of being "justified" (δικαιόω). This and other δικαί-rooted words are also problematic for the translation of Galatians since the root has multifaceted meanings for which no single word in English suffices. What we have seen about Anatolian popular religiosity suggests at least three layers of meaning for *dikai*-rooted words in the divine juridical ethos illustrated in Chapter 3. What is usually translated "to be justified" combines the legal experience of vindication, acquittal, or pardon; the personal experience of being restored to health after a physical or mental illness; and the social experience of "right relationship," in this case with the deities.

If we imagine ourselves living in something like a pervasive electro-magnetic force-field of a dominating Anatolian deity, to be "justified" would mean to be in a protective alignment with the divine force who maintains community order and causes the crops to rise. Among people in diaspora conditions the relationship of this dominating deity to his or her devotees continues by some means of ritual attachment and through the δυνάμεις of the deity. These δυνάμεις were revealed, as we have seen in Part B, in ecstatic possession of some devotees as well as in the punishing actions mentioned in the confession inscriptions. We have seen that Paul casts the Law in a role analogous to the Mother of the Gods as such a deity in Galatians. The Law is also metaphorically personified as a pedagogue and as one of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου. What

will be suggested overall is that the Law, as a "personal concept," acts by means of ἔργα upon the follower in such a way that the follower becomes the Law's extension to act upon his own flesh by means of circumcision as an indexing sign.³⁶

In Chapter 10 this will be seen in contrast to Christ who incorporates followers by means of πίστις, which expresses a relationship of trust as well as Christ's own action in the crucifixion. This is also an action of the spirit upon the interior life or heart of the person, outwardly expressed in the Ὑββα cry (4:6). The means of connection is by baptism and reception of the Spirit for which there is no indelible sign, only continuing relationship. The operation of ἔξ ἔργων νόμου as it appears in the context of the triple analogy discussed in this chapter merits discussion first, and can be seen most clearly in Gal 3:1-5.

9.3.2.2 Galatians 3:1-5 and Means of Ritual Incorporation

With the triple analogy in mind, an analysis of this pericope verse by verse will show the contrast of the two ritual means of attachment as consistent with Paul's rhetorical strategy.

The pericope opens with Paul's address to ὧ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται. Usually translated, "O Foolish Galatians," the phrase has a potential double-meaning in the Anatolian context. While the word ἀνόητοι has usually been understood "foolish" or literally "mindless," it could also

³⁶The action is circumcision, analogous to castration, hence the male pronoun.

be taken to refer to individuals in the state of possession by a deity characteristic of Corybantic enthusiasm (6.4.4-7) and especially the *galli* in the state of goddess-possession in their self-mutilating rituals. Not only the descriptions of the state, but the word itself was identified with the *galli*, as was seen in the citation from Hesychius discussed at 7.2.2. As will be seen in the rest of the passage, this indicates a double meaning which chides the audience for becoming like the *galli* who castrate themselves: "You Galatians like *galli* in a state of goddess-possessed mania!"

This is confirmed in the following phrase, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανε (3:1b) when the word usually translated "bewitched" (e.g. NRSV), βάσκαίνω, is properly understood. This verb indicates the casting of the evil eye.³⁷ Deities as well as humans could cast the evil eye,³⁸ and there is some evidence of association of the evil eye with the cult of the Mother of the Gods.³⁹ As we have seen in Chapter 3, the activity of

³⁷This case is made by John Elliott in "The Fear of the Leer: the Evil Eye from the Bible to Li'l Abner," *Forum* 4 (1988) 40-71 and in a nearly identical article "Paul, Galatians, and the Evil Eye," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 17 (1990) 262-73. Several of the supportive connections he makes in the letter are better explained in other ways more specifically in relation to the context of Anatolia. He does not suggest the apotropaic connotation of the image of Christ crucified in 3:1c.

³⁸This has been effectively shown by Paul Duff, "High Gods." I am indebted to him also for pointing me toward the most pertinent bibliographic items on this topic.

³⁹A mosaic in the *atrium* of the Basilica Hilariana at Rome from the middle of the second century C.E. shows an evil eye pierced by a lance and surrounded by animals attacking it. The evil eye appears to be protected by an owl perched on the eyebrow. See CCCA II, no. 210, and Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis*, 44-5 and fig. 16.

the enforcer deities for punishment of offenders appears to have been associated with the effect of their vision, as seen in the discussion of the verb ἑπιζήτειν in the confession inscriptions and judicial prayers. The translation, "Who has cast the evil eye upon you?" could readily evoke the image, then, of the Mother of the Gods who inflicted her mania upon the *galli* with her jealous glance, as she did upon Attis. The alternative translation as "bewitched" or "under a spell" also relates readily to the spell cast upon the *galli* by the rhythms and melodies which induce divine *mania*. It is also worth recalling the association of law and melody as possessing powers made in the dialogue of Socrates and Crito discussed at 6.4.6.⁴⁰ This shows that understanding the Law as a "possessing power" analogous to ecstatic possession was made by at least one ancient author other than Paul.

The following clause, οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος (3:1c) is usually translated in some variation of "before whose eyes Jesus Christ was publicly portrayed as crucified" (RSV). While it is difficult to determine exactly what Paul refers to here,⁴¹ the suggestion of a public portrayal possibly hints at an apotropaic function for the image of Christ crucified. A focus on the image of Christ crucified implicitly ought to have warded off the effects of the

⁴⁰Pl. *Cri.* 50C-54D.

⁴¹Betz (*Galatians*, 131) suggests the various techniques used by ancient orators for vivid portrayal of their subject. These could include impersonations and painted pictures. Given the literal meaning of προεγράφη as "publicly written," the "public inscription" of Attis, Mên, and others in curse inscriptions which protect tombs should also be taken into consideration. This will await subsequent investigation.

evil eye. Somehow the "evil eye" has penetrated the protective shield and is acting upon the Galatians. The impulse toward circumcision indicates that some form of spell or *mania* has come upon the Galatians, from the Law, the way that self-castration indicates possession by the *mania* of the Mother of the Gods.

The issue of the ἔργα νόμου is posed in the next verse, Gal 3:2: τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; ("This one thing I want to learn from you, did you receive the Spirit from works of Law or from 'hearing of faith.'") With the notion of the operation of the evil eye by the Law cast as a Mountain Mother enforcer deity, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου evokes the image of the Law as a force which acts upon the person through the person's own hand or decision.

The term ἔργα, as the effects of "works" or "actions," corresponds to the notion of δυνάμεις or "deeds of power" of a deity, discussed in Chapter 3. Ἔργα can be seen as "manifestations" of Law just as δυνάμεις are manifestations of the deity's power. Ἔργα, however, are the actions of a force which Paul does not want viewed positively. To call them δυνάμεις would be to give them and the force causing them too much credibility and power. The ἔργα are something that the person does or, in the case of circumcision, chooses to have done upon himself in integral relation to the Law as a guide or force acting upon him. The question Paul poses here and at v. 5 is whether the Galatians received the Spirit through these "works of Law" or ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως. In v. 5,

he specifies that the Spirit works real δυνάμεις in the Galatians from "hearing about πίστις."

Here we find Law contrasted not with Christ but with πίστις, and ἔργα placed in opposition not to πίστις but to another problematic word, "ἀκοή." The ἀκοή ("hearing" or "report") πίστεως (of or in or by or about πίστις) indicates another experiential referent understandable to the Galatians but to which we are not made privy. Understood by contrast to ἔργα νόμου in Gal 3:2 and 5, however, the phrase would indicate an experience of the reception of the Spirit by means of a joint action of the follower and guide of the "way of the Spirit." This is expressed as the "hearing" caused by πίστις Χριστοῦ as a single action, just as the Law-Mother's ἔργα are manifested in the follower's action upon himself in circumcision (like-castration). Gal 3:2b could thus be paraphrased, "Did you receive the Spirit from results of actions which originate from Law or hearing about πίστις?"

The vocabulary of the following verse, Gal 3:3, clarifies that Paul has the context of initiation rituals in mind: οὕτως ἀνόητοί ἐστε; ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθε; This is rendered most simply, "Are you so foolish? Having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?" (RSV) The words for "begin" and "end," however, indicate the context of initiation rites.⁴² Paul confronts the Galatians with their similarity to the *galli*. He asks first whether they have become so ἀνόητοί, so "mindless," so "possessed" by a divine figure like

⁴²See Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 135.

the *galli* under the influence of the Mother's *mania* that they would act upon their own flesh. The desired completion is in the reception of the Spirit, but they have reversed the process. Like *galli* who begin their initiation in an "enspirited" ecstatic state which culminates in action upon their own flesh, the Galatians have mistaken their reception of the Spirit as the beginning of their initiation which is to be consummated in action upon the flesh, circumcision (like castration). Circumcision would thus reverse the initiation process. According to this interpretation, the verse would read, "Are you so overcome by *mania*? Having begun your initiation in the Spirit are you now consummating it in the Flesh?"

Paul continues by asking whether the Galatians have had the experiences to which he refers, forever opaque to us but well-known to the Galatians, in vain. Then at Gal 3:5 he restates the question posed at v. 2, ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; which could be rendered in a paraphrased translation, "Does the One who furnishes you with the Spirit and effects works of power (true δυνάμεις) in you do so by the actions the Law makes you do to yourselves or from hearing what you heard by entering into a trusting relationship with Christ?"

The triple analogy can thus be amplified as seen in fig. 7.

<u>Equation (Negative)</u>			<u>Contrast (Positive)</u>
Mother of the Gods	=	The Law	vs. Christ, Father-God, Spirit, Πίστις Εριστοῦ
↓		↓	↓
<i>Mania</i>		(Evil Eye)	vs. Spirit
↓		↓	↓
<i>Galli</i>	=	ἀνόητοί	vs. Spirit-receivers
By ἔργα or δυνάμεις		By (mere) ἔργα	By (true) δυνάμεις, by ἀκοή
On the Flesh		On the Flesh	In the Spirit

Fig. 7. Elements of the triple analogy in Gal 3:1-5.

The Law as the guide of the way of the Flesh incorporates followers by means of the power of the glance, like the Mother of the Gods incorporates the *galli* by her jealous *mania*. Circumcision relates the follower to the Law in the same way that castration relates a *gallus* to the Mother of the Gods, by means of actions (ἔργα) upon his own flesh which manifest the power of a divine figure who has possessed him. Far better, however, are the δυνάμεις of the Spirit which form a different relationship between follower and guide.

9.3.3 *Incorporation and Inheritance: Birth According to the Promise" or According to Flesh"*

The contrast of means of ritual incorporation was identified in Gal 4:21-5:1 as a contrast of means of birth, either "according to the Flesh" (κατὰ σάρκα) as circumcision (like castration) or "by means of

promise" (δι' ἐπαγγελίας) as a means equivalent to "according to the Spirit" (κατὰ πνεῦμα). This was, it will be remembered, a variation on the contrast between slavery and freedom or between slave and son. The contrast in means of birth is a contrast in the means of becoming a son, metaphorically as the ritual means of sonship. The means of birth, in turn, have implications for the inheritance rights of the sons.

"According to flesh" was through the ritual means of circumcision. This can be seen as the Law's action claiming her "sons" by action upon the flesh in which the "Meter Sinaienê" gives birth to sons "according to the flesh." The son thus ritually born is a slave and a son not of the father but of his slave-concubine. He has no inheritance rights.

"By means of promise," which can also mean "by means of proclamation" and is equated to "according to spirit," corresponds to the moment of receiving the spirit which claims "true sons" of the father in their cry of "Abba! Father!" (4:6). This is the spirit received "from the hearing of (or in) πίστις" (3:1-5), when through πίστις, the believer "puts on Christ" in baptism (3:23-9). In this ritual the follower is born and recognized or adopted by the father as a son with inheritance rights, thus a free son.

9.3.3.1 The Issue of Inheritance

As the contrast of means of birth is equated with a contrast of the status of the mothers and thus the respective contrast in status of the sons, it is the metaphorical inheritance which is at stake. At issue is the inheritance, establishment of the family line. The questions of how

the inheritance is passed on and what is passed on determine who receives the inheritance.

The rituals then function as indexing signs to show incorporation with the family line.⁴³ As indexing signs the actions themselves and their results are inherent manifestations of the incorporation. Castration indexes court eunuchs in a divine court, son-slaves of the goddess who cannot continue any other family line. Circumcision indexes Jews and carries on a family line from Abraham established by biological lineage or by conversion to Judaism, marked by circumcision. Baptism indexes a family line promised by God to Abraham as his descendants but established in Christ by πίστεως and passed to the follower by adoption in the spirit. It is not marked "in the flesh" but in the maintenance of the ongoing relationship itself. This line, in Paul's view, is assured of continuance and inclusion of many more children than the others.

What is passed on is thus not "the family fortune" so much as the acknowledgement of the sonship which grants ability to assume the position of head of the household and full membership in society. This is signified in the letter by the claim to being true "sons of Abraham." Sons of Abraham "through promise," are sons by means of the promise to Abraham upon which Paul has elaborated, the promised blessing which the gentiles inherit through Christ as the "true seed." That "promise of the spirit" is received through πίστεως (3:14b) in connection with Christ

⁴³On the notion of "indexing, see 7.3.3.

(3:14a, 16). This acknowledgement as son, then, grants the relationship of trust associated with πίστις as will be seen. This is what an inheritance of "freedom" rather than "slavery" would mean: inclusion in the community of male heads of household, inclusion in the relationship of trust (πίστις) possible between father and son. All this is summed up in the contrast of the son according to the flesh, not named here, and the son according to the promise or spirit, named as Isaac.

9.3.3.2 True and False Family

The "son according to the flesh" is set in contrast to the son by or through "promise" and "spirit." Thus, on the one hand, the one born according to the flesh persecutes or accuses the children of the promise. This reiterates Paul's description of his own behavior against the church before his conversion (1:13) and characterizes the present behavior of the "false brothers" and "agitators" (2:4).

On the other hand, Paul presents his own present behavior as expressive of "true family" feeling. He metaphorically provides the parental attention and lineage appropriate to a son and heir, attention which seeks the "good purpose" of his incorporation into the body of adult free men who are full participants in society (4:19). The Christ being formed in them while Paul is in labor-pains is what confers upon them the birth status of heirs and legitimate sons of the head of household, metaphorically and ritually. The Galatians, whom Paul hopes are thus being formed as children of the promise, are instructed to "throw out" this slave son and his slave-concubine mother. The referent

here would be to those recommending circumcision and to the Law they serve as well as to the Mountain Mother and her Attis-galli.

Those who inherit, then, are the Galatians whom Paul addresses as brothers, ἀδελφοί, who are children (τέκνα) by the legitimate wife (ἐλευθέρα). The children of the concubine are not true brothers but the "false brothers" who sought to make trouble for the gentiles, according to Paul, in his meeting with the leaders at Jerusalem. The mother of the true brothers is never named or specified except as "Jerusalem above." Yet, just before this passage, Paul portrayed himself as their mother and addressed them as his children (τέκνα μου, 4:19). His command also speaks Sarah's line from the Genesis narrative with the alteration at the end from "my son Isaac" to "the son of the legitimate wife," Ἐκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. ("Throw out the slave-concubine and her son, for the son of the slave-concubine will not inherit with the son of the legitimate wife" 4:30).⁴⁴ The false family of slaves and enslaving brothers must be expelled.

The legitimate children (τέκνα) like Isaac, however, can grow up and assume the status of free adult males and heads of household.⁴⁵ Under

⁴⁴This, along with his address to them as brothers, would clarify that he is not the divine-metaphorical mother who is the "legitimate wife" here, even if he participates in the process of the Galatians' incorporation by birth and adoption as sons of God in Christ and the Spirit.

⁴⁵The term τέκνα would technically include daughters, and they would inherit free status like their brothers, but not the position of head of household. Nothing confirms, however, that daughters are in the picture here, even metaphorically.

the Greco-Roman slave-family system, the son of a slave-concubine would, by definition, never inherit such a position even if he were manumitted. Paul's allegorical use of the "two Mothers," the slave-concubine and the free legitimate wife, already effectively excludes the son of the slave. In the slave-family system represented in the Genesis narrative from which the allegory is drawn, such inheritance was a possibility, however. The inheritance of Isaac as the son of the legitimate wife was jeopardized by the presence of the concubine's son. As Paul appropriates the text allegorically, he thus acquires a useful command from the words of Sarah in Gen 21:10, "Throw out the slave-concubine and her son; for the son of the slave-concubine will not inherit with the son of the free woman."⁴⁶

This command takes aim on one level at the advocates of circumcision and at the Law-as-Mother. At another level, it is the whole pattern of relationship that Paul wants the Galatians to "throw out." The exigence of the letter is expressed in the imperative. Circumcision is a threat to Paul's gospel because it "cuts too close for comfort" and threatens to return the Galatians to the condition in which Paul originally found them. As average Anatolians they had probably been worshippers of the Anatolian Mother, a figure that Paul perceives as enslaving and destructive. Now, as he sees it, circumcision threatens to put the Law in the place of the Mother and the advocates of

⁴⁶There are minor variations from the verse in the LXX, Gen 21:10, specifying "this" slave-concubine, and "my son Isaac" rather than "the son of the legitimate wife (ἐλευθέρα).

circumcision into a position of mastery as extensions of the Law. Just as the merging of identities of the Law and the Mountain Mother in Hagar has made it possible to bring both down from a position of power into a dishonorable and relatively powerless position, so now the command applies to the expulsion of both.

Paul wants them to change the pattern of relationship, not just acquire a new dominating overseer. The pattern of relationship he assumes is modeled on the "true family." The trust possible between fathers and sons and adult brothers in the family system is assumed as the model of the family in his "social world." For the sake of the "true family" of legitimate sons recognized by the metaphorical *paterfamilias*, other offspring must be expelled. The relationship of freedom described in connection with πίστις cannot coexist with the relationship of slavery.⁴⁷

In order for the Galatians to expel the false brothers, they must themselves assume the behavior and attitude of legitimate sons in the relationship of freedom. Thus the final command in this pericope at 5:1 becomes pivotal for the letter, τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἡλευθέρωσεν· στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε. It is open to various translations, "By (or to or for or in) freedom Christ has freed us; stand firm therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery."

⁴⁷ This statement hits at the heart of why Paul's letter to the Galatians has had such an enormous impact upon Western civilization and can provide a starting-point for further investigation. The issues it raises will be only partially treated here. The difficulty lies in the metaphorical exclusion of slaves and women in order to make the relationship of freedom possible.

The yoke of slavery alludes to the relationship with the Mountain Mother to which the Galatians would return in the act of circumcision. The specific image of the yoke is suggested in association with Cybele. Her yoked lions show her taming power, as was discussed in Chapter 4. The imagery of Catullus 63 also indicates that the *galli*'s gyrations were associated with the head motions of oxen against the yoke.⁴⁸ Thus consistent with the triple analogy, to assume the yoke of the Law is to re-assume the yoke of the Mountain Mother. Both are to be cast off. The word "again" suggests that the Two Ways are not only negative and positive but also time-dependent as "then" and "now." This aspect of time-dependence in Paul's strategy will be the topic of Chapter 10.

9.4 Summary

In this chapter we have seen that the Anatolian popular religious context and particularly the pattern of worship of the Mountain Mothers provides a means of explaining the difficulties in Gal 4:21-5:1 set forth in Chapter 2. The explanation surfaced a structure on which Paul's rhetorical strategy in Galatians is based, called here a "triple analogy." The basic structure relies upon an identification of the Law with the Anatolian Mountain Mother, or even as such a "Mother" as the "Meter Sinaienê." Circumcision, which is the major question of the letter, is equated by analogy to castration. The equation is relationally based so that circumcision would relate the follower to the Law in the same way that castration relates the follower to the Mother

⁴⁸See 6.4.3.

of the Gods. The relationship is slavery by means of a flesh-based ritual. By contrast, the relationship that Paul promotes for the Galatians is one of "freedom" or "sonship" by means of a spirit-based ritual. This, in turn, would establish a relationship to Christ, the Spirit and God as *paterfamilias*, a relationship understood as one of freedom and trust (πίστις). With the basic contrast of the triple analogy expressed in the figures in this chapter as a foundation for the oppositions or "Two Ways" found in the letter, we can now consider how these oppositions are dependent on "what time it is." This makes the issue more complex than a simple binary opposition.

CHAPTER 10

NO TURNING BACK -- PAUL'S MORAL STRUCTURE OF TIME: A NEW LOOK AT GALATIANS 3:19-4:11

In the previous chapter we saw that a triple analogy is made in Galatians. In this analogy, an equation is made between the Law and the Mother of the Gods and between circumcision and castration as "fleshly" means of ritual incorporation into a perpetual relationship of enslavement to the respective figures. Opposed to this is baptism with the reception of the spirit as birth by means of the spirit, as a "spiritual" means of incorporation into Christ's relationship as sons of God the Father. These opposed rituals can be seen to relate to the series of polar oppositions in the letter, most prominently contrasts of flesh vv. spirit, slavery vv. freedom, and human vv. divine. The Law and Christ can be seen to function as opposing personal concepts or "guide figures" over each of the "Two Ways" defined by this series of oppositions.

Paul's appeal for a decision between these "Two Ways" is summarized and posed forcefully in a compelling contrast of images at 4:21-5:1, as we have seen. In Galatians, Paul poses the choice for or against circumcision as a choice between the incorporation with Christ as Son of God the Father (by the legitimate "wife") or the Law as Mother of the Gods (who is a Slave Concubine.) Part of the complexity of the letter,

however, is that Paul does not conceptualize or present this choice as a simple binary opposition between positive and negative. As has already been mentioned, the contrast of slavery and freedom is a developmental contrast and not simply one of status. This introduces a time-dependent aspect into the binary opposition. The choice is thus not simply between two ways but also depends on "what time it is." This is made particularly clear in Gal 3:19-4:11, but this assumption operates at several levels throughout the letter. It will be helpful to examine this time-dependent moral option on each of these several levels in the letter.

This chapter will first summarize the results of an analysis of the time-structure of the letter which originally proceeded verse-by-verse to show how a five-fold developmental structure of time is operating in the letter (10.1).¹ Then we will discuss further implications for the meaning of circumcision, castration, and baptism as analogous ritual markers in this developmental structure of time (10.2). This will include examination of some of the most difficult phrases and vocabulary for the interpretation of Galatians: πίστις Χριστοῦ, ἔξ ἔργων νόμου and ἔξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως.

10.1 Paul's Structure of Time: BEFORE THEN, THEN, and NOW

Paul relies on a view of time in three phase. The phases have been reduced into the binary moral structure we have already seen. The phase which Paul seeks to defend as the present and future is defined

¹The complete analysis is mercifully not included here.

positively as NOW. Before NOW was the negative period of THEN, the time under enslaving powers. The positive conditions of NOW were determined by a previous positively defined period, BEFORE THEN. BEFORE THEN is thus a foundational originary phase which contains some element of what is intended in full development in NOW. THEN is a stage in the development of what has been set BEFORE THEN to be completed in the NOW phase.

In the bipolar valuation of the present, NOW and BEFORE THEN are both viewed positively, while THEN becomes negative. During THEN, everything associated with it was appropriate to its time and hence was positive as a phase of development. During the NOW phase, however, what was once appropriate becomes inappropriate and regressive, hence negative. What was BEFORE THEN, however, predetermines the positive outcome in the NOW phase. Hence BEFORE THEN is associated with NOW on the positive side. This can be seen to operate in the various "histories" Paul relates in Galatians, summarized in fig. 18 below. These phases also relate to the oppositional Two Ways structure we have seen, with NOW and BEFORE THEN as the time ruled over by God the Father and Christ and THEN as the time ruled over by the στοιχεῖα, which include the Law and the Mother of the Gods. NOW and BEFORE THEN correspond to the positive way while THEN corresponds to the negative.

The three-fold pattern of division of time yields five elements when the events which mark the division of time are considered, as illustrated in fig. 8.

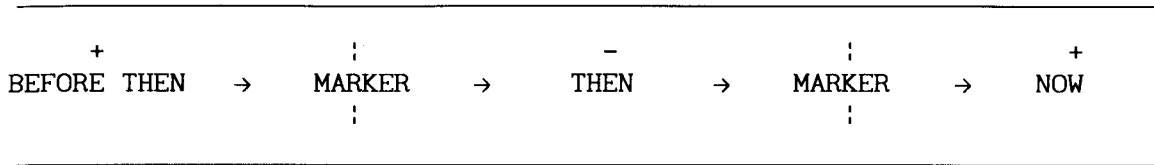


Fig. 8. Basic model of Paul's five-fold moral structure of time.

Part of the confusion here is that the moral structure relies on a sequential structure but the ritual markers imply the possibility of a backward movement in development. The moral question for Paul, as the question of what time it is, becomes one of maturation or regression. In Paul's "moral equation," time is not a constant but a moral and ritual question, as we shall see. This will be elaborated according to the model illustrated in fig. 8 in each of the various "histories," including the metaphorical history of the development of the male head of household, the long view of history usually described as "salvation history, the histories of the various parties to the issue, and the developmental options represented in ritual.

10.1.1 *Metaphorical History: Development of the Male Head of Household*

The pattern which Paul applies to time throughout the letter appears to be founded upon the pattern of development of the male heir in the Greco-Roman family system discussed in Chapters 2 and 6, seen in fig. 9.

+		;		-		;		+	
BEFORE	THEN	→	MARKER	→	THEN	→	MARKER	→	NOW
			;				;		
Birth Status as Status of Mother	(Recognition by <i>Pater- familias</i>)		Childhood, Equated with Slave Status		Events Marking Adulthood (or Adoption)		Incorporation into Society of Male Heads of Household		

Fig. 9. Development of the male head of household as Paul uses it metaphorically in Gal 3:19-4:11.

The basic structure is based on a BEFORE THEN condition as the birth status of the boy, as determined by the status of his birth mother. The birth mother of the heir is the legitimate wife of the head of household. The unstated event which marks the beginning of the second phase of development is the recognition of the boy by his father, the master and head of household. His development during childhood under the control of a pedagogue and household managers defines the THEN phase. In this period his status is equivalent to that of a slave in the family system. What distinguishes him from a slave, however, is that this period ends in the event or events which mark his arrival at the age of majority. Adulthood and incorporation into the society of male heads of household defines NOW, perhaps with a future completion when he actually inherits the household. This course of development metaphorically frames all the other descriptions of developments over time in the rest of the letter.

10.1.2 *The Long View of Time ("Salvation History")*

The antecedent history of the relation of God and God's peoples also follows this pattern, identified explicitly with the metaphor of development of male heads of household. This history follows two parallel courses of development, Jew and gentile, until the metaphorical "age of majority," as indicated in fig. 10. God's promise to Abraham (Gal 3:8) functions as the BEFORE THEN condition for the gentiles which defines their birth status as a blessing to be conferred when history reaches the phase of adulthood (NOW).

+	:	-	:	+
BEFORE THEN	→ MARKER	→ THEN	→ MARKER	→ NOW
	:		:	
(Birth of Jewish People in Abraham	Giving of Law	Under Law as Pedagogue	Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ	Jews and Gentiles merged in equivalent sonship
Promise to Abraham Concerning Gentiles	(no marker specified)	Under στοιχεῖα		

Fig. 10. Parallel structure of salvation history of Jews and gentiles as seen in Galatians.

The giving of the Law marks the beginning of the phase of childhood for the Jewish people, their time under the Law as a "pedagogue" (3:26, 4:23-4). There is no such corresponding beginning mark for the gentiles' period under the control of the στοιχεῖα as household managers (4:3). This explains, perhaps, why Paul does not make the event of the

father's recognition of his son as an heir explicit in the metaphorical history. Such an association of the covenant at Sinai with recognition by the *paterfamilias* would promote the special relationship of the Jewish people with God that Paul is attempting to displace. Hence the period under the Law is identified instead as the period under a curse and as an "evil age," which is the equivalent of the gentiles' experience under the στοιχεῖα.

Both "childhoods" as THEN end in the event of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection, associated with πίστις Χριστοῦ to be discussed further below. This event confers upon the gentiles the promised "birth status" as the blessing through Abraham. In this the two courses of development merge. The period of NOW which points toward a future completion is described for the long view of history in such terms as a New Creation, the Israel of God and Jerusalem above.²

10.1.3 *Paul's Own Life History*

Paul narrates his own life history in the same phases, as seen in fig. 11.

²The future orientation of NOW is especially pronounced in the opening of the letter. Even though the defining action which begins it has already transpired, the "present" functions as the equivalent of what becomes defined as THEN for the rest of the letter. The action of Christ marks a separation of time so that THEN as it is maintained in the NOW is negative as "the present evil age."

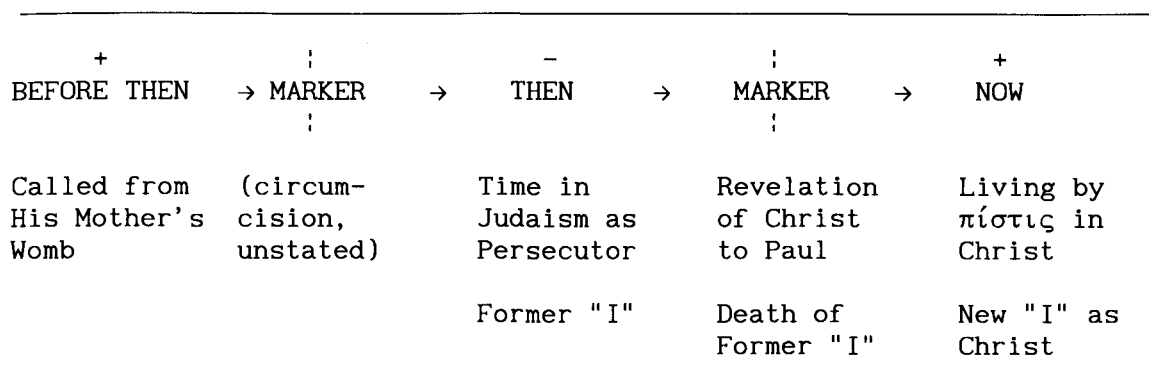


Fig. 11. Paul's autobiographical "salvation history."

Paul's birth status is established by God who called him from his mother's womb (1:15). This call, which is identified as his mission to the gentiles (1:16), is more important to mention than his birth status as a Jew since it corresponds to the promise to Abraham. He does not mention the event which would logically mark the transition from this BEFORE THEN condition to his "time in Judaism" as THEN, namely his circumcision "on the eighth day" (cf. Phil 3:5). To do so would not help his strategy of identifying himself with his uncircumcised gentile audience. Instead he emphasizes his own negative behavior as a persecutor of the church during his own extended "childhood" as a zealot for his ancestral traditions (1:13,23).

His "coming of age" and recognition of his call to the gentile mission happens in the entry of the Christ event into his own experience as the revelation of Christ in him (1:12,16; 2:19-20). He describes his transition from THEN to NOW as dying to the Law and to the former "I" and living to God by the Christ who now lives in him. He lives this life by πίστις.

His personal life history thus corresponds to the course of the long view of history in his call to preach to the gentiles. NOW is the merging of the Jewish and gentile courses of development in his identification with his audience.

10.1.4 *History of Paul and the Jerusalem Church*

Paul also provides a history of his relationship with the Jerusalem church and the "churches in Judaea," as seen in fig. 12.

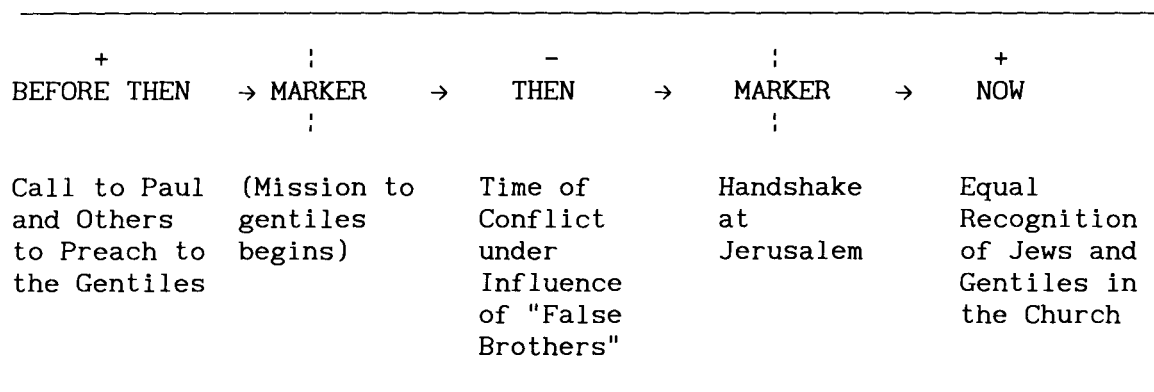


Fig. 12. History of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church.

While this is not as explicitly linked to the five-fold pattern of development, the handshake of *koinonia* which sealed the mutual recognition of the Jewish and gentile missions (2:9) is an event which also marks the NOW condition of "neither circumcised nor foreskinned in Christ" (5:6; cf. 2:7-8; 3:28; 6:15). The preceding phases can also be seen. God in a sense promises the subsequent NOW condition by calling Paul (and others, presumably) to proclaim Christ to the gentiles. This provides a BEFORE THEN "birth status."

The existing church functions as the already existing household. The church's recognition of God's activity in Paul marks the beginning of a THEN phase of conflict and indecision (1:18-2:10). During this time the "false brothers" attempt, in effect, to claim an inheritance which does not belong to them and to "enslave" the gentiles. The issue of inheritance is resolved and the shared inheritance is determined in the handshake on the agreement or "treaty" (2:9).

10.1.5 *History of Cephas and the Others*

For Cephas and the others, however, the NOW condition which begins with the handshake of *koinonia* is shown not to be permanent (2:11-14), as is indicated in fig. 13.

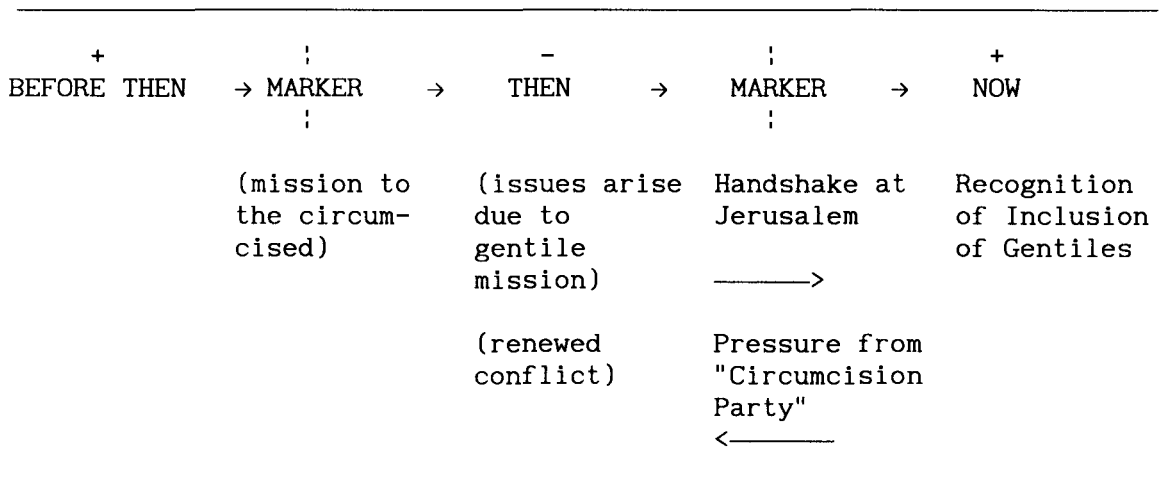


Fig. 13. History of Cephas and the others in relationship to the agreement marked in the handshake at Jerusalem.

In their course of development we see that it is possible to pass backwards into the THEN condition. The coming of the members of the

"circumcision party" forms such an event which passes them back into a "childhood THEN" condition of subservience indicated by their weakness and vacillation. Paul's confrontation as an event calls them, and not incidentally his Galatian audience also, to cross back to the NOW condition in which circumcised and foreskinned are merged.

10.1.6 *History of Paul and the Galatians*

The same five-fold pattern can also be seen in the history Paul gives of his relationship with his Galatian audience, shown in fig. 14.

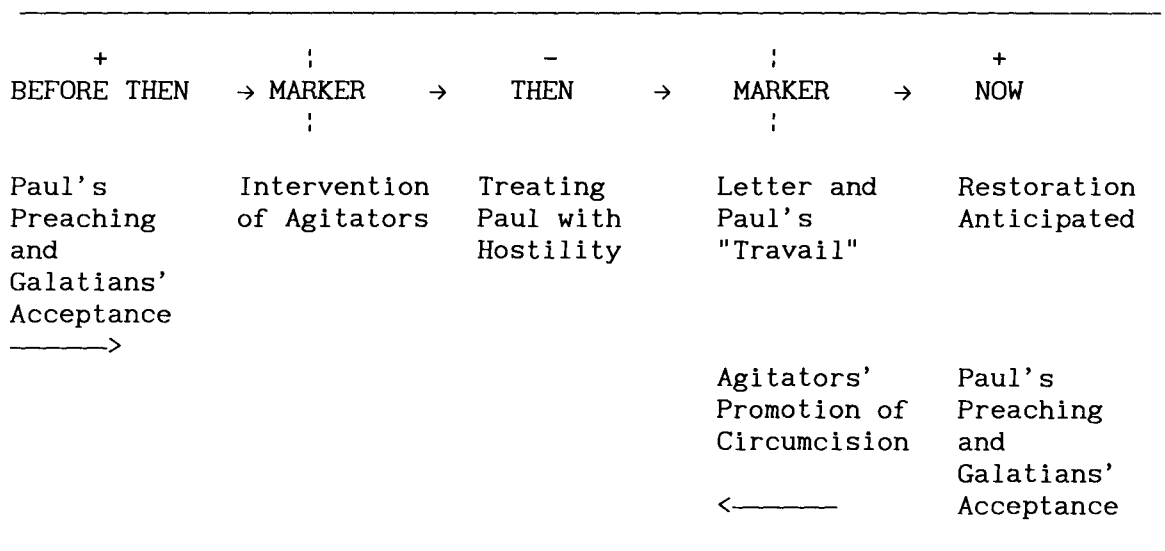


Fig. 14. History of Paul's relationship to the Galatian gentiles.

Paul's original preaching forms the BEFORE THEN condition, characterized by warmth of relationship and their recognition of him as an *angelos* and as Christ (4:14-15). This is also the original preaching that he surrounds with a protective curse at the beginning of the letter (1:6-10). This should have been the NOW condition, which brought them

from their own experience of THEN under the στοιχεῖα into the NOW condition in Christ.

However, with the promotion of circumcision by the unknown "agitators" a THEN phase begins in which they treat Paul with hostility and view him as an enemy (4:16). Circumcision threatens to return them to the THEN phase. Just as Paul confronted Cephas and the others with the necessity of returning to their former agreement, his letter calls the Galatians back to their former relationship with Paul. A new event marks this transition which Paul describes from his side as the pains of a mother giving birth (4:19). That event must include action by the Galatians to "throw out" the idea of circumcision and those who advocate it and thus to reaffirm their incorporation with Christ.

10.1.7 *Ritual History*

The five-fold pattern of history metaphorically based on the course of development of the male head of household is also reflected, not surprisingly, in the ritual transitions which are prominent in the letter: baptism and circumcision. For Jewish males, circumcision would mean the transition from the BEFORE THEN birth status into the metaphorical THEN of childhood under the pedagogue-Law, to be followed with baptism and reception of the Spirit into the NOW of free adult sonship with Christ. This is illustrated in fig. 15.

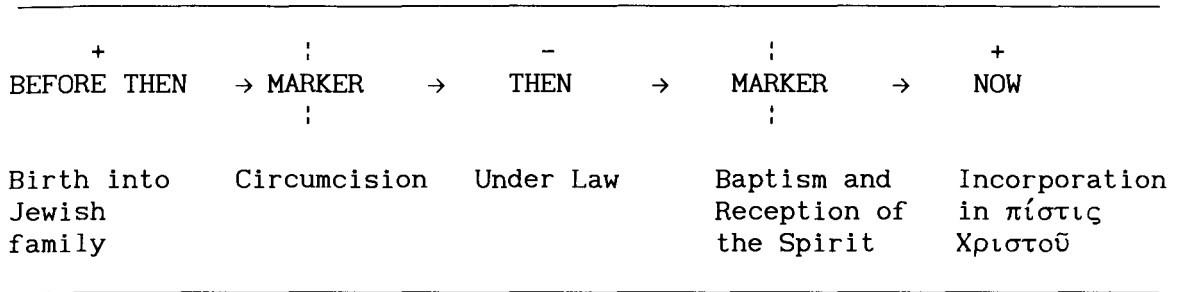


Fig. 15. Developmental implications of rituals for Jewish Christian males.

Paul places baptism and the reception of the Spirit at the juncture between THEN and NOW as a forward movement. For gentiles who have already been baptized and received the Spirit, circumcision would also be a ritual of entrance into a THEN condition. This would mean a regression, as can be seen in fig. 16.

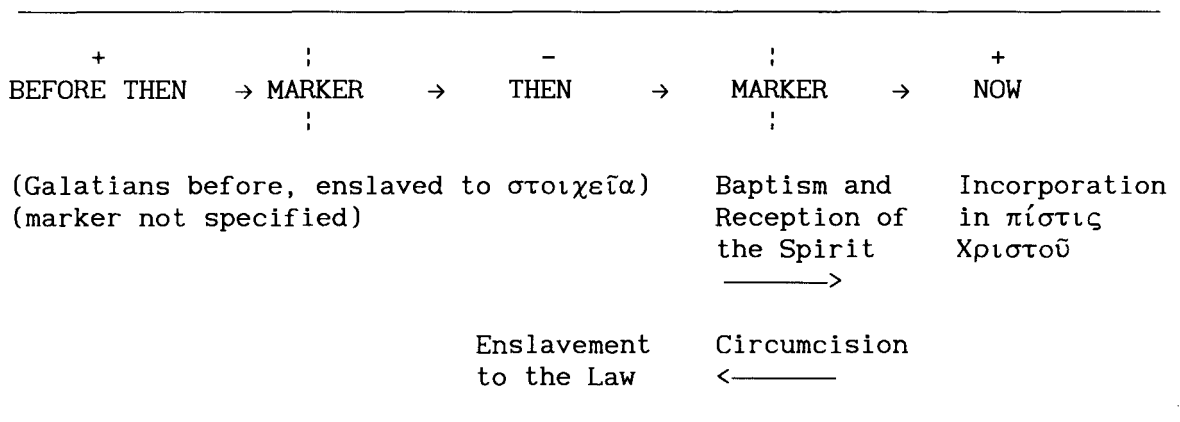


Fig. 16. Developmental implications of rituals for Galatian gentile males.

Circumcision placed at the same juncture would provide a ritual opening by means of action upon the flesh back from NOW into the THEN of

enslavement to the Law. Thus for gentiles, circumcision would reincorporate them to the metaphorical childhood and enslaved condition of their past under the στοιχεῖα and the Mother of the Gods. Behind this stands the equation of circumcision with castration, as shown in fig. 17.

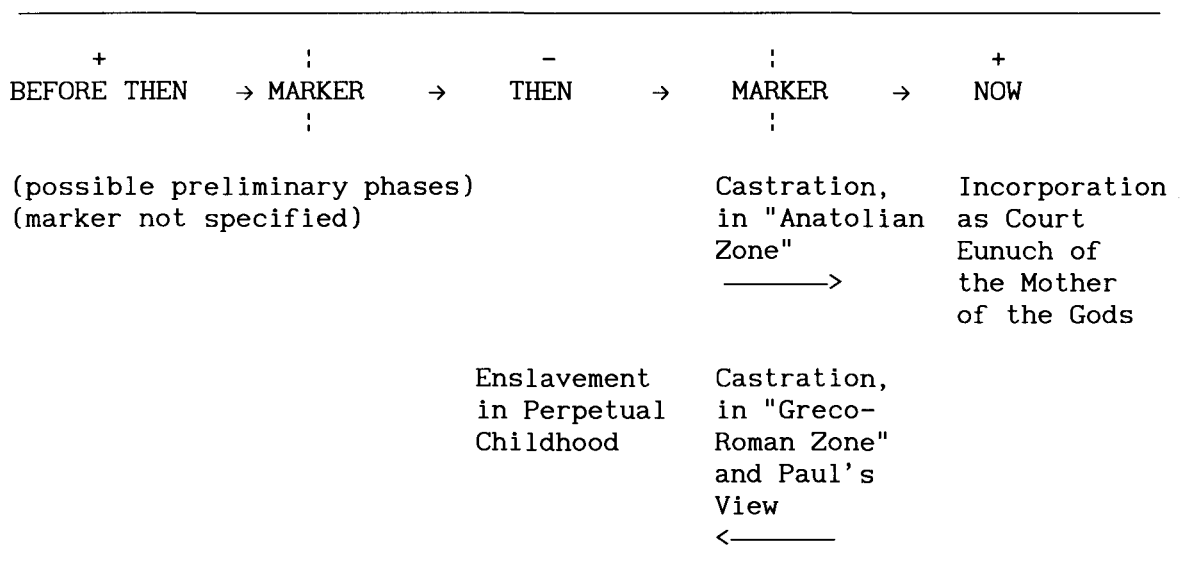


Fig. 17. Castration and views of the course of development of the *galli*.

This figure illustrates another view of the foundation of Paul's rhetorical strategy in the rhetorical situation described in Chapter 8. Subliminally, the Galatians are expecting that circumcision will provide some kind of forward developmental movement for them, as would castration as understood in the "Anatolian zone." Paul, however, seeks to reveal this subliminal motivation to them and thus to convince them their "forward" is actually "backward."

10.1.8 *Summary*

With this five-fold structure of time, it is apparent that the essential juncture is the marker between THEN and NOW. This is the primary location of the action and the confusion in interpretation of Galatians. This, then, is the liminal position much-discussed in Part B. The activity at this boundary, a door that swings both ways, merits further attention.

10.2 The Liminal Position Between THEN and NOW

The major interpretive metaphor for the transition from THEN to NOW is, as has been suggested, the transition of the free male head of household from childhood to adulthood. For this both the language of "redemption" and the language of adoption are used to describe the ritual *limen* crossed in baptism and reception of the spirit. In the moral structure of time, forward movement across this *limen* is positive, while backward movement would be negative.

BEFORE THEN	→ MARKER	→ THEN	→ MARKER	→ NOW
Birth Status as Status of Mother	(Recognition by <i>Pater- familias</i>)	Childhood, Equated with Slave Status	Events Marking Adulthood (or Adoption)	Incorporation into Society of Male Heads of Household
<i>Development of the male head of household</i>				
Jewish People Born in Abraham	Giving of Law	Under Law (Pedagogue)	πίστις Χρ. (Crucifixion and Resurrection)	Jews and Gentiles Merged in Equivalent Sonship
Promise to Abraham for Gentiles	(no marker specified)	Under στοιχεῖα		
<i>Parallel structure of salvation history of Jews and gentiles.</i>				
Called from His Mother's Womb	(circum- cision, unstated)	Time in Judaism as Persecutor Former "I"	Revelation of Christ to Paul Death of Former "I"	Living by πίστις in Christ New "I" as Christ
<i>Paul's autobiographical "salvation history."</i>				
Birth into Jewish Family	Circumcision	Under Law	Baptism and Reception of the Spirit	Incorporation in πίστις Χριστοῦ
<i>Developmental implications of rituals for Jewish Christian male.</i>				
(Galatians before, enslaved to στοιχεῖα) (marker not specified)			Baptism and Reception of the Spirit ————→	Incorporation in πίστις Χριστοῦ
		Enslavement to the Law	Circumcision ←————	
<i>Developmental implications of rituals for Galatian gentile males.</i>				
(possible preliminary phases) (marker not known)			Castration, in "Anatolian Zone" ————→	Incorporation as Court Eunuch of the Mother
		Enslavement in Perpetual Childhood	Castration, in "Greco- Roman Zone" ←————	
<i>Castration and views of the course of development of the galli.</i>				

Fig. 18. Paul's moral structure of time in ritual and salvation history.

In the levels on which the structure of time operates, seen in the last section, forward movement is described in Paul's own life history in his experience of the revelation of Christ. He describes this both as his call to the gentile mission and as a death of his former self and his new life in in his Christ-self. A similar forward implication is assumed in the Galatians' ritual experience of baptism and the reception of the Spirit. The rituals are inherently connected to the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ as the salvation-historical marker event between THEN in childhood enslavement under Law or στοιχεῖα and NOW in the adult free sonship of πίστις Χριστοῦ, an elusive concept to receive further attention below. What can be seen, however, is that in the liminal position the marker events at the various levels are ritually connected, as seen in fig. 18.

At the ritual *limen*, the door swings both ways, however, and Paul's main concern is that the Galatians will, by circumcision, cross back across the threshold into THEN. This threat is shown in the behavior of parties in the conflict in the church, as described by Paul. Pressure from the "circumcision party" threatens to undo the agreement marked in the handshake of *koinonia* at Jerusalem. This is seen in the withdrawal of Cephas and others from table fellowship with gentiles at Antioch. Promotion of circumcision threatens the same for the Galatian gentiles, and circumcision itself would mark a regression. By his letter and his "travail" Paul also hopes to bring the Galatians forward again across the boundary into the blessed condition that πίστις Χριστοῦ opens.

Paul sees circumcision as a backward movement for the Galatians because of the association he assumes between circumcision and castration in the triple analogy discussed in Chapter 9. Paul assumes a view of castration as regression or stunted development, consistent with the view of the "Greco-Roman zone," as discussed in Chapter 8. The Galatians, as has been said, from the perspective of the "Anatolian zone" might associate circumcision with castration as the highest form of initiation. Paul applies another view of maturation, however, based as we have seen on the developmental process of the male who will become the *paterfamilias* in the Greco-Roman family system and assume his place among the other sons and fathers in the association of free heads of households. To turn back from this new condition, both opened by means of and described as a state of πίστις Χριστοῦ, would be undesirable indeed. It is at the *limen* between THEN and NOW where such an option to turn back is found, as a ritual option, in circumcision. Baptism and the reception of the Spirit is a forward movement, by means of the actions described by πίστις Χριστοῦ to be discussed further in the next section, into the new condition of freedom and sonship that πίστις Χριστοῦ also described.

10.2.1 Πίστις Χριστοῦ and the Beginning of NOW

As was stated, the marker events seen at the various levels in the first section of this chapter are ritually connected in the liminal position. Thus it makes sense for Paul to speak of the marker-event in his own life in terms of "co-crucifixion" with Christ (2:19) and baptism as "putting on Christ" (3:27). As we have seen, in the liminal position

as Paul presents it, the options of incorporation with the respective "guides" of the Two Ways discussed in Chapter 9 become a choice between forward and back. Incorporation with Christ represents the forward movement and the various layers in the liminal position which connect to Christ are all expressed in the phrase Paul uses to describe that incorporation, πίστις Χριστοῦ. We can now focus further attention on this phrase and what Paul means by it.

10.2.1.1 The Problem of the Genitive in Πίστις Χριστοῦ

In Chapter 9 this phrase was discussed in connection with the phrase seen in parallel opposition to it, ἔργα νόμου. We saw in this case that there is inherent ambiguity for the implied subject and action in these phrase, whether the action is the follower's or the guide's, and a proposal was made which is intended to preserve rather than resolve that ambiguity.

Specifically in the case of πίστις Χριστοῦ, the problem of whether Paul intends the phrase, used in both Romans and Galatians, to be read with a subjective or objective genitive has been discussed from a variety of angles. A spectrum of opinion among scholars can be observed. With various nuances, some scholars argue that πίστις Χριστοῦ should be read as a subjective genitive, "the faith of Christ" or

"Christ's faith."³ Some arguments are also advanced for the objective genitive reading, "faith in Christ."⁴

An extensive study of the question has been made by Richard Hays in his 1983 dissertation. He elucidates the narrative component in the phrase as a summary of Christ's action. What is suggested here is that that narrative component also has a ritual location in which the believer enters ritually into the story of Christ's πίστις as action and into the ongoing trust relationship that that action establishes.⁵ Thus

³George Howard, "The 'Faith of Christ,'" *ExpTim* 85 (1974) 212-5; "On the 'Faith of Christ,'" *HTR* 60 (1967) 459-84; Morna D. Hooker, "ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΗΡΙΣΤΟΥ," *NTS* 35 (1989) 321-42; John Bligh, "Did Jesus Live by Faith?" *HeyJ* 9 (1966) 414-9; Markus Barth, "'The Faith of the Messiah,'" *HeyJ* 10 (1969) 363-70; Thomas F. Torrance, "One Aspect of the Biblical Conception of Faith," *ExpTim* 68 (1957) 111-4; "The Biblical Conception of 'Faith,'" *ExpTim* 68 (1957) 221-2; Gabriel Hebert, "'Faithfulness' and 'Faith,'" *Theology* 58 (1955) 373-9; Léonard Ramaroson, "La justification par la foi du Jésus," *Science et Esprit* 39 (1987) 81-92; Antonio González F., "La fé de Cristo," *Revista latinoamericana de teología* 10 (1993) 63-74; Luke Timothy Johnson, "Rom 3:21-26 and the Faith of Jesus," *CBQ* 44 (1982) 77-90; and Sam K. Williams, "Again Pistis Christou," *CBQ* 49 (1987) 431-47.

⁴Arland J. Hultgren, "The *Pistis Christou* Formulation in Paul," *NovT* 22 (1980) 248-63; C. F. D. Moule, "The Biblical Conception of 'Faith,'" *ExpTim* 68 (1957) 157. On grammatical grounds these are surprisingly weak, as Richard Hays notes in *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1-4:11*, SBLDS, 56, ed. William Baird (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983) 164. See 157-76 for a history of the question.

⁵The view proposed here hearkens back to more participationist views discussed by Hays and others. Deissman's suggestion, as Hays cites it, of a "genitive of fellowship" or "mystical genitive" conceptually most closely approximates the proposal made here. See Hays, *The Faith*, 159 and 185 n. 89. He cites Adolf Deissmann, *Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History*, 2nd ed, trans. William E. Wilson (New York: George H. Doran, 1926) 161-5. A thoroughgoing examination of this question is beyond the scope of this project. What is intended here is to consider what light the structure proposed sheds on the meaning of the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ. Analysis of how this confirms or

in πίστις Χριστοῦ the action of the believer and the action of Christ cannot be separated from one another. It is part of the ritual incorporation which takes place in the liminal position as a life-marker and a history-marker in the new Christian community.

Thus the genitive is not precisely subjective or objective but ambiguous.⁶ The fusion of actions in the liminal ritual context makes it impossible to distinguish Christ's action and "faith" from that of the one who believes in and with him. The phrase is difficult because it includes a collection of meanings and is probably better understood by examination of its various facets than by attempts to define it too narrowly.

10.2.1.2 Πίστις Χριστοῦ as Action and Event

One aspect of πίστις is the active element, an event or an action which Christ does or accepts.⁷ This active aspect of πίστις Χριστοῦ can be seen in trajectories of action. These trajectories follow a consistent pattern crossing from the positive side associated with everything that is NOW and the positive "way" to the negative associated with THEN as the negative "way" and returning to the positive side, with some element of transformation.⁸ The pattern is set forth in the

conflicts with previous scholarship must remain for another investigation.

⁶Most of the scholars who discuss the issue note some element of ambiguity.

⁷Hays takes much the same view (*The Faith*, 228-32).

⁸Hays (*The Faith*) treats much the same aspect of the letter in

opening of the letter, where God, on the positive side, opposes death, on the negative, by raising Jesus Christ from the dead (1:1). Jesus Christ, from the positive side, in turn opposes "our sins" and the "present evil age" by his self-giving action to rescue us (1:4). The same pattern is expressed in the image of πίστις Χριστοῦ which "justifies" a person, rather than ἔργα νόμου (2:16).

Paul applies this to his own experience of "co-crucifixion." By dying to the negative "dead" side of the Law, he receives life from God on the positive side through the love and self-giving action of Christ (2:19-20). He describes this as living ἐν πίστει (2:20c). Christ's action in "becoming a curse for us" also fits this pattern (3:13), to be discussed in Chapter 11.

At 3:23-6, we see a dense collection of the layers of this pattern around the word πίστις. Πίστις is seen as a moment in this pattern, an event which ends THEN and begins NOW (3:23,25). The complete trajectory of action from the positive to the negative side and back is not explicitly restated, but πίστις is seen as the boundary-marking event. The moment is described as one in which the πίστις comes (ἐλθεῖν) and is revealed (ἀποκαλυφθῆναι). Πίστις is explicitly connected to the events which mark the attainment of adulthood by the metaphorical male heir to the household. It marks the end of the time of confinement under the pedagogue both for the individual in the metaphor and for the Jewish

discernment of the narrative substructure, but appropriation of his results or comparison would take this project down an unnecessary detour. Morna Hooker's description of this pattern in terms of "interchange" is also similar.

people in its application to salvation history. Πίστις marks the state of becoming "sons of God" (3:26) specifically at the moment of baptism (3:27). Thus it combines a moment in salvation history, in the metaphorical development of the heir of the household, and the ritual incorporation of the follower into Christ.

The trajectory is restated at 4:4-5 where, "in the fullness of time" God sent (ἐξαπέστειλεν) his son into the negative period of THEN, the period under the Law,⁹ in order to "redeem" (ἐξαγοράση) those under the Law and allow them to receive adoption as sons. This event is marked in ritual experience by the reception of the Spirit and the cry Ἄββα ὁ πατήρ. Here the metaphor is adoption of the individual (ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν), which entails recognition by the *paterfamilias* is also applied explicitly to salvation history. THEN was the period of enslavement under the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, metaphorically the guardian figures of the "enslaved" heir in his childhood confinement. The word πίστις is not specifically associated with the juncture between THEN and NOW in this case, but the pattern clearly describes the same action.

Πίστις Χριστοῦ, then, clearly corresponds to the liminal position between THEN and NOW on a number of levels. On a salvation-historical level it is the location of God's definitive action in Christ, raising him to life from the dead, and the action of Christ in which he "gave

⁹Paul specifies here that the son is born "from a woman" into this period. This fits the overall metaphorical pattern set by the use of the life-course of the male head of household. The negative time of childhood is the time under the slaves and the women of the family until the heir reaches positive age of majority and joins the company of adult males.

himself for our sins to set us free from the present evil age." (NRSV) In the process, Christ replaces the Law as a "guide." This occurs at several levels, not only at the salvation-historical level but also in individual human experience, in ritual, as well as in the metaphors Paul uses.

Paul expresses this in his own experience as "dying to the Law" and "living to God." Just as the Law is replaced as a "guide" in the larger view of history, so also Paul's former self as a zealous advocate of the Law is replaced by Christ, by whom he now lives. Whether or not his description represents his experience in a ritual context, he assumes a similar experience for the Galatians in the context of baptism and reception of the Spirit. Reception of the Spirit in their hearts indicates that they, with Christ, are "sons of God." They have, in πίστις Χριστοῦ, entered into a new relationship.

10.2.1.3 Πίστις Χριστοῦ as Relationship

Part of the difficulty with the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ or the word πίστις in Paul's usage is that it refers both to the means of entry into a new relationship and to the relationship itself. It describes not only the boundary between THEN and NOW but also the NOW itself. The developmental metaphor is applicable in the sense that coming to adulthood results in being an adult. Thus NOW is characterized as a new relationship as "sons of God." The implication in Paul's use of the developmental metaphor is "adult sons."

We have seen in Chapter 9 that the relationship of sonship is contrasted to slavery as a mode of relationship, and the respective

modes of relationship were discussed as elements of the antithetical ethical content. "Freedom" is defined in terms of sonship as the phase of maturation in the life course of the male heir. In this phase of maturation another mode of relationship is possible which is associated with the word πίστις. For this it is important to understand πίστις more in its relational connotations of "trust" and "confidence," as was indicated in Chapter 9, than in the translations which emphasize "belief" and "faith," which tend in modern parlance to become reduced to some kind of mental option.

The mode of relationship expressed in πίστις Χριστοῦ has been viewed as it contrasts with that founded in ἔργα νόμου. In Chapter 9, ἔργα and πίστις were viewed as contrasting modes of attachment of followers and their respective "guides," Christ or the Law, and as alternative means of being "justified." ἔργα νόμου indicated the actions of the follower of the Law-Mother under the influence of her "possession," circumcision (like castration) as an action which leads to enslavement. Πίστις Χριστοῦ or ἀκοῆς πίστεως, on the other hand, indicates another mode of attachment and means of "justification." It includes involvement of the Spirit in real "deeds of power" (δύναμεις) in or among the followers, and the action leads to sonship. The Law thus acts upon the person while Christ and πίστις act in a mode that seems almost inseparable from the person's corresponding action. Cooperation appears to be involved, not "possession."

What must be re-emphasized here is that the contrast of slavery and freedom is more a contrast of relationship than of states or statuses.¹⁰ Slavery means a social relationship of slave to master. The essential question is one's relationship to the male head of the household (κύριος). The acknowledged sons of the κύριος are the family members who can become fully "free" when they grow up and are recognized as adults and full members of society. "Slavery," as has been seen, is also the mode of relationship which characterizes childhood for the future heir in the Greco-Roman family, as the boy under the pedagogue. While the means of achievement of this status may have varied from the course of development at Athens,¹¹ sons emerged as adults from their παῖς-slave status as children while slaves remained slaves no matter what their age.

Sons, as future heads of household, were the ones to be entrusted with the inheritance. In this light, πίστις as "trust" may be seen as an aspect of the relationship possible between son and father when the son is old enough to be trusted on his own. Πίστις is thus coherently a part of the social relationship of "freedom," not as autonomy but as incorporation into the social grouping of heads of household. In contrast to the previous phase of development in which the son must be

¹⁰See the discussion at 7.2.5 of the essential insight of Orlando Patterson in defining slavery in terms of social relationship, used there to help understand the *galli* as slave-eunuchs.

¹¹See 6.2.3.

watched and disciplined by a pedagogue, to be "justified" in πίστις means to be recognized as an adult who can be trusted.¹²

In the family metaphor as Paul uses it in Galatians, freedom is thus synonymous with the relationship possible between adult son and the *paterfamilias* and among adult sons who can be full members of society. Freedom means not autonomy but full membership in society.

In the context of the family system metaphor as Paul applies it to relations with contrasted divine beings, arrival into freedom and sonship indicates a relationship with Christ as the guide of the way of the Spirit and through him as a Son of the Father-Master God. On the other hand, the relationship with the Law as the guide of the way of the Flesh leads to enslavement to the Law as Mother. The Law "possesses" followers with a mind-replacing "spell" or "evil eye." Christ by the Spirit works by πίστις ("trust") to include followers in the relationship of sonship.

Both Paul's use of the metaphor of slavery vs. sonship and the impression he offers of Spirit or Christ-possession can appear to be somewhat contradictory and confusing when Paul's self-descriptions are considered. He refers to himself as a "slave of Christ" (Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, 1:10). At the end of the letter he reminds the audience of the "stigmata of Jesus" that he bears on his body and indicates that they afford him some protection from those who would make trouble for him

¹²The use of the word "son" rather than "child" here is indicated by the context. "Adulthood" for daughters was a different status and social relationship.

(6:17). Consistent with this self-portrayal as "possessed" by Christ, Paul also emphasizes that he moves by revelation and is an apostle by divine appointment (cf. 1:1,11-12,15-16). He speaks of his transformative experience as God revealing His Son "in me" (ἀποκαλύπτει τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ, 1:16) and no longer living as himself but Christ living "in me" (ἐν ἐμοὶ) "in *pistis*" (ἐν πίστει), (2:20). The quality of being in some sense an extension of a divine figure or "possessed," then, is not entirely negative, as was noted also in Chapter 9. Paul appears to expect this emphasis on his "possession" by Christ to enhance his credibility.

The specific aspects of this portrayal would fit aspects of the positive view of the *galli*, with their scars and perhaps tattoos described as "slaves of the goddess." Their status as extensions of a deity would, it must be remembered, bring them accrued honor and prophetic credibility. As mentioned in Chapter 9, the issue here is not only enslavement but also the power and prestige of the divine master to whom a person is "enslaved." Part of Paul's rhetorical strategy is to demote the Law and the Mother and all the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου to make them unappealing as figures to whom a follower would want to assimilate. This has been seen on several occasions, including the portrayal of Hagar as the Law portrayed as a Mountain Mother but as a slave concubine herself, the στοιχεῖα and the Law as subordinate and slave figures in the metaphorical family system and the στοιχεῖα as "weak and beggarly," and the ἔργα νόμου as inferior to the real δυνάμεις of the Spirit.

While both of the relationships which are contrasted, enslavement to the Law and sonship in Christ, appear to involve some form of "possession" or extension by incorporation with the guide figure, the relationship in Christ as Paul describes it is qualitatively different. He portrays it as an "enslavement" which confronts other enslavement. As a "slave of Christ," Paul is not concerned with "pleasing humans" (1:10). In the face of those "false brothers" at Jerusalem who desire to enslave the gentiles he "does not submit" (2:5), and similarly at Antioch he confronts Cephas face-to-face (2:11). This self-portrayal as a slave "possessed" by Christ in the "spirit of sonship" grounds his commands to the Galatians to "Become as I am" (4:12) and to "Stand firm and do not submit again" (5:1).

While this may be "enslavement" in some sense to a divine figure, Paul envisions the human relationship founded in such enslavement as qualitatively different from what he sees in the case of the Galatians' past experience and its reappropriation under the guise of the Law. The new mutuality is expressed in his injunction to them to be "enslaved to each other through love" (διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις, 5:13). This, perhaps, marks the behavior of "true brothers" as opposed to "false brothers."

What is suggested here is that this new mode of relationship is part of what is indicated in the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ. As "trust" such a mode of relationship would be consistent with that described by the metaphorical context of relationship among fathers and sons. This relationship is founded on the son-father relationship of Christ and God

into which the individual becomes incorporated by "trusting" or "having faith" (πιστεύω). What the individual does is related to what the Spirit does as it is received in the individual heart. The outward cry of "Abba! Father" expresses the individual's incorporation into the sonship of Christ. In this action the person is "justified" and the continuation of the relationship thus established is described as "justification" (δικαιοσύνη). The relationship with God protects the person from the punishing or cursing effect of any other forces, divine or human, as will be discussed further in Chapter 11.

Πίστις Χριστοῦ can thus be seen as a phrase which describes how the follower becomes incorporated into the "way" guided by Christ, a "way" which has a beginning point in both ritual and salvation-historical time. The phrase thus indicates both a starting point and a continuation in that "way" which is also an ongoing mode of relationship in the community Christ founds. As a metaphorical adulthood in Paul's social context, the relationship is understood as most like the society of adult sons of heads of household, and forms a household under God as the metaphorical *paterfamilias*. To enter into this new adult relationship, followers must leave behind past enslavement under the dominion of the metaphorical guardians and especially the Mother, in whatever form she might be found, whether as the Mother of the Gods or as the Law. As the founder of this adult sonship, however, Christ does not necessarily fit a Greco-Roman ideal of the male head of household. Entry into a relationship with Christ is, as will be discussed in the next section and in Chapter 11, entry into an interstitial position.

10.2.2 *Christ and the Interstitial Position*

Above we discussed the dense collection of layers of the pattern of action around the word πίστις found at 3:23-6. Πίστις was seen as the boundary-marking event between THEN and NOW at a number of levels, combining an analogous moment in salvation history, in the metaphorical development of the heir of the household, and the ritual incorporation of the follower into Christ. Here we must return to examine the description Paul provides of what it means to become "sons of God" in Christ Jesus through πίστις (3:26) at the moment of baptism (3:27). Paul's description merits reexamination in light of the Anatolian context described in Part B and of the understanding of Paul's rhetorical strategy in this context under discussion in Part C.

For the individual, baptism is the marker event between THEN and NOW. In relation to God as the metaphorical *paterfamilias*, incorporation into πίστις Χριστοῦ marks the emergence of the individual from παῖς status (as a child under a pedagogue or one of the guardians) to the status and relationship of an adult son of God, in Christ.¹³ In the baptismal ritual the individual becomes a "son of God" specifically by "putting on Christ" (ἐνδύω). The implication is some change of clothing, whether understood literally or metaphorically, which "envelops" the individual in the identity of Christ. The image of this

¹³In this present project, the precise relation of "sons of God" and "sons of Abraham" cannot be adequately addressed in relation to the Anatolian context. Additional complexity must be acknowledged here which cannot be fully examined. The implication of adult sonship is the same in both cases, however.

"adulthood" achieved in "putting on" Christ is expressed as the dissolution of three specific divisions: Jew and Greek, slave and free, and male and female. To "put on" Christ thus means to enter into the boundary transgression appropriate to the *limen* in a ritual of incorporation.

The statement in 3:28 has frequently been identified as a baptismal formula, traces of which may also be seen at Rom 10:12, 1 Cor 12:13, and Col. 3:11. Unique to the version in Galatians, however, is the addition of the division "male and female," in a slight variation of grammatical construction from the other two divisions, "οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλλην, οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ." While this is the familiar, "There is neither Jew nor Greek . . . ," it could also be translated in a variety of other subtly different ways such as, "Jew is not present (or possible) nor Greek, slave is not present (or possible) nor free, male and female is not present (or possible.)" The division of gender is somehow conceptualized as distinct from the other two divisions, and Paul sees it worthwhile to include it here.¹⁴

The images, first of "putting on" a divine figure in an initiatory ritual, and second of dissolving major categorical limitations of ethnicity, status, and especially gender, take on particular

¹⁴Whether this was part of the traditional baptismal formula that Paul and the author of Colossians excluded elsewhere, or an addition Paul makes here would require a larger discussion of the evidence and alternative opinions than is possible here. The line of investigation in this project would suggest that Paul has added it to address the Galatians' context, but this is not the only body of evidence which would need to be considered.

significance when viewed against the background of the cult of Cybele and Attis. God, as a male Father, and Christ as the son who gives access to sonship, form an implicit contrast to the Mother of the Gods and Attis. To be baptized as a son of God, not castrated as a *παῖς* or slave (*δοῦλος*) of the Mountain Mother, is to be clothed in Christ, not in Attis or in the cultic-female garb of the *galli*.

Yet to be clothed in Christ accomplishes a transgression of categories similar to those that Attis and the *galli* accomplish by their castration and change of clothing. In one sense, Paul appears to assure the Galatians here that in baptism they have already passed through the highest form of initiation. Circumcision would be a backward step, not forward. Whatever allure circumcision would provide by similarity to self-castration on this score is already accomplished.

In this boundary transgression, Christ also provides an "interstitial position" to rival that of the *galli* or the "circumcised-like-*galli*." What Paul indicates in Gal 3:26-8 is that this baptismal boundary transgression is not a temporary state to be redifferentiated once the ritual *limen* has been crossed but an ongoing boundary-transgressing state in Christ. In Christ, the baptized follower is incorporated into a permanent liminal state as an "interstitial position" similar to the interstitial position of the *galli* in Attis as "neither male nor female" and as "slaves of the deity" who represent the divine. Likewise the volatile power of the liminal interstitial position is available to the Galatians already because of their baptism in Christ. This puts the community constituted in Christ

as "sons of God" through πίστις (3:26) who are "one in Christ Jesus" (3:28d), in an interstitial position as extensions of Christ. However, their position is, by implication, superior to the *galli*'s interstitial position as court eunuchs of the goddess, since they are sons and heirs, not slaves, and extensions of the son of the *paterfamilias*, not of a mere slave-concubine.

The implication is that incorporation into Christ accomplishes some of what would potentially attract a young man in the Anatolian context to be "incorporated" into Attis as a *gallus*, as discussed in Chapter 8. In the process, Christ is also cast opposite Attis. This will become clearer in Chapter 11 as we reexamine the implications of Christ as a curse and the role of the crucifixion in the structure of Paul's rhetorical strategy.

10.3 Summary

In this chapter we have seen that the "Two Ways" structure in Galatians, examined in Chapter 9, is time-dependent. We have seen that Paul views time in three phases which correspond metaphorically to the development of the male head of household in the Greco-Roman family system. The NOW which corresponds to adulthood and incorporation and being entrusted with the family inheritance was seen to be equated to the positive "way" seen in Chapter 9. The negative "way" was equated to THEN as the time of the future heir's enslavement in childhood. The future heir's eventual emergence from slave status into adulthood was established by his birth status BEFORE THEN. With the events which delineated these three phases of development a five-fold structure was

seen which was reflected at several levels in time. These included the salvation-historical, Paul's own "autobiography of salvation" and the history of his relationship with the Galatians and with the Jerusalem church, and ritual history, as well as the metaphor of the development of the future heir.

The crucial juncture of time for Paul's rhetorical strategy appears at the marker between THEN and NOW. In the liminal position formed at this juncture it is possible by incorporation into one of the guides over the "way" of THEN, specifically by circumcision which incorporates the follower into the Law, to move backward. This is Paul's major concern. He wants to continue the Galatians' incorporation in the NOW both opened and maintained by πίστις Χριστοῦ. We saw that several aspects of meaning are summarized in the phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ, and that the phrase must be understood as both event and relationship. Also included in the ritual incorporation into Christ by baptism is the aspect of boundary transgression and a continuing interstitial position. This aspect points us toward the focus of Chapter 11 which will indicate how Paul presents Christ and his crucifixion as superior to Attis and his castration.

CHAPTER 11

CHRIST CRUCIFIED AS THE GUARDIAN AT THE GATE: CURSES AS THREATS AND PROTECTIONS IN ANOTHER LOOK AT GALATIANS 3:6-14

In the last two chapters we have discussed the basic structure which undergirds Paul's rhetorical strategy as it appears in the context of Anatolia. We have seen that the choice which Paul delineates for his audience between "Two Ways" represented by circumcision or baptism was also a choice between forward progress in development or regression. The choice between the positive way of the Spirit and the negative way of the Flesh was also a choice between remaining in the NOW or returning to THEN. The choice takes place at the crucial juncture in the liminal time between THEN and NOW, and we have seen that the liminal position was associated with the multi-faceted phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ.

This chapter will propose further aspects of the convergence in the liminal position which may be better understood given the Anatolian context and the structure of Paul's rhetorical strategy being suggested here: Christ crucified as curse in the context of the Anatolian divine judicial context discussed in Chapter 3 and in the context of the castrated Attis discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. An interpretation of some of the puzzling aspects of Gal 3:10-14 discussed in Chapter 2 will be proposed in relation to Anatolian popular religiosity. As with

various aspects of the interpretation proposed above, what is elaborated here is what would be consistent with the overall pattern and not an argument which can necessarily stand independently, at least not at this stage of investigation. This chapter should thus be read in the vein of an "alternative solution" as a work-in-progress which emerges from data from the Anatolian context of Galatians which has not previously been considered. Full integration of this "solution" with interpretations based on elements of the "Jewish zone" will require further study.

The first section of the chapter will consider the notion introduced in the last chapter of the connection between πίστις Χριστοῦ and the *limen* between THEN and NOW as it relates to the notion of Christ as a curse (11.1). This will be examined in light of the background of curses in Anatolia and the cult of Cybele and Attis (11.2), and Christ as a curse will be considered against the background of Attis (11.3).

11.1 Πίστις Χριστοῦ in the Liminal Position and the Abomination of Christ Crucified

Given the structure of the "triple analogy" as it corresponds to THEN and NOW presented in the last two chapters, the aspect of πίστις Χριστοῦ as it relates to the crucifixion merits further attention. Crucifixion is seen in the liminal position at several points in the letter and can be seen in several layers in the liminal position between THEN and NOW shown in fig. 18. While the crucifixion is inseparable from the resurrection as the transformative event on all levels, a focus on the crucifixion will be helpful for a more ample understanding of Gal 3:10-14 provided by the background of the Anatolian context.

Christ's crucifixion forms the major boundary marker in salvation history as Paul presents it between THEN under the Law and στοιχεῖα and NOW in the "new creation." In Paul's own life "salvation history" he speaks of the event which marks the difference between THEN as his former life as a persecutor of the church and a Jew zealous for the Law and NOW in Christ not only as a "revelation" of "Christ in me" (1:16) but also as "co-crucifixion" with Christ (2:19). Crucifixion of the Flesh with its passions and desires also distinguishes those who are "of Christ Jesus" (5:24), and is thus a boundary marker between the "Two Ways." The position of the crucifixion as a *limen*-defining event provides a context in which to return to Galatians 3.

We have seen in Chapter 9 that Paul reminds the Galatians of the "public display" or "public writing" (προεγράφη) of Christ crucified as if it should have in some way warded off the "evil eye" (3:1). It was suggested that this could indicate an apotropaic function for the image of Christ crucified. This would be consistent with position of the crucifixion in the liminal position in the structure of time as it has been described, as is indicated in fig. 19.

THEN	Marker	NOW
THEN as Time Ruled by Law-Mother and Στοιχεῖα	Crucifixion of Christ	NOW as Time of Sonship in Christ
Law-Mother Who Casts "Evil Eye" <i>Mania</i> of Circumcision	Image of Christ Crucified as Protection	Galatians Protected in Gospel Without Circumcision
(Paul Dies to Law)	(Paul Dies to Law As Co-Crucifixion)	(Paul Lives in Christ)
(Flesh)	(Crucifixion of Flesh)	(Spirit)

Fig. 19. The position of the crucifixion at the *limen*.

What can be seen in this juxtaposition is that the crucifixion opens the way into NOW from THEN by killing the control that the guide of the former way, whether designated as Law or Flesh, had over the follower. The crucifixion is thus quite coherently associated with the *limen* of initiation into the new way. Yet it also appears in Paul's portrayal to "guard the gate," to form a protection for the new initiate into Christ from the pursuit of the past forces of control which might try to overtake him and bring him back to into the domain of THEN, ruled by the Mountain Mother in whatever form she might appear.

Thus the image of Christ crucified can be seen as apotropaic against the Law's cursing or entrancing power. To use Mary Douglas's words about the power of "abominations" in the liminal position, "Then suddenly we find that one of the most abominable or impossible [abominations] is singled out and put into a very special kind of ritual frame that marks it off from other experience." That "abomination" has

tremendous power.¹ Here Christ crucified has this tremendous power of the *limen* and guards the "gate" to NOW against the Law as a threatening figure or curse-laden text.² In the process, as we will see, Christ and his crucifixion is proposed as a more effective and abominable abomination than Attis and his castration.

11.2 Abomination and Curse: Curses in Galatians

The role of cursing as threat and protection in the Anatolian context can be seen in this connection. The double curse at Gal 1:6-9 forms an initial example, which should function as a warning to the Galatians. Given the Anatolian context, it probably is intended to function more than rhetorically. While the curse is against the preachers, it also sets boundaries for the Galatian audience enforced by their belief in the real effectiveness of curses. By invoking a curse to protect the gospel as he preached it originally, he hopes also to protect the Galatians from any other influences. He specifically wards off the influence of others who might present themselves as *angeloi* from

¹See 6.3.1.

²Christ crucified also has apotropaic significance in Paul's reference to the marks on his body. He raises them up to ward off the menace of anyone who would trouble him. Just as Christ crucified guards the "gate" of time from the menace of the Law, so also the marks of Christ protect Paul.

heaven (1:8), as some form of messengers from a deity known and obeyed in the Anatolian context, as was seen in Chapter 3.³

Cursing takes on a more complex significance in Gal 3:10-14, however. This passage poses a series of difficulties which were discussed in Chapter 2. We can now return to these to propose a revised interpretation based on what we have seen of the context of Anatolian popular religiosity and of the structure of Paul's rhetorical strategy in Galatians.

11.2.1 *Negative Portrayal of Law*

The basic factor of the negative portrayal of the Law which pervades the letter appears at its most extreme when Paul identifies the Law as a threatening curse (3:10,13). While nothing in the interpretation of Galatians proposed here or in the previous chapters does much to mitigate this negative portrayal of the Law, it can be seen that the intensity of Paul's negative portrayal stems not so much from a direct antagonism to Judaism or the Law itself as from the identification Paul makes between the Law as it functioned in his own "pre-Christ" experience and the Mother of the Gods in his audience's "pre-Christ" lives. This identification originates, in turn, not from some inherent quality of the Law itself so much as from the association of circumcision and ritual castration. The aspect of the Law as a

³Paul's curse also functions as an agonistic curse against his opponents. See Faraone, "The Agonistic Context."

threatening curse as Paul portrays it in Gal 3:10-14 must also be seen in this light.

To understand this it will be helpful to recall the context of the divine judicial system in Anatolia, explored in Chapter 3. We saw that a petitioner would seek a resolution for an offense by placing a curse or "judicial prayer" before one or more of the enforcing deities in the form of a written petition or a scepter placed in the temple or both. A curse could also be written to invoke the deities' response as protection against some offense which might occur, as in the case of the many protective funerary curses. The curse or petition incites the seeking and punishing action of the enforcing deity, as a kind of "roving eye" which is powerful to effect punishment once the deity identifies the culprit. The seeking continues unless and until the scepter is removed or the curse erased, or until a confession is made publicly in some visible form.⁴ In some cases this removal was described in the language of manumission from slavery.⁵ What can be seen is the integral connection between the written word and the action of the deity.

With this "divine judicial system" in the background, the Law both as text and as "figure" takes on a meaning from its context with which Paul must contend. Circumcision, as he sees it, would align the

⁴The visible form that we can identify are the confession inscriptions discussed in Chapter 3. If other forms were used they may not survive or may not be clearly identifiable.

⁵See the discussion of the *λυτῶν* inscriptions at 3.2.4.2 and below.

Galatians with the Law cast as a Mountain Mother and put them in a relationship of fear of the Law as a text which the Law-Mother enforces by threat of punishing action. The problem with the Law is not found so much in the Law itself or in Paul's attitude toward it because of his experience in Christ as what it would mean for the Galatians.⁶

Paul also uses the meaning that the Law would derive from the Anatolian context for his own rhetorical purposes. The introduction of the idea of Law as a curse would pose a real threat to an Anatolian audience, given their concept of a divine judicial system. In the background is the picture of the temple where written curses are left, perhaps with a scepter, as a written indictment against an offender whom the deity will "seek out" with effective vision until a just punishment is rendered. If we think of the Law visually in those terms from the viewpoint of an Anatolian, the threat of the Law as a curse becomes terrifying indeed. While the letter gives us no reason to assume that the Galatians knew much of the content of the Jewish Law, they would be likely to be aware of what copies of it looked like in Jewish synagogues and temples. If they had not seen it, they would probably know about it. Consider the belief in the inherent power of written words backed by the awesome power of an omnipotent deity. Then consider scrolls and scrolls of words describing possible offenses which could produce divine punishment without warning. Then hear Paul's quotation from that very

⁶The contention here is that Paul interprets his own experience (e.g. "dying to the Law") with a persuasive purpose for the Galatians. His primary concern is not his own relationship to the Law but what he fears the Law will do to the Galatians.

set of words that "Cursed is everyone who does not remain in all the things written in the book of the Law to do them." (3:10) Considering the many words and the power of the "divine roving eye" to enforce them, this would be an ominous threat for his audience, a threat from which they would desire protection.⁷ The Law here, as a curse or judicial prayer writ large, functions not just as a threat of punishment for a specific offense or an individual culprit but as a broad protection against offense in general, a curse on a salvation-historical scale.

11.2.2 *Self-Evidence of Ἔργα Νόμου as a Curse*

In Chapter 2, one difficulty of Gal 3:10a-b was discussed, that Paul somehow assumes that it would be self-evident that to be ἔξ ἔργων νόμου is to be "under a curse," and that this explains the previous verse, that those who are from πίστις are blessed with the πίστις of Abraham (3:9). While Paul's citation of Deut 27:26 in Gal 3:10c explains the notion further, given the interpretation of Gal 3:1-5 given in Chapter 9 the notion of ἔργα νόμου as "under a curse" would not be jolting to the audience. If a picture of the Law as a figure who casts the evil eye is emerging, then being overtaken by the *mania* or evil eye and hence performing the ἔργα of such a figure would be readily intelligible as being "under a curse." The ἔργα would be a sign of such a curse just as δυνάμεις are signs of divine possession.

⁷The power of anyone who could read and interpret that text would also be immense and could lead to the kind of social relationship ("slavery") with which Paul contends.

11.2.3 *Reversals of Plain Reading of Citations from the OT*

The citation of Deut 27:26, as the first of what appeared in Chapter 2 to be reversals of a plain reading of the Jewish scripture, further explains this for an Anatolian audience. We should recall that Deut 27:26 is a warning to obey what is written in the Law, and would indicate that doing what is written is a blessing while disobedience brings a curse. That is how a Jew or someone familiar with Jewish scripture would hear it.

Paul, however, quotes the verse not to Jews but to Anatolian gentiles in their own distinct divine judicial context. He cites the curse as a threat to warn them away from the entire domain or "zone" of the Law-Mother and the Law as the text she would enforce upon them. Once being "possessed" by the ἔργα of the Law, the curse written in it applies in full. When the "roving eye" has identified its mark as one of the "ἀνόητοι Γαλάται," the huge scroll of the written Law takes effect and the person so "spied out" must comply or risk the consequences.

The same twist applies to the second of the puzzling citations mentioned in Chapter 2. At Gal 3:12 Paul cites Lev 18:5. Heard from a Jewish perspective, it declares that obedience to Law is life-giving. For his Anatolian audience, Paul knows, however, that in the context he has already provided, the words are a threat of permanent consequences. Like the *galli* who have been marked by the ἔργα of the Mother of the Gods and must live forever with what they have done to themselves under the control of her *mania*, those who let themselves be circumcised as a

mark of the ἔργα of the Law must live forever with the consequences, which include the massive force of the applicability of the entire written word of the Law. Those who "do these things" must forever live in the domain of the Law, cast as Mountain Mother and Anatolian enforcer deity.

11.2.4 *Questions in Galatians 3:13*

Given the fact that the Law is written and enforced by an omnipotent deity, why is it not simply "the way things are?" The answer is that that was, indeed, the way things were THEN. Christ's crucifixion, as has been said, opens the way into NOW in which the "curse of the Law" no longer has force. How this operates in the Anatolian context is seen in a new interpretation of Gal 3:13 offered by proposing some answers to the questions posed about it in Chapter 2.

To review, the verse reads, "Christ redeemed (ἐξηγόρασεν) us from the curse of the Law (κατάρας τοῦ νόμου) when he became (γενόμενος) a curse for us (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα), for it is written, 'Cursed (Ἐπικατάρατος) is every one who hangs upon a tree (ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου).'" The questions included: how Christ is considered to have "become a curse," what it means that Christ "redeemed" us from a curse by becoming a curse, how Paul can dare to speak of the "curse of the law," and how "hanging on a tree" is explanatory.

We have already discussed how the Law could readily appear as a curse in the Anatolian context and how threatening it would be. Paul describes Christ's action to remove "the curse of the Law" using the verb ἐξαγοράζω, "to redeem." Christ's action appears to function in

much the same way that some of the confession steles removed or dissolved the curses or judicial prayers against individual culprits. He "redeems" the curse in much the same way that the λύτρον inscriptions removed the punitive effect of curses or offenses against the deities which would place the culprit under punishment, as was discussed in Chapter 3.

Like the λύτρον inscriptions, the removal of the curse at Gal 3:13 uses the language of manumission from slavery, consistent with Paul's concatenation of polar oppositions discussed in Chapter 9. Christ's "redemption" from the curse of the Law THEN to the blessing of the πίστις of Christ and Abraham NOW corresponds to "redemption" from slavery THEN to adult sonship NOW.⁸ The time of the rule of the Law as one of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου and as a Mountain Mother enforcer deity is ended in Christ's "redemptive" action of crucifixion which makes the Law ineffective "for us" as a curse writ large and powerless as a master-deity.

The means by which Christ accomplishes this "redemption" Paul says is "by becoming a curse for us." We saw in Chapter 2 that this could mean becoming the object of a curse, and that various interpretations have included understandings of Christ as a scapegoat while others have emphasized the notion of "interchange." In the context of the Anatolian divine judicial system, Christ as a curse himself could also take a protective role to counter the threatening curse of the Law. The public

⁸Blessing is impelled by the written word of scripture as a BEFORE THEN condition in the promise to Abraham.

inscription of Christ crucified (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος, 3:1) could indicate such a protective function. In the divine judicial system in which the Law would appear as a threatening curse, "becoming a curse on our behalf" could thus mean something closer to "standing as a curse on our side." The image of Christ crucified, whether vividly described or visually or dramatically represented, could take the place of a scepter which would represent a curse. The implication is that Christ himself stands as the scepter would. It is not just his image which stands crucified but he himself at the "gate of salvation history, as a "counter-curse" powerful enough to cancel the curse of the Law.⁹

The protective power of Christ as a curse derives nevertheless from the crucifixion as an abomination. Crucifixion provides evidence that Christ has become a curse or cursed under the Law because of the quote Paul cites from Deut 23:13. He becomes a curse or accursed because "It is written, 'Cursed is everyone who hangs upon a tree (or wood beam).'" A reading of this verse in the context of Anatolia can offer another layer of meaning. Behind that tree on which the accursed one hangs are we must consider the images of Attis.¹⁰

One image is Attis as the pine tree. Paul's quotation from scripture would evoke in the minds of Anatolian listeners the scene of the tree hung with images of Attis and his funeral entourage who mourn

⁹The image created functions at a cosmic and meta-historical level envisioned on the basis of what was done in local worship sites.

¹⁰Images of the flayed Marsyas must also be taken into consideration, but a study of his function in the religious life of Anatolians is beyond the scope of this project.

him and who bury the tree as a surrogate for his body to remove the curse from the land. Attis who has caught the eye of the goddess because of his comeliness and who has consequently been infused with her jealous rage so that he castrates himself and dies has surely become the object of a "curse." Yet as the tree, mourned and buried, he also removes the curse so that the people and the land may be blessed. In this sense he has a meta-apotropaic function similar to Paul's portrayal of Christ.

A related image of Attis is seen in the *galli* as his surrogates. They begin with the declarations of the guilt of disloyalty also heard from Attis himself in the mythic narratives. As the *mania* of the goddess seizes them, they mutilate and bloody themselves, pouring forth a desire to show absolute loyalty to the goddess who holds them in her power. Like Attis, they also bear the "curse" of the goddess's glance and enact it upon their own bodies. With their own blood they offer expiation for their offenses against her, to remove the curse. In doing so, they step into the liminal position as a cursed condition and thus function as a protection or "buffer" for the community for the goddess's awesome power.

In the divine judicial system writ large, as Paul presents it to his Anatolian audience, Christ has functioned for those "under the Law," for the Jews in the first instance, in the same way that Attis and the *galli* function for the Anatolian communities under the power of their guardian goddesses. He becomes that protection in the *limen* to protect the people from the curse of the Law. At the same time, his crucifixion

takes the place of the self-mutilation induced by the *mania* of the Mountain Mother or by the evil eye of the Law. This gives the Galatian gentiles a picture of effective action that they can understand. This is the "abomination" in the liminal position that Mary Douglas discusses, which becomes the source of power. Christ crucified functions in the same way as Attis castrated. Yet this does not cast Christ as "a mere Attis," something Paul would in no way concede. Christ functions as Attis but he and his action are viewed as definitively effective.

11.3 Attis and Christ in the Liminal Position

In isolation the reference at Gal 3:13 to Christ hanging on a tree would not provide sufficient evidence for a comparison to Attis, yet it becomes intelligible in the larger analogical structure of Galatians. Both are figures who personify the power of the *limen*, both as abomination and as boundary-transgression. We have already seen the similarity of Christ's boundary transgression as Paul expresses it at 3:26-9 to that of Attis, particularly in his emphasis on the transgression of gender categories. Here we have seen that Christ also takes the place of Attis as a curse and an abomination who fills a vital function in the protection of his community.

What distinguishes Paul's Christ from Attis, however, is the nature of the *limen* in which he stands crucified. Attis as the pine tree cut and mourned and buried in the annual festival and as the androgynous liminal shepherd-king stands between societal categories and between seasons. He and the *galli* who represent him stand also in the volatile

limen between the awesome Mother of the Gods and the communities devoted to her, as extensions and mediators of her power. Attis does not stand in a historical *limen* as Paul's Christ does.

Paul presents Christ's crucifixion as a single effective action in history. This makes it different from the action of Attis. Because Attis perpetually mediates the power of the Mother of the Gods as her "*puer* forever," he and the *galli* like him represent the phase of enslavement in Paul's developmental structure of time. Christ "redeems" followers from that phase of time not by perpetually mediating the power of the Law-Mother in childhood-enslavement but by an action which opens another phase of history over which neither the Law nor the Mother rules. Circumcision would perpetuate that relationship to the Law-Mother, but in baptism and reception of the Spirit, followers pass ritually into the new phase of time and thus join in the Son-Father relationship as the adulthood Christ represents. The crucifixion marks that passage and in it, for Paul, the curse of the Law and the power of the Mother are both broken and the time of "blessing" can begin.¹¹

The "adulthood" into which followers become incorporated in Christ, however, bears some significant similarities to "adulthood" in Attis. Christ crucified, in whom there is "no male and female," after all, is not the expected image of the adult Greco-Roman citizen male. Like Attis, as a boundary transgressor and an abomination he forms a

¹¹The relationship of this blessing to status as "sons of Abraham" is a significant issue for subsequent investigation.

perpetual *limen*, and his followers form an interstitial position, not in the existing society but, for Paul, in the interstices of time.

11.4 Summary

In this chapter we have seen how the curse language in Galatians can be understood in light of the divine judicial system of central Anatolia and in the context of the structure of Paul's rhetorical strategy, described in Chapters 9 and 10. This has provided a context for Paul's portrayal of Christ's crucifixion against an Anatolian backdrop. Christ is seen as a permanent liminal figure similar to Attis, but he stands crucified at the *limen* of a history which makes possible a "new creation" or a "new foundation," not in the interstices of divine and human in the previous phase of history.

CHAPTER 12

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND A RE-READING OF GALATIANS

This dissertation has attempted to read Galatians "on location." To do so has meant an extended detour from the text of the letter itself through the world of the audience in central Anatolia of the first century C.E., a world where people were continuing to construct meaning for themselves in a bewildering array of overlapping "zones." In this summary chapter, we will briefly review the picture of that world which has emerged and the rhetorical situation for Paul when he finds that adherents to his "gospel" are being confronted with the choice to be circumcised (12.1). Then we will outline the ways in which Paul draws both positive and negative constraints from the Anatolian context which has been described (12.2). Finally, a review of the letter itself in order will provide the real "re-reading" (12.3).

12.1 A Review of the Context of Galatians

12.1.1 *The Picture in Brief: Anatolian Popular Religiosity*

A picture of the first century Anatolian world emerges as life lived in full view of powerful deities who effectively enforced a form of retributive justice. Among them the Mother of the Gods, ruling from the local mountain as an overseeing physical presence and nurturing her

children in the cities and towns devoted to her from her forested flanks and the fertile plains below them.

Representatives of the Mother of the Gods, whether as wandering bands of *galli* or as servants in her temple state, display her power in bloody manifestations of her *mania*. They become permanently "possessed" by her when they castrate themselves under the influence of her *mania*, a "possession" continuing in ecstatic blood-letting displays. For Anatolian devotees of the Mother, such displays would be reminders of their Mother's power. Those in whom the Mother worked so visibly would be figures who commanded her followers' attention, both because they were her extensions and because of the other boundary-transgressing aspects of their identity as *galli*. In an interstitial position between divine and human, they also transgress the boundary between male and female in a manner which draws attention. Like the court eunuchs of absolutely powerful divine monarchs, they form an interstitial "buffer" for the deity's absolute power by embodying the negative element of her power in the "abomination" of castration.

As castrated figures, the *galli* represent not only the Mother of the Gods but also the divinized priest-king Attis associated with her as a mythical figure. The myths of Attis provide some means to understand the process by which young men became *galli* in what would be the "highest form of initiation" in the cult. These myths and narratives of cult ceremonial displays also show us the role of Attis as the focal point of mourning in the form of a pine tree in the rituals in which the community pours out their grief together with their Mother.

We see, then, the city or town and the countryside, with the mountain looking down upon a people whose lives are kept in order by their Mother-Master.

12.1.2 *The Rhetorical Situation in Brief: Paul's Gospel Meets the Law-Mother*

Enter Paul with a message about Christ crucified and risen. Apparently he succeeded in drawing the eyes of some of these Anatolians to a new "abomination" in the form of Christ crucified (3:1). The gospel that Paul attempts to communicate to these Anatolians, however, is not simply "new characters in an old plot" but a whole new relationship which he has discovered in his experience in Christ.¹ The "abomination" of Christ crucified forms a means of entry not simply into another cult of one of the deities but into a new kind of relationship with the only God and into a new phase of history. Some of these Anatolians have responded to Paul's preaching about this gospel whether or not they fully understood it according to Paul's vision.

In Paul's absence, someone promotes the idea that these Galatian Christians ought to be circumcised. Paul hears about it and recognizes the danger circumcision poses for the gospel of Christ as he understands it. The similarity of circumcision and castration in the Anatolian context presents an attraction for circumcision as the "highest form of initiation" in a new cult and threatens to reconstruct the same pattern

¹Paul's own experience has not been the focus of attention here, but it can be assumed that what he perceives as negative relies upon an experience in which Christ replaced the Law as his "center of gravity."

of relationship with the deity and divine representatives that castration represents. Paul must show them this danger and dissuade them from circumcision before it is too late.

12.2 A Review of Paul's Rhetorical Strategy

To address this situation and defend the continued development of his gospel in the lives of the Galatians, Paul carefully constructs a letter. His strategy relies on his understanding of the popular religious context of his audience. To succeed, his strategy cannot simply jettison all of that context. Paul must rely on some elements of the popular religious understanding of his audience for positive associations with himself and his gospel in order to prevail against what he has identified as negative.

Paul's rhetorical strategy relies on an analogical identification of the Law and the Mountain Mother, as has been seen in what has been called the "triple analogy." The exigence of the rhetorical situation, as has been suggested, was probably produced by the similarity of circumcision to the castration which was the most distinguishing feature of the Mountain Mother's ritual attendants. Indications of the *galli* and Attis can be seen as part of the rhetorical situation at several points in the letter, even though they are not explicitly named. It is not surprising that castration would provide a negative association (which is made explicit at 5:12). What is unexpected is the content of the positive associations found in the letter.

The *galli* and Attis are, like Christ, occupants of a liminal or "interstitial" position. As such they have the double-valent quality

discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, which makes them the objects of ridicule on the one hand and worthy of respect and awe on the other. Part of the complexity of Paul's rhetorical strategy is that he is able to associate circumcision with castration as a negative aspect while also appropriating to Christ and baptism the aspects of the *galli* and Attis associated with the creative power of their liminal state. What is considered positive and what is considered negative are not, however, what might be expected from the viewpoint of the satirists who provide us with so much of our information about the *galli*. To see this we need to review the structure of the analogy with a view first of the negative associations, then of the positive, and then of the associations which continue to be "double-valent."

12.2.1 *Negative Associations*

The basic analogy can be expressed, "Circumcision is to the Law as castration is to the Mountain Mother," or "To be circumcised means to be enslaved to the Law just as to be castrated means to be enslaved to the Mountain Mother." In contrast, "To be baptized and to receive the Spirit is to be freed in Christ and in relation to God."

Circumcision is associated with castration on a number of levels. Each aspect is contrasted to baptism and reception of the spirit. The most obvious identification is that both are actions on the flesh, specifically upon the male genitals. The resulting permanent changes function as indexing signs *par excellence*. Being circumcised as a Jew makes a man a Jew with as much inherent certainty as being castrated as a *gallus* makes a man a *gallus*. Identification with the churches of

Christ in baptism, on the other hand, relies on a ritual which does not change the flesh but the spirit. The relationship must be maintained as an ongoing relationship, not as a physical sign which is inherently permanent.

As an indexing sign, Paul also associates circumcision with castration as a mark of permanent enslavement. This relies, as has been seen, on the picture of regression in development, back across the developmental-ritual line which incorporates the male with the society of adult male heads of household and into re-incorporation with childhood association with slaves as a permanent state. Paul associates circumcision at this developmental juncture, rather than in infancy, with the castration that puts the *galli* into a state of permanent adolescence and permanent enslavement to their goddess. Associated with this role as well is the continuous obligation to self-punishment as the "obligation to the whole Law." Circumcision, like castration, also marks incorporation into a city enslaved under a deity. Baptism and reception of the Spirit, on the other hand, mark incorporation into "free" male society.

The negative associations of circumcision and castration rely primarily on the relationship of enslavement marked by each action on the flesh, in Paul's view. However, enslavement itself is not necessarily negative, as has been seen. The identity of the master is significant as well. Paul plays upon negatively perceived qualities of the Mountain Mother first as an enslaving deity which he associates with the Law. Then he demotes both to enslaved status.

As an enslaving deity, the ability of the Mountain Mother to incite a self-destructive mania in her devotees is associated with the Law as a negative quality. The power of the Goddess and the power of the Law are associated as threatening and destructive forces, as figures which can cast an "evil eye" and who will enforce a written curse. Circumcision is portrayed as a self-destructive action carried out under the influence of the goddess-Law's "mania." It incorporates the person with a destructive master deity. Baptism incorporates the person with figures who are portrayed as life-giving to the person and to the community, by reception of the Spirit. Possession by a divine figure is not the issue so much as the quality of the figure by whom one is "possessed."

The relative power and position of the figures are also unfavorably compared. To be incorporated as a slave to a powerful deity could have significant positive appeal. Such a slave could even experience a certain pride in the self-destructive actions inspired by his "master (κυρία) deity" because they reveal her awesome power and the slave's identity as the extension of such an awesome goddess. Thus, as has been seen, to associate the Law with the Mountain Mother even in her destructive aspect would be insufficient for Paul's rhetorical strategy to dissuade the Galatians from circumcision. He must also remove as much power as he can from the combined image. He does this by appealing to the power of the Law as words to portray the Law as a figure. He identifies the figure of the Law with the Mountain Mother allegorically in the role of the slave-concubine of Abraham. In doing so he brings

the goddess down to human proportions as a woman and even lower as a slave, and the Law comes down with her. Incorporation by circumcision or castration as the the son of such a slave-concubine would, Paul hopes, lose its allure.

Baptism and reception of the Spirit, on the other hand, incorporate the person as a the son by a legitimate wife. The power of the positive female figure in the allegory is not the greatest consequence. She is Jerusalem above, higher than the Mountain Mothers, and she rejoices where the slave-concubine Mountain Mother mourns and weeps. The real comparison, however, consists in the fact that by means of her the son is incorporated with the "real God" who is the Father.

Negative associations of the opposition with the cult of the Mountain Mother can also be seen in the portrayal of some of the behaviors of the advocates of circumcision as *galli*-like. This was suggested as probable in the accusation that they fawn over the Galatians to serve their own purposes and in their "boasting in the flesh." The first several items listed as behaviors which are works of the flesh also have strong correspondence to the known or widely suspected activities of the *galli*. Other activities of the circumcision advocates, such as the furtive spying of the "false brothers" at Jerusalem and the characterization of them as "accusers," are probably based on Paul's view of the opponents' actual behavior. The related negative behaviors which produce community discord and activity described as "devouring each other" indicate Paul's fears for these communities under the destructive influence of the negative guidance of

the Flesh and the Law. Paul's self-portrayal and his descriptions of the "fruits of the Spirit" and "*pistis* working through *agape*" are, by contrast, cast in a very positive light.

Negative associations between circumcision and the cult of the Mountain Mother are thus seen in the relationship of slavery, in the identity of the enslaving force, and in the behavior of the "enslaved." Yet, as has been noted, such an association with castration as negative is hardly surprising. What is unexpected is what is missing from this picture. Given the portrayals of the cult by the Greco-Roman satirists, what would be expected is a negative association based on the effeminacy of the *galli* and their disturbing gender transgression. Just the opposite proves to be the case.

12.2.2 *Positive Associations*

In Part B we saw that Attis and the *galli* occupy an interstitial position which transgresses the boundaries characteristic of the Greco-Roman world. In Attis and the *galli*, the eastern "barbarian" king is also the western Greek shepherd-deity, the human is an extension of the divine, death is a form of life and life a form of death, and male and female are confused in a liminal state of perpetual adolescence. The most prominent of these boundary transgressions is the gender confusion. This gender transgression is precisely what Paul makes a special point of assuring the Galatians that they have accomplished when they "put on Christ" in baptism. While a negative association is made with the perpetual adolescence of Attis and the *galli* and their perceived failure to develop fully as adult males, Christ is positively

"not male and female." To "put on Christ" is to step into the *limen* between genders with him, whether individually or as a community, and this is a good thing according to Paul. What this means concretely in the life of the community is unclear, however. While there is no reason to assume that the Galatian gentile Christians clothed themselves as "transvestite Christs" after their baptism or that the "re-clothing" represents a permanent change of costume as it would for the *galli*, their gender ambiguity itself is viewed positively.

The other boundaries specifically transgressed by Christ in the liminal position are the ethnic boundaries between Jew and Greek and the status boundaries between slave and free. The boundary demarcation between Jew and Greek is so inherently connected to circumcision as the major issue in the letter that Christ's transgression of this boundary is obviously necessary. This is the major *limen* formed in the event of Christ.

More complex, however, is the division between slave and free. Much of the letter relies metaphorically upon this division. "Free" is the category to be in, incorporated into the society of other free adult male heads of household. "Slave" is the category not to be in. Yet this is a boundary transgressed in Christ, according to the baptismal formula that Paul apparently cites (3:28). This formula is understandable as integral to the context, not just as a quotation, if status or categorization according to the "human way" is distinguished from the metaphorical status and categorization according to the "divine way." Throughout the letter the "human way" is associated with the mode

of relationship between slave and master while the "divine way" is associated with the mode of relationship between fathers and sons as present and future heads of household and among male heads of household in free society. In baptism in Christ such division at the human level is transgressed. The divine mode of relationship is possible in the liminal space created by Christ because of the transgression of the human status boundary.

The importance of Christ's presence and action in the liminal position as a liminal figure is readily apparent. Here other positive associations are found between Attis and the *galli* who represent him and Christ. We saw that the role of the image of Christ crucified as "hung on a tree" can be seen against the background of Attis on the tree and as the tree. Both the castrated Attis and the crucified Christ have immense power in the liminal position as "abominations" which can absorb and transform the awesome destructive power of the Goddess and Law to curse by word or by eye, or both. Such power as an "abomination" in the liminal position is viewed positively. The analogical relationship could be expressed, "Christ crucified is to the Law and the Curse of the Law as the castrated Attis-Tree is to the Mountain Mother." Crucifixion thus takes on the positive function of castration as an abomination.

Paul's own identification as Christ's slave and as Christ's *angelos* also appropriates the thorough identification of the *galli* with their deity as positive, even though the relationship of slavery is otherwise viewed negatively as has been much discussed. What he appropriates positively is the prophetic role of the *galli* and other "*angeloι*" of the

deities. Paul establishes the authority of his words primarily on the basis of their divine source, and his credibility is greatly enhanced for his audience by his identification with a divine figure, as has been discussed. The thoroughness of Paul's identification with Christ crucified, in co-crucifixion, also mirrors the complete identification of the *galli* with Attis, by "co-castration." He thus takes up not only the power of the divine figure as divine but also the power of the abomination of the divine figure's actions.

Paul manifests this "co-crucifixion" in the marks of Christ upon him. This forms another positive association with the *galli*. The marks upon them show the power of their goddess and her claim upon them. As part of their "marked" identity, they are protected by her power and can enter unharmed into poisonous vapors. Likewise with the voice of her drums they can ward off the threats of the lions. Paul, likewise, marked with the *stigmata* of Christ is protected from those who would attack him. In the strength of this protection he "stands firm."

What can be seen in this is that the position of Christ crucified in the *limen* makes identification with the crucifixion an essential element of baptism for all participants. Circumcision is negatively identified with castration as a mark of enslavement to a weaker divine figure. In that sense, as an action upon the flesh, circumcision is undesirable and negative because it is too much like castration. Baptism as an action involving the Spirit is positive by contrast. Yet circumcision is also inferior because it is not abominable enough. Christ's crucifixion as an abomination is positively powerful like

castration, but more so. Baptism brings the participant under the protection of the power of the crucifixion as "a curse for us."

What can be seen in Paul's use of both positive and negative associations with the cult of the Mountain Mother is, on the one hand, that the creative power of the *limen* is essential in Paul's understanding of Christ and that power must also be positively acknowledged in Attis and the *galli*. On the other hand, the negative associations are primarily based on an image of developmental regression.

12.2.3 *Ambiguous Associations*

More ambiguous are the elements of the pattern as they relate to the identity of the *galli* as the court eunuchs of the goddess. By reliance on Christ as the seed of Abraham who creates an ongoing family lineage of "true sons" by *pistis*, Paul indicates dependence on the deity for a family lineage. Such dependence is an aspect of the "natal alienation" of court eunuchs of both divine and human rulers. Able to establish no family line of their own, they are truly slaves not only because their offspring have no legal recognition as theirs but because they can have no offspring. In this sense, the sons of God in Christ inherit the Kingdom of God as extensions of the deity, just as the *galli* "inherit" as court eunuchs. This is expressed in relation to Christ as a death to the former self which functions metaphorically as the social death of slavery. Paul as a "slave of Christ" in the divine way, similar to the *galli*, gives up his former self in his death to the Law and the "human way." His only lineage is in Christ.

The difference, however, is in the mode of relationship and the ongoing life assumed at several points in the letter. The mode of relationship has already been much discussed, so that the contrast of the relationship of monarch and court eunuchs to the relationship of father and sons should be self-evident. The ongoing lineage would also be seen in the resurrection which begins in Christ's being raised from the dead and is seen in the contrast of "dying to the law and living to God." "Our" mother as Jerusalem above also indicates this assumption. This life stands in contrast to the social death of slavery in a literal or metaphorical temple state which would characterize the court eunuchs.²

Passage from death to life happens in the liminal position where the creative power is also found. Paul's rhetorical strategy upholds the importance of Christ's role in forming that liminal position as an opening from THEN to NOW and into the future, in establishing that liminal or interstitial position as a "New Creation," and in guarding the *limen* against the reintrusion of the categorization of the Law. Paul thus stands upon his gospel of Christ in the *limen*. With Christ in such a position he, like the *galli*, becomes both the luminous focus of attention and the object of accusation and ridicule. He does not,

²Throughout this summary, the contrast of the Hellenistic understanding of the *polis* and the divinely ruled temple state can be seen. Paul's vision could be further analyzed in terms of the project of "Hellenization" of the "enslaved barbarians." This is a related project beyond the scope of the dissertation.

however, concede the re-establishment of the boundaries he believes Christ has broken.

12.2.4 *Summary*

What has been discerned, then, is an undergirding structure for Paul's rhetorical strategy, based on the negative identification of the Mountain Mother with the Law and of castration with circumcision. The contrasting positive alternative relies, however, on some positive associations between elements of Paul's gospel and familiar figures and patterns in Anatolian popular religiosity. To see this undergirding structure has required examination of the parts of the letter out of order and in pieces. It remains to review the letter as it was written.

12.3 A Review of the Letter

Perhaps the clearest way finally to summarize the long journey of this dissertation is to return to the letter and to reread it in the order it was written, incorporating what has been set forth. The core of the letter (2:15-5:1), which contains the passages which have been discussed at length above, will be retranslated and reviewed, mostly verse-by-verse. The portions of the letter which precede and follow this core will be treated in summaries by section. This division of the letter has been made to focus attention on how the underlying structure of Paul's strategy unfolds in the portions which have occupied our attention in this dissertation and not on the basis of the rhetorical and epistolary structure.

12.3.1 *Galatians 1:1-2:14*

In the salutation (1:1-5), Paul immediately sets forth the polar opposition of human and divine as an implicit choice of "Two Ways" to be an apostle (8.3.1 and 9.2.3.1). This opposition is significant for his presentation of himself in contrast to leaders of the Jerusalem church, as he does in the first part of the letter where he portrays himself as moving by divine revelation and his divine apostleship as a kind of "Christ-possession." (10.2.1.3) Such divine possession would offer a positive identification for his Anatolian audience in light of the divine possession seen in the *galli* and others whose prophetic credibility was established by visible signs of possession (6.4.4-6).

Paul's identification of the actions of Jesus Christ and God the Father in these first verses can also be assumed to encapsulate the content of Paul's "gospel," in the pattern of πίστις Χριστοῦ understood as an action (10.2.1.2). This is the fullest expression in Galatians of the content of Paul's gospel as story (8.3.2).

Where a thanksgiving would be expected, given the structure of his other letters, Paul rebukes the audience for desertion (1:6-9). Their "turning away" or potential apostasy is thus presented as the issue of the letter (8.3.2). From indications later in the letter we know that the primary indication of that apostasy is circumcision, but we can assume that the audience already knows that this is the issue at hand. As Paul tells it, the advocates of circumcision are the "agitators" (8.3.1) who present a "false gospel" as opposed to the true one that Paul had presented (9.2.3.1). Paul's "true gospel" appears as a kind of

code for a message Paul has already shared with the Galatian audience.

Then, not just once but twice, Paul declares a curse upon any other gospel. In particular he preempts the possibility of another message which might be proclaimed by an ἄγγελος (an angel or messenger) from heaven. This indicates that he knows the likely susceptibilities of his Anatolian audience and the best way to protect them, by uttering a curse. Since he has already claimed the divine authorization of his apostleship (1:1), the Anatolian audience would be expected to recognize the effectiveness of his curses. From what we have seen of Anatolian popular religiosity, they would anticipate real consequences for behavior that Paul has placed under a curse. The fact that Paul also places himself under his own curse should he proclaim another gospel adds credibility.

Having protected his gospel with these curses, Paul continues to develop his self-portrayal as a divinely-commissioned apostle, in contrast to mere human apostleship (1:11-2:14). This starts with the questions Paul poses at 1:10, in which he refers to himself proudly as "slave of Christ" (9.1.2.3). He portrays this as a sign of his "Christ-possession," also indicated at 1:15-16 (10.2.1.3), which shows in a lack of concern about "pleasing humans." This is seen as freedom given by divine enslavement (10.2.1.3). Paul presents his own behavior as freedom which can confront the advocates of circumcision (2:5), who are, by contrast, portrayed as people who seek to enslave gentile Christians (2:4; 8.3.1) and as "false brothers" (9.2.3.1-2). The

implication is that the "others" who promote the "other gospel" represent the "other way" of human apostleship and seek to please humans (9.2.3.1). In this contrast Paul applies the positive association with divine possession that the Anatolians would have to himself and his gospel while applying the connotations of enslavement to the "others."

Paul's own behavior before his conversion also fits the profile of the "others" who seek to please humans, as a THEN condition for Paul (1:13; 10.1.3) and as a "persecutor" like the others, to be later identified as sons of Hagar (4:21-5:1; 9.3.3.2). The moral structure of time described in Chapter 10 in terms of BEFORE THEN, THEN and NOW also begins to emerge in this part of the letter, seen particularly as it applies to Paul's own life. This is seen in Paul's own life as was described at 10.1.3, and in the course of the early development of the church in becoming "neither circumcised nor foreskinned," as described at 10.1.4.

12.3.2 *Galatians 2:15-5:1*

The middle portion of the letter which will be reviewed more closely here begins at 2:15-16. It is part of a "segway" from the scene at Antioch. Paul moves out of the autobiographical material and into statement of the issues before the Galatians by quoting his own speech to Peter at Antioch in such a continuous manner that it is difficult to delineate where the speech to Peter ends and the message addressed directly to the Galatians begins. Up to this point in the letter, the major oppositions which have been in focus have been divine vs. human as means of apostleship and free vs. slavish as indicative behavior. At

2:14-15, the opposition shifts to Jew vs. gentiles. Gentiles are equated with sinners and Jews are identified in some unspecified manners with "justification."

With Paul's introduction of the means of "justification," however, the oppositional focus quickly shifts again when the phrases πίστις Χριστοῦ and ἔργα νόμου are first mentioned. The oppositions of divine and human, free and slave, are expressed in a new way in the opposition of these phrases as has been seen. We will proceed from this point, then, by providing paraphrase translations and comment upon the letter one portion at a time.

Gal 2:15-16 Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί, εἰδότες [δὲ] ὅτι οὐ δικαιούται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰ μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν, ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ.

We ourselves, who are Jews by birth and not sinners from among the gentiles, know that a person is not "justified" by results of actions which have their source in Law but by means of a trust-relationship which has its source in Jesus Christ, and we trusted in Christ Jesus, in order that we might be "justified" from trust which has its source in Christ and not from the results of actions which have their source in Law, because all flesh will not be "justified" from results of actions which have their source in Law.

The contrast, as has been noted, shifts to the contrast of ἔργων νόμου and πίστις Χριστοῦ, paraphrased here following the discussion of the phrases in 9.3.2.1 and 10.2.1. The issue also shifts from alternative means of apostleship to alternative means of "justification." It may be inferred that "justification" was one possible motivation for circumcision (8.2.1) and that Paul introduces πίστις Χριστοῦ not only as a superior means but as the only means for

Jews and gentiles alike. In the shift, Christ and the Law also emerge as "guides" associated with the human and divine ways, respectively, with πίστις and ἔργα as alternative means of attachment. Paul clarifies the potential difficulties this might pose in the following verses.

Gal 2:17-18 εἰ δὲ ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ εὐρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἄρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος; μὴ γένοιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἂν κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ, παραβάτην ἑμαυτὸν συνιστάνω.

But if by seeking to be "justified" in Christ we ourselves have been found to be sinners, is Christ then a servant of sin? Certainly not! For if I build up again the things which I tore down, then I show myself as (unite myself with the identity of) a transgressor.

This question about Christ's responsibility for sin emerges as a result of Paul's statement about πίστις Χριστοῦ and ἔργα νόμου in 2:16 because if ἔργα are manifestations of alignment with a "guide," then if the ἔργα of those who are in Christ are sins, Christ might be understood as the source of those sins and a servant of "Sin." Paul provides a disclaimer. The ἔργα of sin are to be associated with the sinner, not Christ. The paraphrase "unite myself with the identity of" is based on the basic meanings conveyed by συνίστημι (συνιστάνω) such as "to associate" and "to unite."³ The "things which I tore down" are the sinful ἔργα which might mistakenly be attributed to Christ. Paul clarifies here that such ἔργα manifest a "transgressor" who is Paul himself, not Christ.

³See *LSJ*, s.v. "συνίστημι," which cites Hdt. 1.103: μαντικὴν ἑαυτῷ συστήσαι, *to bring prophetic art into union with himself, i.e. to win, acquire it.*

Gal 2:19-21 ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω. Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι. ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός· ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν.

For through (or by means of) Law I died to Law so that I might live to God. I have been co-crucified with Christ. And I no longer live, the one who lives in me is Christ. And the life I live now in flesh, I live in a trust-relationship which has its source in the son of God who loved me and gave himself up on my behalf. I do not refuse the favor (kindness done for me) from God. For if "justification" be through (by means of) Law, then Christ died for no purpose.

What is seen here is the application of πίστις Χριστοῦ as an event and action to Paul's own experience of "co-crucifixion" as ἐν πίστει (10.2.1.2). This co-crucifixion is the marker of the beginning of NOW for Paul personally (10.1.3). Crucifixion becomes more clearly identified with πίστις Χριστοῦ as the *limen* (10.2.1).

This clarifies also the "transgressor" who has been "torn down" as the source of ἔργα identifiable as sins. Co-crucifixion with Christ provides the means of attachment to him as a guide, now the guide to the way of "life." That means of attachment is not as an extension but in a relationship expressed as a trust-relationship in πίστις. This is made clear also in the emphasis on the gift from Christ and God. "Justification" comes not from ἔργα in a relationship characterized by command and response as the relationship of master and slave, but from πίστις which comes from a relationship characterized by gift-giving as the relationship of father and son.⁴

⁴This would not be the only relationship in Greco-Roman society which could be characterized by such gift-giving. The relationship of clients, called "friends," and patrons could also fit this description, for example. However, it is the father-son language which predominates

Paul indicates a distinction here in kinds of divine possession. He claims that his divine apostleship is founded in his "Christ-possession" in a co-crucifixion which establishes that Christ lives in him (10.2.1.3). We begin to see the similarity and contrast with the *galli* here. Rather than the Mother who "possesses" and lives in the *galli* by their castration in her *mania*, Christ "possesses" and lives in Paul by his co-crucifixion with Christ. Yet in that "possession" Christ does not seize hold of Paul to own him but rather gives himself on his behalf. Paul is laying the groundwork as well for the identification of Law and Mountain Mother which will be made clearer in the course of the letter when he declares that "through Law I died to Law." This is perhaps clearer if a subtext of the direction of Paul's strategy is supplied in parentheses with the paraphrase:

For by means of Law I died to Law so that I might live to God (just as I will show you that you have died to the Mother and left behind the days of childhood enslavement under Her in order to live by the gospel of Christ in adulthood as sons of God the Father). I have been co-crucified with Christ (not co-castrated with Attis). And I no longer live, the one who lives in me is Christ (not the *mania*-inducing Mother). And the life I live now in flesh, I live in a trust-relationship which has its source in the son of God who loved me and gave himself up on my behalf (not in enslavement to the Law-Mother). I do not refuse the favor (kindness done for me) from God. For if "justification" be through (by means of) Law, then Christ died for no purpose.

What follows begins to develop the "subtext" further and is paraphrased here with the double-meanings already discussed at 9.3.2.2.

Gal 3:1-5 ὁ ἀνόητος Γαλάται, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν, οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος; τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς

in Galatians.

πίστεως; οὕτως ἀνόητοί ἐστε; ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθε; τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῇ; εἶ γε καὶ εἰκῇ. ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως;

O Foolish Galatians (You Galatians like *galli* in a state of goddess-possessed mania!), who (what "goddess") has cast the evil eye upon you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ Crucified was publicly inscribed? This alone I want to learn from you, did you receive the spirit from actions which originate in Law or from hearing about a trust-relationship (or from hearing which originates in a trust-relationship)? Are you so mindless (Are you so overcome by *mania* like the *galli*)? Having begun your initiation in the Spirit are you now consummating it in the Flesh (like the *galli* do)? Did you experience these things for nothing, if indeed it is for nothing? Does the One who furnishes you with the Spirit and effects works of power (true δυνάμεις, not mere ἔργα) in you do so by actions which originate in Law or from hearing which originates in trust (or hearing about a trust-relationship)?

Paul turns from his own experience of co-crucifixion in Christ to the Galatians' experience. He identifies the decision for circumcision with the negative aspects of the *galli*'s self-castration as "completion in the flesh" as a sign of manic possession by the "evil eye" of the Mountain Mother. In this he also introduces the notion of circumcision as a reversal of what should be the "highest form of initiation" in the Spirit, not the flesh (3:3; 8.3.2). Implied is a reversion to their former condition (THEN) where the *galli*'s "completion in the flesh" represented the highest form of initiation, in a world dominated by the punishing eye of the overseeing Mountain Mother. Paul reminds them that Christ crucified (or the public inscription-portrayal of him) should protect them from this, a theme he revisits in 3:10-14 where the "bewitching force" becomes identified as a curse.

While the negative aspects of the ἔργα are associated with the manifestations of the Mother as a possessing "master-owner," the

positive aspects of revelation of divine δύνάμεις are, on the other hand, associated with the Spirit and Christ. The opposition of Spirit and Flesh which will become more prominent from 4:21-5:1 on is introduced here. Spirit is associated with Christ and Flesh with Law.

Paul appeals to the Galatians' own experience of the Spirit to substantiate this, but he also needs a prior condition to found it. He has provided his own life history as a model for the moral structure of time. Paul's THEN condition "under Law" is identified with the Galatians' THEN condition under the eye of the Mother. The corresponding experience of Paul's death to the Law and co-crucifixion with Christ provides the marker for the NOW condition which he wants the Galatians to identify as their own NOW condition in the reception of the Spirit. What is lacking is a BEFORE THEN condition which corresponds to Paul's pre-birth call from God to proclaim Christ among the gentiles (1:15-16). For this he turns to the promise to Abraham in the next verses.

Gal 3:6-9 καθὼς Ἰαβραὰμ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. Γινώσκετε ἄρα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοι υἱοὶ εἰσιν Ἰαβραὰμ. προῖδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοῖ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ θεὸς προευγγελίστατο τῷ Ἰαβραὰμ ὅτι Ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως εὐλογοῦνται σὺν τῷ πιστῷ Ἰαβραὰμ.

Just as Abraham "trusted in God" and it was reckoned to him as "justification," know then that those from trust are sons of Abraham. For the scripture which foresaw that God would "justify" the gentiles from a trust-relationship foretold to Abraham that "All the nations/tribes (gentiles) will be blessed in you." So those from a trust-relationship are blessed with the trust-relationship of Abraham.

Paul anchors a BEFORE THEN condition of birthright and blessing for the Galatians in Abraham (10.1.2). Scripture as written word functions

effectively to foresee the blessing of the gentiles by their inclusion as sons in πίστις as a trust-relationship. The means of attachment in this relationship in which Abraham functions as both father and model appears initially as a typological one. By "trusting" like Abraham did and thus being "justified" like he was, those who trust become "sons of Abraham." They do not need to imitate his circumcision if they imitate his πίστις.

Yet status as sons of Abraham who share the blessing is also established as a prior birth status by the written promise in scripture. This is a divinely-conferred birth status similar to the divine call to Paul from his mother's womb, not by a biological lineage or by ritual action upon the flesh, but nevertheless a prior BEFORE THEN status which places a limit on the duration of the THEN condition which follows. What Paul offers the Galatians here is a birth status already conferred in the promise to Abraham, a promise which confers recognition by the divine *paterfamilias*, a promise which obviates any necessity for circumcision.

In Paul's use of the phrase οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, "those from πίστις" an unspecified verb is implied. What the rest of the context suggested here would indicate is some means of attachment. In paraphrase form, the phrase would thus read, "those attached (to Christ as a guide-figure and through him as sons of Abraham and sons of God) by means of πίστις."

These verses also open the notion of blessing, to be contrasted with the curse Paul presents in the following verses. V. 9 is repeated here, since v. 10 relates so closely to it.

Gal 3:9-12 ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως εὐλογοῦνται σὺν τῷ πιστῷ Ἀβραάμ. ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσὶν· γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά. ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιούται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δῆλον, ὅτι Ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται· ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως, ἀλλ' Ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

So those by means of (attached to Christ as a guide-figure and through him as sons of Abraham and sons of God) a trust-relationship are blessed with the trust-relationship of Abraham. For those from (attached to Law by means of) results of the actions which originate in Law are under a curse. For it is written, "Cursed be anyone who does not remain in all the things which are written in the Book of the Law in order to do them." Now, that no one is "justified" before God in Law is clear, because, "The 'just one will live from a trust-relationship?" And the Law is not from a trust-relationship, but, "The one who does these things will live in them."

Vv. 9 and 10 here continue the contrast of πίστις and ἔργα as a contrast of blessing and curse. The blessing of the gentiles through Abraham was promised securely in the written word of scripture. That blessing is contrasted with the curse likewise assured by the written word of scripture which pronounces a curse on the one who attaches himself⁵ to the Law and does not complete what it commands. The intimidating effect of this image within the framework of the Anatolian divine system of justice, where enforcer deities' punishing action is effectively invoked by written curses (11.2.1). Paul quotes these words at vv. 10 and 12, twisting their meaning by taking them out of context as was discussed in Chapter 2, in an oracular manner to pronounce a curse upon those who attach themselves to Law by using words extracted from it.

As has been pointed out, this portrayal of the Law as a threatening

⁵Given the fact that the means of attachment is circumcision, the male pronoun is appropriate here.

curse is an extremely negative one (11.2.1). The picture, however, of the Law as a curse is consistent not only with the punishing power of the written word when it is enforced by a powerful deity but also with the "evil-eyed force" as the implementation of a curse, as seen at 3:1. The ἔργα are a sign of the curse of the Law as that Mother-like force which attaches devotees to herself or itself by means of ἔργα νόμου.

Gal 3:13-14 Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, ὅτι γέγραπται, Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου, ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γένηται ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law by becoming a curse on our behalf, for it is written, "Cursed be anyone who hangs upon a tree" in order that the blessing of Abraham might come to the nations (gentiles) in Christ Jesus, in order that we might receive the promise of the Spirit by means of "the trust."

The phrase "the curse of the Law" summarizes the presentation in the previous verses. Given the threatening image that a huge text enforced by a powerful deity would have, whether or not one chose to "attach oneself" to it ritually, protection is needed. Paul presents Christ in that role. Christ provides a release from the curse just as the offerings which paid for the confession steles provided release from further penalties for culprits whose behavior was discovered by divine punishment.

His action "on our behalf" fits the pattern of the active sense of πίστις Χριστοῦ (10.2.1.2). This becomes the action of πίστις which confers the blessing of Abraham on the gentiles, as a restatement of 3:6-9. Those ἐκ πίστεως are those who attach to Christ by means of πίστις as trust and are given the opportunity by means of πίστις as a

gift given which establishes that trust-relationship. This begins the NOW condition of fulfillment of the promise to Abraham from BEFORE THEN. The attachment of the individual to Christ in the reception of the Spirit by means of πίστις is actually attachment to the event of πίστις as Christ's action in history in "redeeming us from a curse." This is consistent with Paul's language of "co-crucifixion" as "hanging on a tree." Because of the birth status promised to the gentiles in Abraham BEFORE THEN, this also confers their status as "sons of Abraham" with rights of inheritance of his blessing.

The crucifixion as "hanging on a tree" makes Christ a curse. When this image is viewed with Attis as the pine tree in the background, however, new implications emerge, as has been seen (11.2.4). The crucifixion emerges as an abomination more decisively effective than castration. The notion of circumcision as a modified version of the abomination of castration under the influence of an "evil eye" was implicitly introduced in 3:1-5, contrasted already to Paul's own "co-crucifixion" with Christ as a means of attachment in πίστις. The image of Christ crucified was meant to ward off the influence of such an "evil eye." Now Christ crucified is described as "hanging on a tree" to provide release from the written form of the curse as well as protection from the enforcing power.

Christ is cursed by the curse quoted from Deut 21:23. Simply being subject to such a curse, however, would not provide the release from the curse of the Law that Paul indicates without some further background. Attis dying beneath the pine tree, Attis whose images are hung on the

pine tree, and Attis who is wrapped for burial, mourned in funeral procession, and buried in the form of a pine tree, is also cursed and a curse. By catching the jealous eye of the Mother of the Gods, he becomes subject to her *mania* and castrates himself and so also becomes a protective abomination (11.2.4). This protective or "apotropaic" role of Attis is viewed positively. Hence in Paul's strategy, the positive aspect is appropriated to Christ.

Introduced here, as has been discussed in Chapter 11, is the image of Christ crucified both as the "gate" which opens a NOW condition of πίστις by providing release from the cursed THEN condition of the Law and as the "guardian of the gate" which wards off the continued effect of the far-seeing "eye" of the Law. In the passage which follows, Paul returns more clearly to the notion of the prior assurance of the gentiles' birth status in the promise to Abraham as a status conferred only in Christ.

Gal 3:15-18 Ἀδελφοί, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω· ὅμως ἀνθρώπου κεκυρωμένην διαθήκην οὐδεὶς ἀθετεῖ ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεται. τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ ἐρρέθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ. οὐ λέγει, Καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν, ὥς ἐπὶ πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐφ' ἑνός, Καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, ὅς ἐστιν Χριστός. τοῦτο δὲ λέγω· διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ μετὰ τετρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς νόμος οὐκ ἄκυροί, εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἡ κληρονομία, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας· τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ δι' ἐπαγγελίας κεχάρισται ὁ θεός.

Brothers,⁶ I speak according to human ways (I offer a human example). Once a human will (contract, treaty, covenant) has been legally validated, no one annuls or adds to it. Now the promises

⁶"Brothers and sisters," if women are included in Paul's audience. As has been pointed out, there is nothing in Galatians which points clearly to the presence of women in the community although it is impossible to determine that they were not there. The issue of circumcision does not, in any case, apply directly to women.

were made to Abraham and to his offspring. It does not say, "And to offsprings," as if speaking about many; but as if speaking about one, "And to your offspring," who is Christ. This is what I mean: the Law, which came after four hundred and thirty years, does not annul a covenant (will) previously ratified by God, in order to cancel the promise. For if the inheritance is from the Law, it is no longer from promise; but God gave it to Abraham by a promise.

The illustration here is meant to consolidate the contrast between the promise to Abraham through which the blessing of the gentiles is assured as their BEFORE THEN "birth status" and the curse of the Law which forms a THEN condition for those attached to it. Inheritance rights are assured, according to Paul, by the prior "birth status" in the Promise, and cannot be revoked. It is conferred, however, only through Christ as the "singular offspring."

Gal 3:19-21 Τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελται, διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου. ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστιν. Ὁ οὖν νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν [τοῦ θεοῦ]; μὴ γένοιτο· εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι, ὥντως ἐκ νόμου ἂν ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη.

So why the Law? It was added on account of transgressions, until the offspring would come to whom it was promised (the promise was made), which was arranged by means of *angeloi* in the hand of a mediator. The mediator is not one, but God is one. So is the law against the promises of God? Certainly not! For if the Law was given the power to make alive so also "justification" would be from Law.

These verses pose difficulties which cannot be addressed in this investigation, but it should be noted that the vocabulary of ἀγγέλοι and mediators merits further consideration in light of the Anatolian context. Here we can simply note that Paul opens an explanation for the existence of the Law as something which is part of the "one God's" plans. Paul is about to elaborate the developmental metaphor on which his moral structure of time is based and which will define circumcision

as a backward developmental step. In this context, the purpose of the Law "on account of transgression" fits during the metaphorical period of child-slave status when the child or slave is subject to punishment and not viewed as a full "living" member of society. Being "made alive" as an adult male in this sense requires a transition from this phase that the Law cannot provide. This metaphor is unfolded in Gal 3:19-4:11, as was discussed at length in Chapters 2 and 10.

Gal 3:22-24 ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφή τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν ἵνα ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοθῇ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν. ²³ Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συγκλειόμενοι εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι. ²⁴ ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστόν, ἵνα ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθῶμεν.

But the scripture has confined all things under sin in order that the promise be given to those who attached to Jesus Christ by means of a trust-relationship founded in him. Before the trust-relationship came (Before the events which founded the trust-relationship happened) we were guarded, being confined under Law until the future-intended trust-relationship was to be revealed. So the Law was our pedagogue until Christ, in order that we might be "justified" from a trust-relationship.

Paul now provides a negative picture of time under the Law (THEN) as a time of confinement from which release is desired and expected. The release from the curse of the Law which Christ provides, which Paul has already described in 3:10-14, here becomes release from confinement and more clearly understood as a release at a point in time. The "coming of" and "revelation of" πίστις forms a marker in time between THEN as the time of childhood enslavement under the pedagogue and NOW (10.2.1.2). This begins to define Paul's moral structure of time as it is metaphorically based on the development of the male head of household (10.1.1). This moment occurs in history and in the life of the

individual where baptism is the marker, as Paul describes it in the following verses.

Gal 3:25-29 ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν ἐσμεν. Πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε· οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλληγ, οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι.

Upon the coming of the trust-relationship we are no longer under a pedagogue. For all are sons of God by means of the trust-relationship in Christ Jesus. For whoever is baptized into Christ, you have put on Christ. Jew is no longer present (or possible) nor Greek, slave is not present (or possible) nor free, male and female is not present (or possible). And if you are "of Christ" (from Christ; belonging to Christ), then you are an offspring of Abraham, heirs according to promise.

At this point, the identification of πίστις as a metaphorical or ritual marker for the passage to adulthood is made. Πίστις marks the end of the time "under the pedagogue" (THEN) and begins the time as "sons of God" (NOW) which was assured in the promise to Abraham (BEFORE THEN). Again this marks both a point in history as the end of the time under the pedagogue-Law before the coming of πίστις as an event and a point in the life of the individual in the baptismal ritual. Πίστις as an event is clearly identified, then, with baptism.

The description of baptism again evokes comparison to the ritual castration of the *galli* seen also at 3:1-5. A paraphrase with subtext in parentheses will show this.

For all are (recognized adult) sons of (father-)God (not child-slaves of the Mother) by means of the trust-relationship in Christ Jesus (not by means of ἔργα of the Mother-Law). For whoever is baptized into Christ (not castrated with Attis), you have put on Christ (not Attis or *galli*-garb). Jew is no longer present nor Greek, slave is not present nor free, male and female is not present. (You are already boundary-transgressors in Christ). And if you are "of Christ," then you are an offspring of Abraham, heirs

according to promise (so circumcision is unnecessary).

Baptism is a passage into a ritual-metaphorical "adulthood" which, like the passage into the identity of *gallus*, results in a permanent liminal or "interstitial" position with Christ. The boundary transgression of Attis and the *galli* are viewed positively and identified with Christ (9.3.1.2). Added is the boundary transgression applicable in the Jewish-Christian context, "neither circumcised nor foreskinned" as a NOW condition (10.1.4). The addition of the subtext here shows the implications which will be made explicit that what is viewed negatively is permanent childhood. This is made clear in the next verses.

Gal 4:1-2 Λέγω δέ, ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ὁ κληρονόμος νήπιός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν διαφέρει δούλου κύριος πάντων ὢν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους ἐστὶν καὶ οἰκονόμους ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρὸς.

I tell you (Here's the point), for as long as the heir is a minor, he differs in no way from a slave even though he is master of all, but he is under guardians and trustees until the date set by the father.

First, Paul restates the metaphorical referent in the course of development of the male head of household.

Gal 4:3 οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἤμεθα δεδουλωμένοι.

So also we, when we were minors (infants), we were enslaved under the *stoicheia* of the world.

Then he applies a different identification to the metaphor of development which explicitly equates the previous experience of the Galatian gentiles to the Jews who were "under Law" as a pedagogue. We have seen that the *stoicheia* also includes the local Mothers, with whom the Law will be more clearly identified in 4:21-5:1.

Gal 4:4-5 ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς

τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν.

When the fullness of time came, God sent his son, who was born from a woman, born under Law, in order that those under Law might be redeemed, in order that we might receive adoption.

The two THEN conditions, gentiles under *stoicheia* and Jews under Law, have a common ending point in the action of God in sending his son. The action of "redeeming" those under (the curse of) the Law, seen in 3:10-14, is now also explicitly located at a point in time. This is a restatement of trajectory of action expressed in πίστις Χριστοῦ (10.2.1.2). The release is again equated with the end of childhood-slave status as the beginning of adulthood. Adoption is likewise equated with attainment of (adult) sonship.

Gal 4:6-7 "Ὅτι δέ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, κρᾶζον, Ἀββα ὁ πατήρ. ὥστε οὐκέτι εἰ δοῦλος ἀλλὰ υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος διὰ θεοῦ.

And because you are sons, God sent the spirit of his son into your hearts, crying, "Abba! Father!" So you are no longer a slave but a son, and if a son, you are also an heir through God.

The moment of history is again equated with a ritual referent in the life of the individual. Reception of the spirit manifested by the "Abba!" cry shows that the *limen* of history is equated with the ritual *limen* in the passage into sonship.

Gal 4:8-9 Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὐσίῃν θεοῖς· νῦν δὲ γνόντες θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ θεοῦ, πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα, οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλετε;

But once, on the one hand, not knowing God you were enslaved to the beings which are not gods, now knowing God, or rather being known by God, how can you turn back again to the weak and poor *stoicheia*? Do you want to be enslaved to them again?

Paul, having again reminded the Galatians of the ritual experience

which brought them out of the negatively portrayed past from which they have come, poses the question of return. Since he has equated the Law in the THEN condition with the *stoicheia* of their past, it is clear that acceptance of a condition "under Law" would be a return, and not an advance as they might have thought.

Gal 4:10-11 ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς. φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μή πως εἰκῇ κεκοπίακα εἰς ὑμᾶς.

You are observing days and months and seasons and years. I am afraid for you lest I have worked among you for no purpose.

A sign that they have already begun to return is their observance of some form of cultic calendar presumably according to Jewish practice. Paul equates this with their past and chides them by reminding them of his own work. This is followed quickly with his pivotal appeal and further reminder of his time with them.

Gal 4:12-20 Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι καὶ γὰρ ὡς ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, δέομαι ὑμῶν. οὐδέν με ἠδικήσατε· οἴδατε δὲ ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον, καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε οὐδὲ ἐξεπτύσατε, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ ἐδέξασθέ με, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. ποῦ οὖν ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν; μαρτυρῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰ δυνατόν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαντες ἐδώκατέ μοι. ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν; ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς, ἀλλὰ ἐκκλεῖσαι ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν, ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε. καλὸν δὲ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ πάντοτε, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρεῖναί με πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τέκνα μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω μέχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν· ἤθελον δὲ παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄρτι, καὶ ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου, ὅτι ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν.

Become as I am, just as I also have become like you, brothers, I beg you. You have not offended against me. For you know that it was because of a weakness of the flesh that I first proclaimed to you. And you did not despise nor disdain (me in) your trial caused by my flesh, but welcomed me as an *angelos* of God, as Christ Jesus. So where is your (former) happiness? I testify to you that if it had been possible, you would have torn out your own eyes and given them to me. So now have I become your enemy by speaking truth to you? They fawn over you, but not for good, but they want to exclude you so that you may fawn over them. It is good to be "fawned over" for a good purpose at all times, and not only in the times when I come

to you. My children, for whom I am again in labor pains until Christ is formed in you. I would like to come to you again and to change my tone of voice, because I am perplexed about you.

In contrast to his rebuke at 1:6, Paul now appeals to the Galatians to "Become as I am." Paul has "become like" them, including his equation of his past under the Law with their past under the *stoicheia*. He appeals to the warmth of their original welcome and their prior recognition of his divine apostolic status as an *angelos*. He contrast his own behavior with those of the circumcision advocates, portrayed with a possible allusion to the *galli* as "fawners" (4:17; 8.3.1 and 9.3.1.1). Having made this accusatory portrayal, however, he is forced to admit that his own behavior could have appeared similar, but he is quick to assert his own concern for them with the imagery of his "birth pangs" for them in contrast to the self-serving attentions of "the others" (4:19; 9.3.1.1). This continues the metaphor of the "true family" as opposed to the "false brother" encountered at Jerusalem in 2:4 (9.3.3.2). Having returned briefly from the metaphor to ask the Galatians to recall their direct experiences with the representatives of the opposing sides, Paul himself and the fawning circumcision advocates, Paul addresses them personally with a wish that he could speak in a softer tone of voice. An oral reader of the letter would probably find it natural to pause dramatically at this point, thus lending emphasis to the next section which moves back to the metaphorical presentation to collect the images he has set forth in the "clinging images" at 4:21-5:1. This is intended to provide the structure of their decision (9.2.1).

Gal 4:21 Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε;

Tell me, you who want to be under Law, do you not listen to the Law?

This opening statement indicates that a strong argument is coming, taken from the very Law advocated by the other side. Paul is about to use the Law against itself.

Gal 4:22 γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἓνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.

For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by his slave-concubine and one by his legitimate wife.

The metaphor begins from the sons, but their identity and status is to be determined by their respective mothers. The choice of texts also returns to collect the theme of the "sons of Abraham" in which the gentiles' BEFORE THEN birth status is assured. Now it is important that the gentiles be identified with the line of inheritance through the legitimate wife.

Gal 4:23 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας δι' ἐπαγγελίας.

But while the one by the slave-concubine was born according to flesh, the one by the legitimate wife was born by means of promise.

Not just the status and identity of the mother is important, however, but also the means of "birth." While the contrast is stated according to the categories of "flesh" and "promise" as a continuation of the basic elements from the Genesis narrative, the allegorical interpretation will indicate that a contrast of ritual means of attachment consistent with ἔξ ἔργων νόμου and διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ is also in view.

Gal 4:24 ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὗται γάρ εἰσιν δύο διαθηκαί, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ, εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ. τὸ

δὲ Ἀγὰρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν
 Ἱερουσαλήμ, δουλεύει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς. ἡ δὲ ἄνω
 Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν.

This is an allegory, for they are two covenants, one from Mount Sinai, who bears into slavery, who is Hagar. The Hagar-Sinai Mountain is in Arabia, and (but) corresponds to the present-day Jerusalem, for she is enslaved with her children. But the Jerusalem above is free (is a legitimate wife), and she is our Mother.

The image is now set forth clearly. The Law, which has been obliquely identified previously as the "bewitching" source of ἔργα as circumcision (like castration), and more explicitly equated with the disciplinary στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, now is being equated as the Sinai covenant with Hagar as Mount Sinai overlooking the temple city of Jerusalem. The Law functions as the Meter Sinaienê in a triple analogy anchored in these verses (9.1.1). The Law and the Mountain Mother, as the dominating figures of the THEN condition of childhood enslavement, are equated and both identified derisively with a slave-concubine. By contrast, "Jerusalem above" is a code-word for a "new zone," which is free and is "our Mother." She is not identified with a specific mountain but with a location superior to all the Mountain Mothers, including the Law (9.1.3.1-2).

Gal 4:27 γέγραπται γάρ, Εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα· ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἢ οὐκ ᾠδίνουσα· ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.

For it is written, "Rejoice, barren woman who does not bear children, sing and shout, the one who does not suffer labor-pains, because the children of the desolate woman are more numerous than those of the one who has the man (is married)."

Another citation from scripture provides an additional favorable contrast of "our Mother" as opposed to the Meter Sinaienê as the Law-Mother. Where the Mountain Mother Cybele is known to pour out

laments in rituals of mourning with her people as they follow the tree-corpse of the "man" she "has" because of her jealous glance, "our Mother" rejoices and has many children by means of the promise which blesses and includes the gentiles.

Gal 4:28 ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐστέ. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τότε ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς ἐδίωκεν τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα, οὕτως καὶ νῦν.

And we, brothers, like Isaac are children of (children born from) promise. But just as when the one born according to flesh persecuted the one born according to spirit, so also now.

This returns to the initial theme of the two different sons of these mothers and the means by which they are born. "By promise" is readily equated with "by spirit." Once equated, promise is included with Spirit as opposed to Flesh in the dichotomy which will be elaborated more clearly as the "Two Ways" set forth in the remainder of the letter (9.2).. Given that the issue is circumcision (like castration), the phrase "according to the flesh" is readily identified with ritual attachment to the Law by means of circumcision and to the Mountain Mother by means of castration. The advocates of circumcision, consistently portrayed as "false brothers" intent on enslaving the gentiles and as "persecutors" like Paul before his encounter with Christ, fit the picture of the "one born according to the flesh" who persecutes. Paul has consistently presented baptism and reception of the spirit as the means of attachment to Christ and entry into the NOW condition of πίστις Χριστοῦ as a condition of recognized sonship. The gentiles who have had the ritual experiences of which Paul reminds them likewise fit the picture of those "born according to the Spirit." Birth

is a code for ritual means of attachment to the Two Mothers as the Two Guides.

Gal 4:30-31 ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; Ἐκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. διό, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἔσμεν παιδίσκης τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.

But what does the scripture say? "Throw out the slave-concubine and her son, for the son of the slave-concubine will not inherit with the son of the legitimate wife." So then, brothers, we are not children of (born from) a slave-concubine but children of (born from) the legitimate wife.

Given the persecution and agitation by the circumcision advocates, at least as seen from Paul's viewpoint, the command appropriated here from Gen 21:10 is pivotal. It is not simply a matter of refusing to be circumcised but of decisive expulsion of the THEN condition, whether as Mountain Mother or as Law. The slave-concubine and her son are thus false family to be simultaneously identified as the Law and the circumcision advocates and as the Mountain Mother and Attis as represented in her *galli*. The only means for recognized sonship and inheritance is through πίστις Χριστοῦ.

The fundamental contrast of images has thus been set forth in no uncertain terms for the Galatian gentiles. Life under the Law signified in the flesh by circumcision would be the same as life under the Mountain Mother signified in the flesh by castration. It would mean permanent enslavement like the child-slave state of the *galli* and attachment to a figure who may once have appeared powerful but is now known to be of weak and low status, like the slave-concubine Hagar. Attachment to the "Jerusalem above," rather, by means of the Spirit

means full inheritance rights as legitimate sons of a Mother who has a superior location and superior status. With the contrasting image in place, the pivotal command of the letter can be stated:

Gal 5:1 τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν· στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε.

Christ has freed us for (in) freedom. So stand firm and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery.

The action of Christ, already described as "redemption" from the curse of the Law and from the slave-child status into adult sonship, is now restated as the action of freeing us. "Stand firm," Paul exhorts the Galatians, in an echo of "Become as I am" if Paul's unwavering confrontation in the face of Cephas's vacillation is kept in mind. "Do not submit again" encapsulates the viewpoint that circumcision would be a reversion to past enslavement. The "yoke of slavery," can evoke the imagery of enslavement to Cybele, as has been suggested (9.3.3.2). Paul's strategy, then, is seen as an effort to strengthen the Galatians in the confidence that their condition in Christ is already "freedom" (and hence adult sonship) from which circumcision would be a backward motion into their former condition of "enslavement" under the Mother of the Gods.

12.3.3 *Galatians 5:2-6:18*

In the rest of the letter, Paul first restates the question at 5:2-3 explicitly in terms of the decision about circumcision, just in case there was any lingering doubt about the application of his metaphorical language. He states the consequences, that Christ will be ineffective on behalf of those who are circumcised and that the full

text of the curse of the Law, by contrast, will become effective against them.

He also reiterates the NOW condition in Christ as "neither circumcised nor foreskinned" (5:6; 10.1.4) and portrays πίστις now as an active force. Then he reassures the Galatians that they had been fine until the advocates of circumcision started to agitate among them, and portrays the "others" sarcastically as *galli* by his explicit association of circumcision and castration (5:12; 9.3.1.1).

He adds a clarification about freedom as a relationship of love and mutual "enslavement" within the community, presumably in contrast to the circumcision advocates as people who seek to enslave gentile Christians for their own purposes (5:13; 8.3.1). This is the mode of human relationship represented as πίστις, which can bear fruit (5:13-14, 22; 9.2.3.3).

Following this, a clearer opposition of the "ways" of Flesh and Spirit are stated with almost all of the expected elements. We have seen the means of birth by Flesh and Spirit as contrasted means of attachment to the Mother-Law or to Christ-Spirit as respective "guides." Now the results or "ends" are more clearly outlined. "Works" are now ἔργα of the Flesh rather than the Law (9.3.2.1), and the results contrasted are "fruits" of the Spirit. The respective ends are manifested as death and life.

A boundary division is set between these two "ways" of Flesh and Spirit by crucifixion. Crucifixion of the Flesh by belonging to Christ Jesus opens life in the Spirit (5:24). This "death to the flesh"

returns to the pattern of Paul's co-crucifixion with Christ which likewise marks "death to the Law" (2:19).

After a description of the tone he would like them to take with one another within the community (6:1-6), he returns to the theme of Flesh and Spirit, this time with the imagery of "sowing." This could once again reiterate the identification of circumcision with castration, although the connection of the *galli*'s castration with the imagery of planting and harvest is not made explicit in ancient sources until the later Empire. The imagery applies to the "fleshly" aspect of circumcision, in any case.

Paul begins to draw his letter to a close in a message written in his own hand-writing. He accuses the circumcision advocates of wanting to "make a good showing in the flesh" that they can boast about (6:12-13). In the context of Anatolia, this suggests that the quantity of circumcisions would provide the community with manifestations of the power of the Jewish God similar to manifestations provided by the *galli*'s self-castrations and is a possible allusion to *galli* (8.2.2; 8.3.1).

Once again he reiterates that the NOW condition as a "new creation" or "new foundation" is expressed in the boundary transgression of "neither circumcised nor foreskinned in Christ" (10.1.4). Then he adds a final reminder of his "Christ-possession" (10.2.1.3) in his mention of his protective "marks of Christ." This is a final appropriation to himself of an aspect of the *galli*, who were also tattooed and scarified, which would be viewed positively, their unequivocal divine possession as

"marked" by their deity. This final reminder reassures them of his personal credibility in terms they will understand.

12.4 Summary

We have seen, then, that Paul's letter to the Galatians is a letter to a particular audience in first century Anatolia and that Paul wrote to them with a particular purpose, to dissuade them from circumcision. The reasons for Paul's position on this issue can be seen to originate from his concern for the specific implications of circumcision for his audience in their particular context and his urgent need to defend the Gospel he has preached to them from the danger he sees that circumcision would pose for them in this context. Since he can see that circumcision for them would be too similar to the castration which was the mark of enslavement to the Mother of the Gods who dominated their religious context, he presents the issue to them as a regression to the ways they thought they had left behind when they began their lives in Christ. His effort is to convince them to "Stand firm" in the free adult sonship given by Christ and not to return by means of circumcision to their past childhood-enslavement under the Mother now disguised as the Law. In the process Paul's own understanding of the implications of his Gospel for his understanding of the Law continues to develop.

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Vita

In 1973, Susan Elliott completed an Individualized Degree, conferred by The Institute of Prescott College in Arizona, based on her portfolio in organizational development and social change. She began work on the M.Div. degree at Chicago Theological Seminary in 1974, transferring to the Jesuit School of Theology at Chicago (Divinity School of Loyola University) to complete the degree *summa cum laude* in 1978. That year she was ordained as a minister in the United Church of Christ, after which she served in several urban ministries. She was subsequently also granted ordained standing for service in the Church of the Brethren.

During the course of her doctoral work, Loyola University awarded her several fellowships: the Graduate Fellowship and Research Assistantship (1992-3); the University Teaching Fellowship (1994-5); and the Arthur J. Schmitt Dissertation Fellowship (1995-6). Loyola University also nominated her to apply for the National Endowment for the Humanities Dissertation Grant for 1995-6. In 1993, she was awarded the Student Paper Competition Prize by the Midwest Society of Biblical Literature and the American Bible Society Scholarly Achievement Award for Excellence in Biblical Studies, Loyola University Chicago.

Her articles have been published in *Biblical Research*, *Listening*, and *Proceedings of the Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Region of the Society of Biblical Literature*. She has presented papers on several occasions at scholarly societies, including: the Midwest Society of Biblical Literature, the Midwest American Academy of Religion, the Chicago Society for Biblical Research, and the Westar Institute. She will present a paper based on a portion of her dissertation at the 1996 national meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. She is an invited Fellow of the Westar Institute and also holds membership in the Society of Biblical Literature, the Chicago Society for Biblical Research, and the North American Patristics Society.

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August 4, 1996
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